GUIDE TO THE NR19 SOUTHEAST SALISH FILE

[The NR19 Southeast Salish file contains specific data on a number of Salish speaking peoples who were located in northeastern Washington, northern Idaho, and British Columbia. The peoples included in this file are the Coeur d'Alène (Skitswish), Columbia (including the Chelan, Methow, Sinkaquaiius, Sinkiuse, and Wenatchi or Pisquow), Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Semteuse, Lake (Senijextee), Southern Okanagon (Sinkaietk), Spokan, and Sanpoil, the sample, with the Colville and Nespelem.

The Salish language constitutes a distinct language family with no discernible phylum affiliation. The Southeastern Salish spoke several dialects. The Okanagon group included the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Lake, and Colville. The Columbia group included the Columbia, Chelan, Methow, and Wenatchi. The "Flathead group" included in addition to the Flathead proper (who constitute a distinct file unit, NR8), the Kalispel, Spokan, Pend d'Oreille, and Semteuse. The Coeur d'Alène constitute the fourth dialectical group.

Population figures are at great variance and are difficult to estimate. In Teit's time, 1906-1909, the Okanagon estimated that before White contact the Indians numbered about four times their population in the early 20th century. The Okanagon were aboriginally the largest of their group, numbering about 2,500-3,000. The Colville were next at 2,500, the Lake numbered about 2,000, and the Sanpoil were 178. A very rough estimate for all the Southeast Salish in the early 1900's would be about 5,000. If the native estimate is correct, aboriginally they would have numbered about 20,000.

Located in the southern Plateau, the Southeast Salish were subject to influences from both the Northwest Coast and the Plains. Fishing with weirs, collecting berries and roots, and buffalo hunting were the primary subsistence means. There appears to have been variation in the degree to which the horse and a generalized Plains type of culture was adopted among the Southeast Salish. Those groups farthest to the East seem to have been the most effected.

There was a great deal of mixture and intermarriage between the groups constituting the Southeast Salish. According to 3: Cline, in reference to the Southern Okanagon,

> The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to all this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult. (3: Cline, p. 4-A)

There are seven sources in the NR19 file. None of them give an overall view of the area. 1: Hodge consists of brief entries in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico for each of the following: Colville, Kalispel, Methow, Nespelem, S. Okanagon, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Lake, Columbia, Coeur d'Alène, and Spokan. 2: Ray is on the Sanpoil and Nespelem and it is considered the basic monograph on the Plateau people. 3: Cline is on the Southern Okanagon. The remaining four sources are all based on the fieldwork of James Teit and were edited by Franz Boas. Each one is a monograph on each of the four dialectical groups. 4: Teit is on the Middle Columbia Salish, 5: Teit is on the Coeur d'Alène, 6: Teit is on the Okanagon group, and 7: Teit is on the "Flathead Group" with data on the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Semteuse, and Spokan. 7: Teit is based primarily on fieldwork done among the Flathead proper, so the researcher should be wary of general statements. All of the sources are based on fieldwork done between 1900 and 1930. Most of the authors used informants who were elderly at the time and could remember back to earlier days. Consequently much of the material in the file is historical in nature and attempts to reconstruct life in the 19th century. The NR19 file deals with somewhat diverse groups and the spatial focus should be well noted. The file was processed in 1953-1956 and 1975.]

'1:Hodge E-5 1907,1910 Southbeast Salish
Nespelem (Nespelim)

000 **Nescambiouit.** See *Amesokanti*.

Nescopeck. A mixed Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware village formerly at the mouth of Nescopeck r., in Luzerne co., Pa., where a town of the same name now stands. It had been abandoned by 1779. (J. N. B. H.)

Neshamini. A Delaware tribe or band formerly living on Neshaminy cr., Bucks co., Pa.

Neshamani.—Clay quoted by Day, Penn., 495, 1843. **Neshaminas.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 127, 1816. **Ne-sham-i-nes.**—Macauley, N. Y., II, 166, 1829. **Neshamínies.**—Proud, Penn., II, 294, 1798. **Nishaminas.**—Sanford, U. S., cxlvii, 1819.

Neshannock. A white-fleshed variety of potato; from the name of the place in Pennsylvania, where it was first produced. *Neshannock*, the name of a village and stream in Mercer co., comes from a word in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, signifying 'place of two rivers', from *nisha* 'two', *-hanne* 'flowing stream', *-ock* locative suffix. (A. F. C.)

Neshasath (*Nɛ'c'asath*). A sept of the Seshart, a Nootka tribe.—Boas in 6th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 32, 1890.

Neshaw. A local word for eel in Massachusetts. Trumbull (Natick Dict., 80, 1903) says: "The name of 'neshaw eel' is yet retained by the fishermen of Marthas Vineyard and perhaps elsewhere in Massachusetts for the silver eel (*Muræna argentea*)." The derivation is from Narraganset *neeshaûog* 'eels', literally 'pairers,' from *nees* 'two', *auog* 'they go to'. This Algonquian name, Trumbull thinks, may have belonged originally to the lamprey. (A. F. C.)

Nesheptanga. An ancient ruined pueblo situated in Jeditoh valley, in the Hopi country, N. E. Arizona. It seemingly was one of the group of villages built and occupied by the Kawaika people, who were of Keresan stock from the Rio Grande. It was first described, but not named, by V. Mindeleff in 1885 as a ruin between the Bat House (Chakpahu) and the Horn House (Kokopnyama), and was partially excavated by Dr Walter Hough for the National Museum in 1901. See Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 50-51, 1891; Fewkes in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 590, 1898; Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 333 et seq., 1903.

Neshepatanga.—Hough, op. cit., pl. 82.

Neshta. An extinct subgens of the Wazhazhe gens of the Ponca.

Nesta.—Dorsey in 15th Rep. B. A. E., 229, 1897 (c=sh).

Nesietsha. A Naskotin village at the confluence of Blackwater and Fraser rs., Brit. Col.

Black-Water.—Morice, Notes on W. Dénés, 24, 1893. **Nesietsah.**—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 109, 1892.

Nesikeep ('little deep hollow or cut', according to Teit; 'destroyed', referring to the incidents of a story, according to Hill-Tout). A village belonging to the Upper Fraser band of Ntlakyapamuk, on the w. side of Fraser r., 38 m. above Lytton, Brit. Col. Pop. 12 in 1901, the last time the name was officially reported. (Dawson gives this as a Lillooet town. 000

N'ēkīp.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Ethnol. Surv. Can., 4, 1899. **Neshkeep.**—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901. **Nes-i-kip.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 44, 1891. **Nesykep.**—Can. Ind. Aff. 1892, 312, 1893. **Nisucap.**—Ibid., 78, 1878. **Nesi'kēp.**—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 172, 1900.

Neskollek. A Natsotin village on Babine lake, Brit. Col.

Nes'qōllek.—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., x, 109, 1892.

Nespelim. A Salish tribe on a creek of same name, a N. tributary of Columbia r., about 40 m. above Ft Okinakane, Wash. Ross speaks of them as one of the Okinagan tribes, while Winans classes them as part of the Sanpoil. The latter two together numbered 653 on Colville res., Wash., in 1906. 101 [161]

In-as-petsum.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 105, 1855. **In-spellum.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Nespeliums.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 253, 1877. **Nespectums.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nespelum.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Nespelim.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, pt. I, 702, 1902. **Nespilim.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. 88, 1896. **Sin-spee-lish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855.

000 **Nesquehonite.** A variety of magnesium carbonate, from *Nesquehoning*, the place in Pennsylvania where it was found, and *-ite*, representing the Greek *ιτης*. Nesquehoning, the name of a stream and village in Carbon co., signifies, in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, 'at the black deer lick,' from *nisque* 'black', *mahoni* 'deer lick,' *-ing* locative suffix. (A. F. C.)

Nestucca. A branch of the Tillamook, formerly living on and near Nestucca r., N. W. Oreg., now on the Grande Ronde and Siletz res. Their popular name is derived from that of their country; their own name is Staga'ush ('people of Staga'). Pop. 46 in 1861. They are no longer separately enumerated.

Apfálsa.—Gatschet, Kalapuya MS., B. A. E., 30 (Atfalati name for the Oregon Salish; perhaps from *tchápalfan*, 'on the coast'). **Nas-té-kwŭt' ȼŭnně.**—Dorsey, MS. Tutu vocab., 1884 (Tututunne name). **Nas-tŭk'-e-ma' ȼunně.**—Dorsey, Naltunnetunne MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Naltunnetunne name). **Nestackee.**—Condon in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1863, 63, 1864. **Nestachies.**—Palmer in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 111, 1856. **Nestecullips.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestucals.**—H. R. Rep. 98, 42d Cong., 3d sess., 374, 1873. **Nestuccas.**—Huntington in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 71, 1868. **Nestucka.**—Ibid., 62. **Nestuckah.**—Victor in Overland Mo., VII, 346, 1871. **Nestuckers.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 221, 1861. **Nestuckias.**—Taylor in Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 40th Cong., spec. sess., 26, 1867. **Nestucka.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestucca.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 74, 1874. **Nes Tucca.**—Ibid., 412, 1872. **Nestuccas.**—Ibid., 346, 1875. **Nikaas.**—Framboise (1835) quoted by Gairdner in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841 (probably identical). **Nikas.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 335, 1844 (probably identical). **Nistoki Ampafa amim.**—Gatschet, Lakmiut MS., B. A. E., 105 (Lakmiut name). **Shihalta.**—Gatschet, Shasta vocab., B. A. E., 1877 (Yreka [Kikatsik] name). **Si ni'-tĕ-li.**—Dorsey, Coquille MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 ('flatheads': Coquille name). **Staga'ush.**—Boas, inf'n, 1906. **Tágahosh.**—Gatschet, Nestucca MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (own name). **Tcqe'-k'qĕ.**—Dorsey, Alsea MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Alsea name).

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Southern Okanogan (Okinagan)

000 where are still the remains of a town. It is possible that White's branch was also called Okalusa in Romans' time. This writer represents the Black Water warriors as predatory in their habits, often making inroads into the territory of the Creeks. In 1831 the Black Water people numbered 78.—Halbert in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., III, 367–368, 1900; VI, 420, 1902.

Black Water.—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 165, 1761. **Oaka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, map, 1775. **Oque Loussas.**—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 164, 1761. **Oka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, 310, 1775. **Okaloosa.**—Lattré, Map U. S., 1784. **Oka Louss.**—Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 420, 1902 (misquotation of d'Anville). **Oké Loussa.**—d'Anville's map in Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, 158, 1897. **Oqué-Loussas.**—Du Pratz, La., II, 241, 1758.

Okanagan Lake. The local name for a body of Okinagan on the w. shore of Okanagan lake in s. w. British Columbia; pop. 37 in 1901, the last time the name appears.

Kelowna.—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901.

Okapoolo. A former Choctaw village probably in the present Newton co., Miss.—Romans, Florida, map, 1775.

Okatalaya (*Oka-talaia*, 'spreading water'). One of the Choctaw Sixtowns which controlled a large extent of territory in the present Jasper and Smith cos., Miss., but centered on Oka Talaia cr.—Halbert in Pub. Ala. Hist. Soc., Misc. Coll., I, 383, 1901.

Okawasiku ('coot'). A subphratry or gens of the Menominee.—Hoffman in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 42, 1896.

Okchayi. A former Upper Creek town on Oktchayi cr., a w. tributary of Tallapoosa r., 3 m. below Kailaidshi, in Coosa co., Ala. Its inhabitants were of Alibamu origin, as were also those of Okchayudshi. Milfort gives a tradition concerning their migration. Another Creek settlement of the same name was situated on the E. bank of Tombigbee r., at the ford of the trail to the Creek Nation, which was in a bend of the stream a few miles below Sukanatchi junction, probably in Sumter co., Ala. This was probably the mother town of the other Okchayi and of Okchayudshi. (A. S. G.)

Hook-choie.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hootchooee.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 852, 1832. **Oakchog.**—Sen. Ex. Doc. 425, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 302, 1836. **Oakchoie.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 341, 1851. **Oakchoys.**—Swan (1791) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, V, 262, 1855. **Oakgees.**—Galphin (1787) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 32, 1832. **Oakjoys.**—Blount (1792), ibid., 270. **Occha.**—Jefferys, French Dom. Am., I, 134, map, 1761. **Ocehoy.**—Romans, Florida, 327, 1775. **Ocha.**—Alcedo, Dic. Geog., III, 361, 1788. **Ockha.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **Ockhoys.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 80, 1854. **Ok-chai.**—Adair, Am. Inds., 257, 273, 1775. **Okchoys.**—Romans, Florida, 90, 1775. **Oke-choy-atte.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 266, 1851. **Okehoys.**—Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., I, 190, 1836. **Oukchaes.**—Schermerhorn (1812) in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d s., II, 18, 1814. **Ouialliеs.**—Milfort, Mémoire, 266, 1802. **Ousallies.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., I, 88, 1851.

Okchayi. A town of the Creek Nation, on Canadian r., near Hillabi, Okla. 000

Oktcháyi.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., II, 186, 1888.

Okchayudshi ('little Okchayi'). A former small Upper Creek town in the present Elmore co., Ala., on the E. bank of Coosa r., between Odshiapofa (Little Talassee) and Tuskegee. The village was removed to the E. side of Tallapoosa r. on account of Chickasaw raids.

Hook-choie-oo-che.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hookchoieooche.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 854, 1832. **Little Oakchoy.**—Creek paper (1836) in H. R. Rep. 37, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 122, 1851. **Little Oakjoys.**—U. S. Ind. Treat. (1797), 68, 1837. **Oakchoieooche.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 267, 1851. **Oktchayú'dshi.**—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 141, 1884.

Oke. The principal village of the Ehatisaht (q. v.), on Eperanza inlet, w. coast of Vancouver id., Brit. Col.—Can. Ind. Aff., 264, 1902.

Okechumne. A former Moquelumnan group on Merced r., central Cal.

Ochekhamni.—Kroeber in Am. Anthrop., VIII, 659, 1906. **Okechumne.**—Wessells (1853) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 30, 1857.

Okehumpkee (probably 'lonely water'). A former Seminole town 30 m. s. w. from Volusia, and N. E. of Dade's battle ground, Volusia co., Fla. Mikanopy was chief in 1823, between which date and 1836 it was abandoned.

Oeahumpky.—Gadsden (1836) in H. R. Doc. 78, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 407, 1838. **Okahumky.**—Scott's map, ibid., 408–9. **Okehumpkee.**—H. R. Doc. 74, 19th Cong., 1st sess., 27, 1826.

Okete. The Yurok name of Big lagoon on the N. W. coast of Cal., 10 m. N. of Trinidad, as well as of the largest of the several Yurok villages thereon. (A. L. K.)

Okhatatalaya (*Okhata-talaia*, 'spreading pond'). A former Choctaw town in the westernmost part of the present Newton co., Miss. It was named from a pond several acres in extent, near the center of the town, which was a great resort for wild fowl.—Brown in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 445, 1902.

Okilisa (*O-ki'-li-sa*). An extinct Creek clan.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 155, 1884.

Okinagan (etymology doubtful). A name originally applied to the confluence of Similkameen and Okanogan rs., but extended first to include a small band and afterward to a large and important division of the Salishan family. They formerly inhabited the w. side of Okanogan r., Wash., from Old Ft Okanogan to the Canadian border, and in British Columbia the shores of Okanagan lake and the surrounding country. Later they displaced an Athapascan tribe from the valley of the Similkameen. In 1906 there were 527 Okinagan on Colville res., Wash., and 824 under the Kamloops-Okanagan agency, British Columbia; total, 1,351. Gibbs in 1855 gave the following list of Okinagan bands on Okanogan r.: Tkwuratum, Ko- 101 [161]

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nekonep, Kluckhaitkwu, Kinakanes, and Milakitekwa. The Kinakanes appear to be the Okinagan proper. He also classed the Sanpoil with them, but says "these are also claimed by the Spokans," and in fact they are still oftener placed by themselves. To Gibbs' list should be added the Intietook band of Ross. The following villages or bands are enumerated in the Canadian Reports of Indian Affairs: Ashnola, Chuchunayha, Keremeus, Nkamaplix, Nkamip, Okanagan Lake, Penticton, Shennosquankin, and Spahamin. Teit gives four others: Kedlamik, Komkonatko, Ntlkius, and Zutsemin. Dawson adds Whatlminek. See also *Shamoynumachs.*

Kĭnk'atlĭi'atlam.—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889 ('flatheads': Kutenai name). **Kinakanes.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 412, 1855. **Kĭkĭnă'k'ĭs.**—Chamberlain in 8th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 7, 1892 (Kutenai name). **Oakanagans.**—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 44, 1855. **Oakinackin.**—Ross, Adventures, 287, 1847 (used collectively and also as applying to a subdivision). **Oakinagan.**—Cox, Columb. R., II, 86, 1831. **Ockinakéin.**—Giorda, Kalispel Dict., I, 439, 1877–79. **Okanagan.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 100, 1844. **Okanagan.**—Parker, Journal, 298, 1840. **Okanagan.**—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 167, 1900. **O-kan-á-kan.**—Morgan, Consang. and Affin., 290, 1871. **Okanakanes.**—De Smet, Letters, 230, 1843. **Okanaken.**—Boas in 6th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., map, 1890. **O'Kanies-Kanies.**—Stevens in H. R. Doc. 48, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1856. **Okenaganes.**—Shea, Cath. Miss., 477, 1855. **Okenakanes.**—De Smet, Letters, 224, 1843. **Okiakanes.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 190, 1857. **Okinaganes.**—De Smet, op. cit., 37. **Okinagans.**—M'Vickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, 1842. **Okinahane.**—Stevens in Sen. Ex. Doc. 66, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 12, 1856. **O'Kinakain.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, 27, 1848. **Okinakan.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 1846. **Okinakanes.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 392, 1854. **O'Kinakanes.**—Taylor in Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 40th Cong., spec. sess., 26, 1867. **Okinā'k'ēn.**—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889. **O'kinā'k'ēn.**—Chamberlain in 8th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 7, 1892. **Okinekane.**—De Smet, Letters, 215, 1843. **Okin-e-Kanes.**—Craig in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 171, 1857. **O-kin-i-kaines.**—Shaw in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 113, 1857. **Okinekane.**—Watkins in Sen. Ex. Doc. 20, 45th Cong., 2d sess., 5, 1878. **O-ki-wah-kine.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 27, 1870. **Okranagans.**—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 9, 1848. **Omaagan.**—Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 431, 1845. **Okanagan.**—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. **Okanagan**—Wilkes, ibid., 461, 1854. **Omahanes.**—Stevens in Sen. Ex. Doc. 66, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 10, 1856. **Oukinegans.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Oo-ka-na-kane.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 6, 1891 (Ntlakyapamuk name). **Oukinegans.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Schit-hu-a-ut.**—Mackay quoted in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 6, 1891. **Schit-hu-a-ut-uh.**—Ibid. **Sinkuaíli.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (properly Isonkuaili, 'our people': own name). **Sku-luh.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 7, 1891 (own name). **Soo-wha'-a-meeh.**—Dawson, ibid., 5 (Shuswap name). **Su-a-na-muh.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson, ibid. **Tcitqua'ut.**—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889 (Ntlakyapamuk name). **U-ka-nakane.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson, op. cit., 6.

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Okinoyoktokawik. A small Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on the coast opposite Sledge id., Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893.

Okiogmiut. A name sometimes given collectively to the Eskimo of St Lawrence and the Diomede ids., Alaska. The former belong properly to the Yuit of Asia; for the latter, see *Imaklimiut* and *Ingalikmiut.*

Island Innuit.—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., XXXIV, 377, 1885. **Kekh'lit innūin.**—Simpson quoted by Dall in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., I, 15, 1877. **Okee-og'-mūt.**—Dall, ibid. **Okeegmutes.**—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., XVIII, 266, 1869. **Okhaganak.**—Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, map, 1884.

Okiosorbik. A former Eskimo village on Aneretok fjord, E. Greenland; pop. 50 in 1829.

Okkiosorbik.—Graah, Exped. E. Coast Greenland, 114, 1837.

Okisko. A chief of the Weapemeoc of Virginia, in 1585–86, who with Menatonon gave to Ralfe Lane most of the information communicated to Sir Walter Raleigh respecting the surrounding region. Although independent, Okisko was dominated to some extent by Menatonon, who induced him to acknowledge subjection to the English queen. Nevertheless Lane accused him of being the leader in the plot formed by his tribe, the Mandoag (Nottoway), and other Indians, to massacre the colonists. (C. T.)

Okitiyakni (Hitchiti: *Oki-tiyákni*, probably 'whirlpool' or 'river bend'). A former Lower Creek village on the E. bank of Chattahoochee r., 8 m. below Eufaula, in Quitman co., Ga. Pop. 580 in 1822.

Oatiyakny.—Woodward, Reminis., 107, 1859. **O-ke-te-yoc-en-nee.**—Hawkins (1814) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 859, 1832. **Oka-tiokinans.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 364, 1822. **Oketeyoconne.**—Hawkins, op. cit., 860. **Okete Yocanne.**—Ibid., 845. **O-ke-teyoc-en-ne.**—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 65, 1848. **Oki-tiyákni.**—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 140, 1884.

Oklafalaya ('the long people'). One of the three great divisions into which the Choctaw (q. v.) were divided for at least a third of a century prior to their removal to Indian Ter. Originally it may have been the name of a town, extended in time to include all the settlements in the region in which it was situated. Unlike those in the eastern divisions, the Indians of this section were scattered in small settlements over a great extent of territory. "The boundary line separating this from the northeastern district began in the vicinity of the present little town of Cumberland, in Webster co. [Miss.]; thence ran southwesterly on the dividing ridge separating the headwaters of Tibbee (Oktibbeha) on the E. from the Big Black waters on the W. down to the vicinity of Dido, in Choctaw co.; thence in a zigzag course on the dividing ridge between the Noxubee and the Yokenookeny waters to the vicinity of New Prospect; thence it zigzagged more or less easterly between the headwaters of Pearl r. and the Noxubee waters to a point on the ridge not far S. of Old Singleton (not the present Singleton); thence southerly on the ridge between the Pearl r. waters on the W. and

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Sanpoil

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San Pascual. A former pueblo of the Piro on the E. bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the present San Antonio village (which occupies the site of Senecú), Socorro co., N. Mex. Shea (Cath. Miss., 82, 1855) states that a mission existed there and that it was destroyed during the rebellion of 1680. According to Bandelier, however, the village in all probability was abandoned about 1675, since Senecú, on the opposite side of the river, was destroyed early in that year by the Apache. Consult Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 250, 1892. See also *Piro*.

San Pascual. A former Yuma rancheria on Gila r., Ariz., 16 to 20 leagues above its mouth, visited by Anza and Font in 1775.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 392, 1889.

San Pascual. A village of the Gidanemuk, a branch of the Serranos of s. California, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776.

San Pasqual.—Garcés, Diary, 273, 1900.

San Pedro (Saint Peter). A Yuma rancheria on the Rio Gila in Arizona, 3 leagues above its junction with the Colorado. It was visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699.

S. Pedro.—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889 (see p. 359). **S. Petrus.**—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726. **St Peter.**—Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759 (located where San Pablo should be).

San Pedro. A Mohave rancheria, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776; situated on or near the w. bank of the Rio Colorado, lat. 35° 01′, about 8 m. N. W. of Needles, S. E. Cal.—Garcés, Diary (1776), 234, 416, 1900.

San Pedro de los Jamajabs.—Garcés, op. cit.

San Pedro. A Timucua mission on the present Cumberland id., Fla., named in 1688 in an address from the chiefs of the tribe to the King of Spain, a translation of which appears in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., XVIII, 497, 1880.

San Pedro. A rancheria of the Tejas (Hainai), on a stream of the same name, at which the Franciscan mission of San Francisco de los Tejas (q. v.) was founded in 1690. It contained 80 men in 1782 (Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 665, 1886). See *Nabedache*.

San Pedro. One of the principal settlements of the Mayo, situated in s. Sonora, Mexico.—Hrdlička in Am. Anthr., VI, 59, 1904.

San Pedro Guazave. A former settlement of the Guazave (Vacoregue) on the E. bank of Rio Sinaloa, about lat. 25° 40′, N. W. Sinaloa, Mexico.

Guazave.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. **San Pedro Guazave.**—Ibid., 332.

San Pedro Martire (Saint Peter the Martyr). A Dominican mission, founded May 28, 1794, by Father Pallas, about 40 m. E. of Santo Tomás mission, lat. 31° 50′, Lower California.

San Pedro Martyr.—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 50, 1869.

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San Pedro y San Pablo (Saint Peter and Saint Paul). A mission established by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1780 among the Yuma on the w. bank of Colorado r., near the site of modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob), 8 or 10 m. below Yuma, in extreme S. E. California. On July 17–19, 1781, the mission was sacked and burned by the natives, about 50 Spaniards, including Garcés, three other friars, and Capt. Rivera y Moncada were killed, and the women and children made captives. See *Concepción*, *Missions*, *San Pablo*.

Bicuñer.—Coues, Garcés Diary, 21, 1900. **San Pedro-Pablo.**—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 51, 1869. **San Pedro y San Pablo.**—Arricivita, Crón. Seraf., 504-511, 539, 1792; Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 397, 1889; Coues, cited above. **San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.**—Coues, Garcés Diary, 19, 1900.

San Pedro y San Pablo. A Cochimi settlement and visita in 1745, situated 8 leagues E. of the parent mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, lat. 27°, Lower California.

San Pedro and San Pablo.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., II, 198, 1759.

Sanpet. A body of Ute formerly occupying San Pete valley and Sevier r., central Utah. Powell found 36 on the Uinta res., Utah, in 1873, although they are said to have numbered 500 in 1865. They are now included under the collective name of Uinta Ute. (H. W. H.)

Land Pitches.—Farnham, Travels, 58, 1843. **Sampectches.**—De Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sampiches.**—Prichard, Phys. Hist. Man., V, 430, 1847. **Sampichya.**—Burton, City of Saints, 578, 1861. **Sampitches.**—Collins in Ind. Aff. Rep., 125, 1861. **San-Petes.**—Humphreys in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1859, 281, 1860. **Sanpiche Utahs.**—Wilson (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 185, 1850. **San Pitch.**—Correll (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 29, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1862. **San Pitches.**—Cooley in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1865. **Sanpits.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 5, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Sampiche Utahs.**—Wilson in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1849, 67, 1850.

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Sanpoil. A body of Salish on Sans Poil r. and on the Columbia below Big bend, Wash. Gibbs classed them as one of the 8 bands of Spokan and also as one of the 6 bands of Okinagan, they being claimed by both tribes. In 1905 they were reported to number 324, on the Colville res., but in 1909 their population was given as only 178, the disparity being attributed to duplication in previous counts. No treaty was ever made with these Indians for their lands, the Government taking possession of their country except such portions as have been set apart by Executive order for their occupancy.

Gingpoils.—De Smet, Letters, 230, 1843. **Hai-ai'-nima.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Yakima name). **He-high-e-nim-mo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855. **Hihighenimmo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Hihighenimo.**—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. **Ipoilq.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Yakima name). **Linpoilish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 200, map 1853. **N'pochele.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **N'pooh-le.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **N'pockle.**—Gibbs, op. cit., 412. **San Poels.**—Shanks in Sen. Misc. Doc. 32, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1874. **Sanpoil.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, 702, 1902. **Sanpoils.**—

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Sanpoil

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Stevens, ibid., 22, 1870. **Sanspoils.**—Wilson in Trans. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **Sans-Puelles.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **Sarpoell.**—Parker, Jour., 293, 1840. **Sanspoils.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Sinpoil.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 38, 1831. **Sinapoilish.**—Anderson quoted by Gibbs in Hist. Mag., VII, 77, 1863. **Sinipouals.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 335, 1844. **Sinpaivelish.**—M'Vickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, 1842. **Sinpauelish.**—Parker, Jour., 312, 1842. **Sin-poh-ell-ech-ach.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Sinpoil.**—De Smet, Letters, 168, 1843. **Sin-poil-er-hu.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Sin-poil-schne.**—Gibbs, ibid., 414. **Sinr-Poils.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896 (variant form). **Sklarkum.**—Suckley, op. cit., 300. **Snpeilixix.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan form). **Snpoilish.**—Ibid. (Salish form).

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San Rafael. The next to the last Franciscan mission established in California; founded as an asistencia or branch of San Francisco (Dolores). The mortality among the Indians in San Francisco had become so great that a panic was feared, and a transfer of a portion of the survivors to some situation on the N. side of the bay was proposed. At first they were sent over without a priest, but after several had died it was determined to found a new establishment; this was done, Dec. 14, 1817, the new mission being dedicated to San Rafael Arcángel. The native name of the place was Nanaguami. About 230 neophytes were transferred from San Francisco, most of whom, however, originally came from the N. side of the bay. An adobe building, 87 by 42 ft, divided into rooms for chapel, dwelling-rooms, etc., was finished in 1818. Two years later there were 590 neophytes, and 1,140, the highest number reached, in 1828. By 1823 the establishment was recognized as a separate mission. Its wealth was never very great, though it was prosperous, having in 1830, 1,548 large stock and 1,852 sheep, with an average crop for the preceding decade of 2,454 bushels. In 1830 there were 970 neophytes, the number decreasing about 50 percent in the next four years. At the time of secularization considerable property was distributed among the Indians; but in 1837, under the plea that the natives were not making good use of it, this was again brought together, with a promise of redistribution under more favorable circumstances. In 1839 the Indians were reported to be greatly dissatisfied, and in 1840 a distribution of the livestock was ordered. There were then 190 Indians near the mission, and probably 150 more scattered elsewhere. In 1846 Frémont took possession of the mission. After he left, it seems to have been unoccupied, and it has now entirely disappeared. The neophytes probably belonged chiefly to the Olamentke division of the Moquelumnan family. (A. B. L.)

San Rafael. Formerly a rancheria of the Papago in s. Arizona, near the headwaters of the Rio Salado of Sonora, Mexico; visited in 1701 and 1702 by Father Kino and so named by him. Possibly identical with the modern Mesquite or Quijotoa (q. v.), but not to be confounded with the mission of Guevavi, which bore the same saint name, nor with San Serafin (Actum).

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San Rafael.—Kino (1700) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 312, 1856. **S. Rafael.**—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889; Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759. **S. Rafael Actum.**—Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 502, 1884. **S. Raphaël.**—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726.

San Rafael. A former rancheria in s. Arizona, probably Maricopa, visited by Kino and Mange in 1699 (Mange cited by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 358, 1889). Not to be confounded with the San Rafael in the Pima country.

San Rafael de los Gentiles. Mentioned by Bancroft (Ariz. and N. Mex., 281, 1889) as a pueblo settlement of New Mexico with 15 inhabitants, about 1765. Locality not known.

San Rudesindo. A rancheria of the Quigyuma, visited and so named by Father Kino in Mar. 1702. Doubtless situated on the E. bank of the Rio Colorado, just above its mouth, in N. W. Sonora, Mexico. See Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, 310, 1759; Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 500, 1884; Coues, Garcés Diary, 178, 1900.

San Sabá. A Franciscan mission established on the Rio San Sabá in Texas, in Apr. 1757, among the Lipan Apache, under the protection of the presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas, 1½ leagues distant, named in honor of the Viceroy of Mexico. The Spaniards were induced by the Lipan to found the mission in order that they might gain the aid of the former against their enemies the Comanche, but after its establishment the Lipan refused under various pretexts to become concentrated under mission influence. On Mar. 2, 1758, the Comanche and their allies (Wichita and others) raided the Spanish horse herd and captured 62 head, and on the 16th 2,000(?) mounted hostiles gained entrance to the mission under protestations of friendship, murdered nearly all the occupants, and burned the buildings. But few of the Lipan were killed, most of them having fled to the mountains on the approach of the Comanche. In the following year an expedition against the raiders was made, and in an attack on a rancheria 150 leagues away, 55 of the foe were killed, but little else was accomplished, the Spaniards fleeing when a band of warriors, said to number 6,000, of different tribes, at a place called San Teodoro in the Wichita (Taovayases) country, made a stand against them. See Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 646, 1886; Garrison, Texas, 1904.

San Sabas. A visitation town in 1745, situated 3 leagues from the parent mission of San Ignacio de Kadakaman, about lat.

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Lakes (Senijextee)

000 the Apaches surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary, Fray Alonzo Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted." Not to be confounded with the Senecu (see *Senecu del Sur*) below El Paso, in Chihuahua, which was settled about 1680 by fugitive Piro and Tigua from New Mexico, some of them being from the elder Senecu. See also *Piros*; *Pueblos*. (F. W. H.)

Cenecu.—Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 319, 1869. **Senecuy.**—New Mex. Doc. quoted by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 171, 1889 (identical?). **San Antonio de Senecu.**—Benavides, Memorial, 19, 1630. **Sant Antonio de Senecu.**—Blaeu, Atlas, XII, 61, 1667. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Map Am. Sept., 1700. **S. Antonio.**—D'Anville, Map N. A., Bolton's ed., 1752. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—Crepy, Map Amér. Sept., 1783 (?). **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—Brion de la Tour, Map l'Amér., 1779. **S. Antonio de Senacú.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Carte Mexique et Floride, 1703. **Seneca.**—Davis, El Gringo, 123, 1857. **Séne.**—Doc. of 17th cent. quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 251, 1892. **Senecu.**—Columbus Mem. Vol., 156, 1893 (misprint). **Senecú.**—Benavides, Memorial, 14, 1630. **St. Antonio.**—Shea, Cath. Miss., 80, 1855. **Sn Antony.**—Kitchin, Map N. A., 1787. **Zen-ecú.**—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 247, 1892 (Senecú, or). **Zenecu.**—Solis Miranda (1676) quoted by Bandelier, ibid., III, 131, 1890.

Senecu del Sur (Span.: 'Senecu of the South'). A pueblo on the S. E. bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles below El Paso, in Chihuahua, Mexico, inhabited by the last remnant of the Piro and Tigua who escaped from Senecu, N. Mex., during an Apache outbreak in 1675, or who were taken there from Isleta, Socorro, and Alamillo by Gov. Otermin on his retreat from Santa Fé during the Pueblo revolt of 1680. The mission of San Antonio was established there in 1682. The natives have practically lost their language and are almost completely "Mexicanized." (F. W. H.)

Cinecú.—Escudero, Not. Nuevo-Méx., 14, 1849. **Isenecu.**—Siguenza (1691-93) quoted by Buschmann, Neu-Mexico, 264, 1858. **Jenecu.**—Buschmann, ibid., 249. **San Antonio of Sinolu.**—Cruzate (1683) as quoted by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 337, 1869 ("supposed to be the same"). **San Antonio Senecu.**—Ward in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 213, 1868. **Senecu.**—Morse, Hist. Am., map, 1798. **Senecu.**—Calhoun (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 215, 1850. **Senecú.**—Rivera, Diario, leg. 684, 1736. **Sinecu.**—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., I, 149, 1854. **Sinicú.**—Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 259, Apr. 1882 (Sine-cú, or).

Senedo. According to Peyton (Hist. Augusta Co., 6, 1882), a tribe formerly on the N. fork of Shenandoah r., Va., and exterminated by the Southern Indians in 1732. The statement is of doubtful authenticity. (J. M.)

Senega. The "*Seneca* snakeroot" (*Polygala senega*), from which the Indians, and after them the whites, prepared a remedy for snake bites, etc.; from *Seneca*, the name of one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. The *siniga* of Cherokee is probably the same word. (A. F. C.)

Senestun (*Se-nĕs'-tûn*). A band or village of the Chastacosta on Rogue r., Oreg.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 234, 1890. 000

Senijextee. A Salish tribe formerly residing on both sides of Columbia r. from Kettle falls to the Canadian boundary; they also occupied the valley of Kettle r., Kootenay r. from its mouth to the first falls, and the region of the Arrow lakes, Brit. Col. In 1909 those in the United States numbered 342, on the Colville res., Wash. 101/161

Lake Indians.—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Savages of the Lake.**—De Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sen-i-jex-tee.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Sinatcheggs.**—Ross, Fur Hunters, II, 172, 190, 1855. **Sinuitskistux.**—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **S-na-a-chikst.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 1891, sec. II, 6, 1892.

Senikave. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on the mainland opposite Sledge id., Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893. 000

Senisos (Span., probably referring either to *ceniza*, 'ashes,' or to *cenizo*, the white goose-foot, a plant). A former tribe in N. E. Mexico, probably Coahuiltecan, which was drawn from Nuevo Leon and in 1698 gathered into mission San Antonio Galindo Moctezuma, N. of Monclova.

Cenizos.—Revillagigedo, Carta, MS., quoted by Bancroft, Nat. Races, I, 611, 1886.

Senktl (*Senxl*). A Bellacoola village near the mouth of Bellacoola r., Brit. Col., "about 1 m. above Nuxa'lk·l."

Snxqtl.—Boas in 7th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 3, 1891. **Senxl.**—Boas in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 49, 1900. **Suihtlimih.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Vocabs. Brit. Col., 122B, 1884 (perhaps refers to Snū'T'ele, another town; mih='people of').

Sennesuc. A Costanoan division or village in California.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 331, 1897.

Senebe. See *Sannup*.

Sentethltun (*Sĕn-tĕçl-tûn*). A former village of the Tututni on the s. side of Rogue r., Oreg. Schumacher (Bull. Geol. Surv., 31, 1877) placed it at the mouth of Rogue r., making its inhabitants a part of the Tçhemetunne.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folklore, III, 236, 1890.

Sepascoot. A former band called Munsee, but probably a part of the Wappinger, on the E. bank of Hudson r., at Rhinebeck, Westchester co., N. Y.—Schoolcraft in Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc., II, 103, 1844.

Sepawi. A pueblo formerly occupied by the Tewa in the valley of El Rito cr., on the heights above the Ojo Caliente of Joseph, and 5 m. from the Mexican settlement of El Rito, N. N. Mex. Bandelier (Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 61, 1890; IV, 51 et seq., 1892) regards its ruin as the largest in New Mexico.

Se-pá-ue.—Bandelier, op. cit., IV, 17, 1892. **Se-pá-ue.**—Ibid., 61. **Sepawi.**—Hewett in Bull. 32, B. A. E., 40, 1906.

Sepawn. See *Sapawn*.

Seping. The Painted Eagle clan of the Tewa pueblo of San Juan, N. Mex.

Sepi'-tdóa.—Hodge in Am. Anthr., IX, 350, 1896 (*tdóa*='people').

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Wenatchi (Pisquows)

000 regards them as probably identical with the Pisko band of the Yakima. (L. F.)

Pish quit pás.—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, III, 137, 1905. **Pishquitpah.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 252, 1814. **Pishquitpaws.**—Ibid., 23. **Pishquitpows.**—Ibid., II, 319, 1817. **Pisquitpahs.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 370, 1822. **Pisquitpaks.**—Domenech, Deserts N. A., I, 443, 1860.

Piskakauakis (*Apistikákis*, magpie, lit. 'small raven.'—Hewitt). A Cree band living in the vicinity of Tinder mtn., Northwest Ter., Canada, in 1856. They occupied 30 earth lodges and log cabins, and cultivated small patches of corn and potatoes; during the winter they hunted buffalo and traded the hides to the Hudson's Bay Co.—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 237, 1862.

Piskaret. See *Pieskaret.*

Piskitang. An unidentified Algonquian tribe or band formerly living near the Nipissing in Canada.

Piskatang.—Jes. Rel., Thwaites ed., XLV, 105, 1899. **Piskitang.**—Jes. Rel. 1658, 22, 1858.

Pisko ('river bend'). A Yakima band occupying a village on the s. side of Yakima r. between Toppenish and Setass crs., on the Yakima res., Wash.

Pispizawichasha ('prairie-dog people'). A band of the Brulé Teton Sioux.

Pispiza-wićasa.—Dorsey in 15th Rep. B. A. E., 218, 1897. **Pispiza-witcasa.**—Ibid.

Pispogutt. A village of Christian Indians, probably Nauset, in 1674 (Bourne, 1674, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., I, 198, 1806). It seems to have been in w. Barnstable co., Mass., near Buzzards bay, and may be identical with Pocasset.

Pisqueno. A Chumashan village on one of the Santa Barbara ids., Cal., probably Santa Rosa, in 1542.—Cabrillo, Narr. (1542), in Smith, Colec. Doc. Fla., 186, 1857.

101 **Pisquows** (probably from the Yakima *pisko*, 'bend in the river'). Originally a Salish tribe on Wenatchee or Pisquows r., a western tributary of the Columbia in the present Kittitas and Okanogan cos., Washington. Gibbs states that by 1853 they were so largely intermarried with the Yakima as to have almost lost their identity. Gibbs, Hale, and most subsequent authors have employed the term in a collective sense. The former made it include "the Indians on the Columbia between the Priest's and Ross' rapids on the Pisquouse or Winatshapam r., the Ente-at-kwu, Chelan lake, and the Methow or Barrier r." The Pisquows proper or the remnant of them are now on the Yakima res., Wash. Their bands were Camiltpaw, Siapkat, Shallattoo, Shanwappom, Skaddal, and Squannaroo. See Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896.

Pichons.—Wilkes, West Am., 104, 1849. **Piscahoose.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 174, 1850. **Piscaous.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 335, 1844. **Pischoule.**—Stevens (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 55, 1857. **Pischous.**—Irving, Astoria, map, 1849. **Piscous.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 210, 1846. **Piskwas.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, 20, 1848. **Piskwaus.**—Latham in Trans. Philol. Soc. Lond., 71, 1856. **Pisquose.**—Hale, op. cit., 225. **Pisquouse.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951, 1863. **Pisscows.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1847. 101

Pissacoac. The chief village of the Pissasec in 1608, situated on the N. bank of Rappahannock r. above the present Leedstown, in Westmoreland co., Va. 000

Pissacack.—Simons in Smith (1629), Va., I, 185, repr. 1819. **Pissassack.**—Smith, ibid., map.

Pissasec. A tribe or band of the Powhatan confederacy living on the N. bank of Rappahannock r. in King George and Westmoreland cos., Va. They formed part of the Matchotic tribe. Their principal village was Pissacoac.

Pissaseck.—Smith (1629), Va., I, map, repr. 1819. **Pissasseck.**—Simons, ibid., 185. **Pissassees.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 128, 1816 (misprint).

Pissuh (cognate with Chippewa *pījī^n*, 'lynx.'—W. J.). A gens of the Abnaki.

Pesō.—J. D. Prince, inf'n, 1905 (modern St Francis Abnaki form). **Pījī^n.**—Wm. Jones, inf'n, 1906 (Chippewa form). **Pis-suh'.**—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 174, 1877.

Pistchin. A Clallam village on Pysht r., Wash., which flows into Juan de Fuca strait. Starling erroneously states that the "Macaws and Pist-chins speak the same language."

Pisht.—Eels in Smithson. Rep. 1887, 605, 1889. **Pishtst.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 450, 1854. **Pishtst.**—U. S. Ind. Treat., 800, 1873. **Pist-chin.**—Starling in Ind. Aff. Rep., 170, 1852. **Pist-chins.**—Ibid., 172.

Pitac. A former rancheria of the Pima on the Gila r., s. Ariz., visited by Father Garcés in 1770 (Arricivita, 1791, quoted by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. M., 387, 1889). Cf. *Petaïkuk*.

Pitahauerat ('down stream,' or 'east.'—Grinnell). One of the tribes of the Pawnee confederacy. The French spoke of them as Tapage Pawnee, and in a treaty with the U. S. in 1819 the tribe is designated as Noisy Pawnees. The Pitahauerat always placed their villages toward the E., or downstream, from the Chaui, and are spoken of as the lower villages. At one time the tribe lived on Smoky Hill r., w. Kans., and later rejoined their kindred on Loup r., Nebr., where their reservation was established in 1857. In 1876 they were removed to Oklahoma, where they now live. Their lands have been allotted in severalty, and they are citizens of the U. S. In their village organization, customs, and beliefs, they did not differ from the other Pawnee. According to Grinnell the tribe is divided into the Pitahauerat proper and the Kawarakish. (A. C. F.)

Noisy Pawnees.—Treaty of 1819 in U. S. Stat., VII, 172, 1846. **Pawnee Tappage.**—Treaty of 1849 in U. S. Ind. Treat., 647, 1873. **Pawnee Tappahs.**—Treaty of 1858, ibid., 650. **Pawnee Tappaye.**—Treaty of 1834, ibid., 648. **Pe-tä-hä'-ne-rat.**—Morgan in Smithson. Cont., XVII, 196, 1871. **Pethahanerat.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 530, 1878. **Pethowerats.**—Ibid. **Pe-tou-we-ra.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., II, lxxxv, 1823. **Pit-a-hau'-ĕ-rat.**—Dunbar in Mag. Am. Hist., IV, 251, 1880. **Pitahäwiratá.**—Sanssouci quoted by Dorsey in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., VI, 381, 1892 (prob. Omaha notation of Pawnee name). **Pitavirate Noisy Pawnee.**—Treaty of 1819 in U. S. Ind. Treaties, 645, 1873. **Tapage.**—Parker, Jour-

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Colville

000 elements as conceived in Indian philosophy, viz, fire, wind, water, and earth, are among Siouan tribes symbolized by the colors of the cardinal points; and Cushing relates the same of the Zuñi. Mooney says that among the Cherokee red signifies success, triumph; blue, defeat, trouble; black, death; white, peace, happiness. In another connection he says: "Red is a sacred color with all Indians and is usually symbolic of strength and success, and for this reason is a favorite color in painting the face and body for the dance or warpath and for painting the war pony, the lance, etc." Likewise black was a sign of mourning and white of peace, while red was usually a sign of war.

There is a symbolism of sex among the Navaho that is based on that of the cardinal points. Where two things somewhat resemble each other but one is larger, more violent, noisy, or robust than the other, it is spoken of as the male, while the smaller, finer, or gentler is spoken of as female. Thus the supposedly turbulent San Juan r. is called "male water" and the placid Rio Grande "female water"; an electric storm is called "male rain," a gentle shower "female rain." So the land N. of the Navaho country, with giant snow peaks and violent winds, is regarded as the "male land," while the country to the S., devoid of very high mountains and sending forth warm, gentle breezes, is considered the "female land." For this reason, among the Navaho, black, the color of the N., belongs to the male in all things, and blue, the color of the S. to the female. Among the Arapaho white and yellow are the ceremonial colors for male and female respectively (Kroeber), while the Hopi associate red and yellow with the male, and white and blue or green with the female (Fewkes).

Many Indian personal names contain words denoting colors, often in relations which seem incongruous to us. It is probable that they generally have mystic meanings.

Implements used in games usually have different significant colors. Where there are two opposing sides the colors are often red and black, as they are in many of our games. Thus in the game of *nanzoz*, or hoop-and-pole, among the Navaho, one of the two long sticks is marked black at the base and the other red. In their game of *kesitse* the chip tossed up to determine which party shall first hide the stone in the moccasin is blackened on one side and left unpainted on the other. They say that this symbolizes night and day, and the game itself is based on a myth of the contest of night with day. Day is commonly symbolized by red and night by black among the Indians. The Hopi paint their prayer-sticks in prescribed colors; those for rain are green, for war red. Every *kachina* has a prayer-stick painted yellow, green, red, white, and black, indicative of the cardinal points (see the table). Hopi gods are also assigned special colors—the Sun god red, the Underworld god black, and the Fire god all colors (Fewkes). Many tribes do not distinguish by name between green and light blue, black and dark blue, or white and unpainted. (W. M.) 000

Colotlan. Classed by Orozco y Berra as a branch of the Cora division of the Piman stock inhabiting a N. tributary of the Rio Grande de Santiago (Rio Colotlan), between long. 104° and 105° and about lat. 22°, Jalisco, Mexico. The language was almost extinct by 1864. Among their towns were Comatlan and Apozolco, at which missions were established by the Spaniards. (F. W. H.)

Colotlan.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. **Colotlan.**—Ibid., 59, 280, 282.

Columbians. Applied by Bancroft (Nat. Races, I, 150, 1882) to the Indians of N. W. America dwelling between lat. 42° and 55°, and stated by him to be synonymous with the Nootka-Columbians of Scouler and others. The term Columbians, however, is evidently broader in its scope; as it includes all the tribes W. of the Rockies from the Skittagetan group, in the N., to the S. boundary of Oregon, while Scouler's term comprises a group of languages extending from the mouth of Salmon r. to the S. of Columbia r., now known to belong to several linguistic stocks.

101 **Colville.** A division of Salish between Kettle falls and Spokane r., E. Wash.; said by Gibbs to have been one of the largest of the Salish tribes. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 2,500, in 130 houses, in 1806. There were 321 under the Colville agency in 1904.

Basket People.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 444, 1845. **Cauldrons.**—Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Chaudiere.**—Cox, Columbia R., I, 189, 1831. **Chualpays.**—Kane, Wand. in N. Am., 309, 1859. **Collvilla.**—Dart (1851) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 632, 1853. **Colville.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Covilles.**—Stevens (1855) in H. R. Doc. 48, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 8, 1856. **Gens des Chaudières.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 335, 1844. **Hualpaia.**—Petitot, Autour du Lac des Esclaves, 362, 1891. **Kettle Falls.**—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Kettle Indians.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 155, 1831. **Kcepilä'nik.**—Chamberlain, 8th Rep. on N. W. Tribes of Can., 8, 1892 ('people of the falls': Kutenai name). **Les Chaudières.**—Cox, op. cit., I, 358. **Quarlpi.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 532, 1878. **Quiarlpi.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 444, 1845. **Salaxuyilp.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). **Schroo-yel-pi.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 428, 1854. **Schwo-yel-pi.**—Ibid., 445. **Schwoyelpi.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 413, 1855. **Shuyelpees.**—Smet (1859) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 65, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 141, 1860. **Shuyelphi.**—Smet, Oregon Miss., 108, 1874. **Shuyelpi.**—Smet, Letters, 213, 1843. **Shwoi-el-pi.**—Stevens, Rep. on Pac. R. R., 94, 1854. **Sin-who-yelp-pe-took.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Siyélpa.**—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **Skuiel-pai.**—Mayne, Brit. Col., 296, 1861. **Skuyélpi.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (so called by other

l: Hodge E-5 (no date) 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Colville

101 Salish tribes). Squyalpi.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 210, 1846. Squaw-a-tash.—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. Squeer-yer-pe.—Ibid. Swielpee.—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. Swielpee.—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. Swi-el-pree.—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. Whe-el-po.—Lewis and Clark, Exped., I, map, 1814. Whe-el-poo.—McVickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, 1842.

000 **Comac.** A former Pima rancheria, visited by Kino and Mange in 1699; situated on the Rio Gila, 3 leagues (miles?) below the mouth of Salt r., s. Ariz.

S. Bartolomé Comac.—Mange in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 266, 1856.

Comachica. A Calusa village on the s. w. coast of Florida, about 1570.—Fontaneda Memoir (ca. 1575), Smith transl., 19, 1854.

Comanche. One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the n. boundary of the Comanche.

ASA HAVI (THE MILKY WAY)—PENATEKA COMANCHE

000 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as Padouca fork. At that time they roamed over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range. Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

COMANCHE WOMAN

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Columbia (Sinkiuse)

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members of which were there at the same time. Cf. *Seneca*. (H. E. B.)

Cenase.—Valero Bautismos, 1739, MS. Genssa.—Ibid. Seniczo.—Ibid., 1728. Senixzo.—Ibid., 1729.

Sinimiut. A Central Eskimo tribe on Pelly bay, Canada. They live on musk-ox and salmon like the tribes of Hudson bay, and have also an abundance of seals. They numbered 45 in 1902.

Pelly Bay Eskimo.—Ausland, 658, 1885. Sinamiut.—Boas in Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xv, pt. 2, 377, 1907. Sinimijut.—Boas in Zeitschr. Ges. f. Erdk., 226, 1883. Sinimiut.—Boas in 6th Rep. B. A. E., 451, 1888.

Siningmon. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on Golofnin bay, Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893.

Sinkers. Primitive fishermen everywhere weight their lines and nets with stones. These are usually pebbles or other suitable bits of stone, grooved or notched for attachment by means of cords. Those now in use by the Indian tribes, as well as by the whites, correspond with specimens found in large numbers along the banks of streams and the shores of lakes and other large bodies of water. Larger specimens of the same general shape become anchors (q. v.) on occasion, and the better finished forms pass by imperceptible gradations into the very large group of objects classed as plummets (q. v.), and, in another direction, into the stone club-heads of the Plains tribes (see *Weapons*). Adair states that the Southern Indians, having placed a trap in the bed of the stream, drove the fish toward it by means of a rope made of long grape vines to which were attached stones at proper distances, men placed on opposite sides of the stream dragging the weighted rope along the bottom. The extent to which nets (q. v.) were used by the Indians of the Middle Atlantic states is not known; but the impressions of nets of varying degrees of fineness on pottery show at least that nets were in common use.

SINKER; N. Y. (1-2)

SINKER OF GRANITE; R. I.

SINKER OF STEATITE; N. C. (1-2)

Consult Abbott, Prim. Indust., 1881; Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., 1775; Beauchamp in Bull. N. Y. State Mus., iv, no. 16, 1897; Jones, Antiq. Southern Inds., 1873; Rau, Prehist. Fishing, Smithson. Cont., xxv, 1884. (W. H. H.)

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[redacted]. A former division of Salish, under Chief Moses, living on the E. side of Columbia r. from Ft Okinakane to the neighborhood of Pt Eaton, Wash. Hale classed them as a division of the Pisquows. Pop. 355 in 1905, 299 in 1906, 540 (with others?) in 1909. 101

Columbias.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. Isle-de-Peirs.—Nesmith in Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1858. Isle-de-peiree.—Owen, ibid., 268. Isle-de-Pierre.—Shaw in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 113, 1857. Linkinse.—Bancroft, Nat. Races, I, 316, 1874 (misprint). Moses band.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1904, 610, 1905. Sinkakaius'ish.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., vi, 211, 1846. Sinkáyus.—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name). Sin-ki-use.—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. Sax'áyus.—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name).

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Sinklezin (Navaho name). An ancient pueblo ruin situated on the highest point of a peninsula-like mesa jutting into Chaco canyon from the s., about ¾ m. s. of Pueblo Bonito, N. W. N. Mex. It is built of dull-brown sandstone, rectangular in form but very irregular, a semicircular tier of rooms on the s. inclosing a large court. The dimensions of the structure are 135 ft E. and W. by 183 ft N. and S. The E. wing is 50 by 75 ft, the W. 30 by 58 ft. A wing 30 ft wide extends 40 ft to the S. The semicircular tier of rooms was 256 ft long, 9 ft wide, and 2 stories high; 72 ft of this tier is still (1902) standing about 12 ft high. The walls throughout vary from 20 to 30 in. thick. The rooms are long and narrow, 5½ by 21½ ft being a common size. There are 5 circular kivas in the building, varying from 6 to 25 ft in diameter. The masonry is of alternating bands of fine and coarse stone and dressed blocks chinked with fine tablets, the arrangement being very irregular. Portions of the third story remain standing. The original height was probably 4 stories. (E. L. H.)

Sinkyone. An Athapascan group formerly living on the lower part of the South fork of Eel r., Humboldt co., Cal., having settlements on Bull and Salmon crs. They also held the country down to the coast at Shelter cove and s. to Usal. This section has been popularly known as the Usal (a Pomo term), that on Bull cr. and South fork as the Lolanko (from the name of a locality). They lived for a time on Smith River res., afterward being transferred to Hoopa res. on Trinity r., from which place a few survivors returned in the early seventies and are now living near their old homes. They lived in conical houses of bark, dressed much as the tribes about them, and made baskets by twining. They burned their dead. They differed but little from the Wailaki in language. (P. E. G.)

Bay-ma-pomas.—Tobin in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 405, 1858.

Sinnonquiresse ('Very long wampum string.'—Hewitt). A Mohawk chief, the speaker at Albany in 1691, 1696, 1700, and 1701, signing the Beaver land treaty in the latter year. He was examined about Dellius in 1699, and was at Albany

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish

Coeur d'Alene

(Skitswish)

000 Car., 338, reprint 1860), Kroeber's account of the Arapaho process (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVIII, pt. 1, 1902), and Wissler's for the Siksika (Ontario Archæol. Rep. for 1906). Good descriptions of Eskimo methods are given by Boas, Murdoch, and Nelson in the 6th, 9th, and 18th Reps. respectively of the B. A. E.; of the Nascapee process by Turner in 11th Rep. B. A. E.; of the British Columbia method by Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, pt. 4, 1900; and of that used by the Chukchi of N. E. Siberia by Bogoras in vol. VII, pt. 1, of the same series. Consult also Bushnell in Bull. 48, B. A. E., 1909; Mason in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1889, 552, 1891; N. Dak. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 455, 1906; Shufeldt in Proc. Nat. Mus. 1888, XI, 1889; Spinden in Mem. Am. Anthr. Asso., II, pt. 3, 1908. (J. M.)

Skingenes (*Sk·iñge'nes*). A Songish band living on Discovery id., s. end of Vancouver id. Pop. 26 in 1909.

Discovery Island (Indians).—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. 2, 66, 1902. **Sk·iñge'nes.**—Boas in 6th Rep N. W. Tribes Can., 17, 1890.

Skinpah (Tenino: *skin*, 'cradle'; *pă*, locative: 'cradle place'). A small Shahaptian tribe speaking the Tenino dialect and formerly living on the N. bank of Columbia r. opposite the mouth of the Des Chutes, in Klickitat co., Wash. They were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855 and placed on the reservation of that name. Their number is unknown.

Sew-paw.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 186, 1855. **Skeen.**—Kane, Wand. in N. A., 263, 1859. **Skien.**—Robie in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 352, 1858. **Skin.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 410, 1855. **Skĭ'npä.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 740, 1896. **Skin-pah.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951, 1863. **Tskin.**—Lee and Frost, Oregon, 176, 1844 (misprint).

Skistlainai-hadai (*Sk!ī'sLa-i na-i xadā'-i*, 'people of the house where they always have plenty of food'). A subdivision of the Yaku-lanas, a Haida family of the Raven clan; probably named from a house.—Swanton, Cont. Haida, 271, 1905.

101 **Skitswish.** A Salish tribe on a river and lake of the same name in N. Idaho. The name Cœur d'Alène (French 'Awl-heart'), by which they are popularly known, was originally a nickname used by some chief of the tribe to express the size of a trader's heart. The Skitswish bear a

181 high reputation for industry, self-respect,

101 and good behavior. In 1909 533 were enumerated as belonging to the Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho.

Cœur, and Alenes.—Scouler (1846) in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., I, 238, 1848. **Cœur d'Alêne.**—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Cœur d'Eleine.**—Stevens in H. R. Doc. 48, 33d Cong., 1st sess., 77, 1854. **Cœur d'Eliene.**—Ibid. **Cœur d'Eline.**—Ibid. **Cœur d'Helene.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Cœurs d'Aleines.**—Mayne, Brit. Col., 296, 1862. **Cœurs d'alienes.**—De Smet, Letters, 170, 1843. **Cœurs d'Helene.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Cœurs-pointus.**—Domenech, Deserts, I, 441, 1860. **Coeurd Helene.**—Lane in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 521, 1853. **Cœur d'Aliene.**—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. **Cœur d'Aleine.**—Nicolet, Oregon, 143, 1846. **Cœur d'Alenes.**—Cain in Ind. Aff. Rep., 210, 1860. **Cœur d'Aline.**—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 9, 1848. **Cœur De Lion.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Les Cœurs d'Aliênes.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 150, 1831. **Needle Hearts.**—Domenech, Deserts, II, 262, 1860. **Painted Heart Indians.**—Saxton in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 257, 1855 (misprint). **Pointed Hearted Indians.**—Wright in Sen. Ex. Doc. 32, 35th Cong., 2d sess., 87, 1859. **Pointed-hearts.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 131, 1831. **Printed Hearts.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850 (misprint). **Q'ma'shpal.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 ('camas people': Yakima name). **S'chitsui.**—Giorda, Kalispel Dict., I, 494, 1877–79. **Sh-chee-tsoo-ee.**—A. T. Richardson, inf'n, 1907 (name as pronounced by a Skitswish). **Skee-cha-way.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. **Skeelsomish.**—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. **Skeetsomish.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Skeetsonish.**—Cass (1834) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 609, 1853. **Sketsomish.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. **Sketsui.**—Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 449, 1845. **Skit-mish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 460, 1854. **Skitsaih.**—Gallatin quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. **Skitsaish.**—H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 7, 1848. **Skitsämüq.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Paloos name). **Skitsuí.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). **Skitsuish.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 1846. **Skitswish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. **Stchitsuí.**—Gatschet, op. cit. ("Flathead" name). **Stiel Shoi.**—De Smet, Letters, 216, 1843. **Stietshoi.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896. 101

000 **Skittagetan Family.** The name applied to a linguistic family composed of the Indians usually known as Haida (q. v.). It was taken from *Sqē'dagits*, a name of one of the Haida town chiefs, which seems to mean 'son of the chiton' [mollusk]. This was first erroneously applied to the town of Hlgagilda, of which he was head chief, and later, under the form Skittagets (see *Skidegate*), was applied by Gallatin to the people speaking this language, whence it was adopted by Powell.

=**Haida.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Comp. Vocabs., 15B, 1884. =**Haidah.**—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc., XI, 224, 1841. >**Hai-dai.**—Work quoted by Kane, Wand. in N. A., app., 1859. =**Hidery.**—Deans, Tales from Hidery, passim, 1899. <**Hydahs.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., app., 460, 1878. >**Kygáni.**—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., 269, 1869. ×**Nootka.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 564, 1882. ×**Northern.**—Scouler, op. cit. >**Queen Charlotte's Island.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, 15, 306, 1836. >**Skidegattz.**—Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. >**Skittagets.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 1848. =**Skittagetan.**—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 118, 1891.

Skittok. A Knaiakhotana village on Kaknu r., Alaska, forming part of the Kenai settlement.

Chkitok.—11th Census, Alaska, 70, 1893. **Skittok.**—Post route map, 1903.

Sklau (*S'k·lau'*, 'beaver'). A Squawmish village community on the left bank of Squawmisht r., Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Brit. A. A. S., 474, 1900.

Skoachais (*Sk·ōātcai's*, 'deep hole in water'). A Squawmish village community on Burrard inlet, Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. B. A. A. S., 475, 1900.

Skogari. The Tutelo village in 1748; situated on the N. branch of the Susquehanna, in the present Columbia co., Pa. At the date named it was "the only town

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Spokane

000 the Spirit Lake captive of 1857, was rescued by Grayfoot and Sounding Heavens, sons of Spirit Walker. (D. R.)

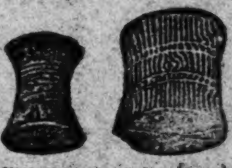
Spitotha. One of the 5 original divisions or bands of the Shawnee (W. H. Shawnee in Gulf States Hist. Mag., I, 415, 1903). Evidently distinct from Kispokotha, but probably the same as Mequachake, q. v.

101 **Spokan.** A name applied to several small bodies of Salish on and near Spokane r., N. E. Wash. According to Gibbs the name was originally employed by the Skitswish to designate a band at the forks of the river, called also Smahoomenaish. By the whites it was extended to cover several nearly allied divisions, which Gibbs enumerates as follows: Sin-slik-hoo-ish, Sintootoolish, Sma-hoo-men-a-ish (Spokenish), Skai-schil-t'nish, Ske-chei-a-mouse, Schu-el-stish, Sin-poil-schne, Sin-shee-lish. The last two were claimed by the Okinagan also. All of them are now held to be separate divisions and not bands of one tribe. The [161] population was estimated by Lewis and Clark in 1805 at 600 in 30 houses, and by Gibbs in 1853 at 450. In 1908 there were 301 "Lower Spokan" and 238 "Upper Spokan" under Colville agency, Wash., and 95 Spokan on Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho; total, 634. In 1909 the entire number of Spokan in Washington was 509, while those in Idaho numbered 104.

Flat Heads.—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851 (so called because their heads were left in the natural state. (See *Flatheads.*) **Lar-ti-e-lo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. **Lartielo.**—Ibid., II, 475, 1814. **Lar-ti-e-to's Nation.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ne-com-ap-oe-lox.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Sklist sχistilt-lini.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for the Lower Spokan at Little Spokane Falls; ='people with bad heads'). **Sar-lis-lo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855 (the Lar-ti-e-lo of Lewis and Clark). **Sin-ee-guo-men-ah.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 28, 1870 (applied here to the Upper Spokan). **Sin-ha-ma-mish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 416, 1855. **Sin-hu.**—Morgan, Consang. and Affin., 290, 1871 ('people wearing red paint on their cheeks': own name). **Sinhumanish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 632, 1853. **Sinkoman.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (Kutenai name). **Sinkumana.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pend d'Oreille [Kalispel] name). **Ska-moy-num-acks.**—Ross, Adventures, 289, 1849 (Kutenai name). **Sma-hoo-men-a-ish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (=Spokan proper). **Snχó-mina.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for Upper Spokan). **Spogans.**—Meek in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 10, 1848. **Spokains.**—McVickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842 (probably used for Spokan proper). **Spokan.**—Parker, Journal, 292, 1840. **Spokane.**—Ibid., 292. **Spo-kehmish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **Spokehmish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **Spokein.**—Parker, op. cit., 285. **Spokens.**—Robertson, Oregon, 129, 1846. **Spo-kih-nish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 428, 1854. **Spokineish.**—Winans, ibid., 22, 1870. **Spokines.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Spokomish.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896. **Spukă'n.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Klamath and Modoc name). **Tsakaitsetlins.**—Domenech, Deserts, I, 444, 1860. **Tsakaitsitlin.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 206, 569, 1846. **Upper Spokanes.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 28, 1870 (applies to Spokan proper). **Zingomenes.**—De Smet, Oregon Miss., 108, 1847.

Spookow. A Chumashan village formerly on the beach N. of San Buenaventura mission, Ventura co., Cal.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, May 4, 1860. 000

Spools. Small prehistoric objects somewhat resembling spools, the purpose of which is unknown. They are nearly cylindrical, with incurved sides, perforated lengthwise at the center, and are made in most cases of sandstone, a few specimens being of baked clay. Their length varies from 1 to 2½ in. and their diameter rarely exceeds 2 in. The surface is always covered with incised lines arranged in what is apparently intended for a definite order or design, but no two are alike. They are not numerous, and, with the exception of a few from Ross co., Ohio, all are from counties bordering the Ohio r. between the Big Sandy and the Miami. Consult Fowke, Archæol. Hist. Ohio, 1902; Moorehead, Prehist. Impls., 1900; Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments, 1848; Thruston, Antiq. of Tenn., 1897. (G. F.)


SPOOL-SHAPED STONES; OHIO (FOWKE)

Spoon de Kaury. See *Dekaury*, *Choukeka*.

Spoons and Ladles. Utensils for carrying liquid food or water to the mouth or from one vessel to another were found among all tribes of the United States. They were made of a wide variety of materials, as stone, shell, bone, horn, antler, ivory, wood, gourd, bark, basketry, and pottery were employed. In size they exceeded European utensils of this class. Beverley (Hist. Va., 154, 1722) thus refers to them: "The spoons which they eat with, do generally hold half a pint; and they laugh at the English for using small ones, which they must be forced to carry so often to their mouths, that their arms are in danger of being tired, before their Belly."

The animals supplying the most materials for spoons, dippers, and ladles were the mountain sheep and mountain goat. All the tribes living in the habitat of these animals utilized their horns for this purpose, and the manufactured products were distributed widely in trade among neighboring tribes. Specimens have been gathered among the Pueblos, Havasupai, Ute, Cheyenne, and Sioux, the Salishan and northern Algonquian tribes, and the N. W. Coast and Athapascan tribes. Among the southern Rocky Mountain Indians these utensils were rude, but the northern tribes made them works of art, softening the horn and bending and shaping it over forms by means of heat.

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Kalispel

000 more numerous, but the following are the chief ones of which there is definite information: Ahantchuyuk or Pudding River, Atfalati or Tualati, Calapooya, Chelamela, Chepenafa, Lakmiut, Santiam, Yamel, and Yonkalla.

The following are presumed to be Kalapooian tribes or bands, but have not been fully identified: Chemapho, Chemeketas, Chillychandize, Laptambif, Leeshtelosh, Peeyon, Shehees, Shookany, and Winnefelly. See *Calapooya*. (L. F.)

>**Calapooya.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 629, 1882. ×**Chinooks.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., Cent. and So. Am., app., 474, 1878 (includes Calapooyas and Yamkally). =**Kalapooiah.**—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 225, 1841 (includes Kalapooiah and Yamkallie; thinks the Umpqua and Cathlascon languages are related); Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 599, 617, 1859 (follows Scouler). =**Kalapooian.**—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 81, 1891. =**Kalapuya.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 217, 564, 1846 (of Willamet valley above falls); Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 17, 77, 1848; Berghaus (1851), Physik. Atlas, map 17, 1852; Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853; Latham in Trans. Philol. Soc. Lond., 73, 1856; Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 617, 1859; Latham, Opuscula, 340, 1860; Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 167, 1877; Gatschet in Beach, Ind. Miscel., 442, 1877. >**Yamkally.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 630, 1882 (bears a certain relationship to Calapooya).

Kalashiauu (*Ka-la'-ci-au-u*). The Raccoon clan of the Chua (Snake) phratry of the Hopi.—Stephen in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 38, 1891.

Kalawashuk (*Ka-la-wa'-cuk*). One of the Chumashan villages connected with the former Santa Inez mission, Santa Barbara co., Cal.—Henshaw, Santa Inez MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884.

Kalawatset. A geographical group of tribes of different families in w. Oregon, embracing particularly the Coos, Kuitsh, and Siuslaw.

Kala-Walset.—Mannypenny in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 9, 1857. **Kalawatset.**—Milhau, MS. vocab. Coast Inds., B. A. E. **Kalawatshet.**—Gibbs, MS., B. A. E. **Killiwatsal.**—Framboise, quoted by Gairdner (1835) in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841. **Killiwatshat.**—Hale, Ethnol. and Philol., 221, 1846. **Killewatt.**—Drake, Bk. Inds., viii, 1848. **Killewatsis.**—Armstrong, Oreg., 116, 1857. **Killiwashat.**—Latham (1853) in Proc. Philol. Soc. Lond., VI, 82, 1854. **Killiwatshat.**—Hamilton quoted by Gibbs, MS., B. A. E. **K'qlo-qwec'çunnĕ.**—Dorsey, MS. Chasta Costa vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Chastacosta name). **Kal-la-wat-sets.**—Drew in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 127, 1856.

Kalbauvane. A former Delaware (?) village on the headwaters of the w. branch of Susquehanna r., Pa.—Pouchot map (1758) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., x, 694, 1858.

Kalbusht ('where the water rolls'). A former Alsea village on the s. side of Alsea r., Oreg.

Ḳal'-bûct'.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 230, 1890.

Kalekhta. A former Aleut village on Unalaska, Aleutian ids., Alaska, containing 14 persons about 1825.

Kahlukhtughamiut.—Elliott, Cond. Aff. Alaska, 225, 1875. **Kalaktak.**—Coxe, Russian Discov., 167, 1787. **Kalekhtinskoje.**—Holmberg, Ethnog. Skizz., map, 1855. **Kalekhtinskoe.**—Veniaminoff, Zapiski, II, 202, 1840.

000 **Kalelk** (*Ka'-lelk*). A former Modoc settlement on the N. shore of Tule, or Rhett lake, s. w. Oregon.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. 1, xxxii, 1890. 000

Kali ('fishermen'). A Knaiakhotana clan living on Cook inlet, Alaska.—Richardson, Arct. Exped., I, 407, 1851.

Kaliguak. A Nushagagmiut village on a tributary of Nushagak r., Alaska; pop. 91 in 1880.—Petroff, Rep. on Alaska, 47, 1880.

Kalikre. A Yuit Eskimo village on the Siberian coast E. of Iskagan bay.—Krause in Deutsche Geog. Blätt., v, 80, map, 1882.

Kalindaruk (*kalin* 'ocean', *ta* 'at', *ruk* 'houses.'—Kroeber). A village near the mouth of Salinas r., Cal. The name has been used, whether or not with justification, to designate the group of Indians inhabiting the villages on lower Pajaro r., and between it and the Salinas, near the coast. Indians from this area were taken both to San Carlos and to San Juan Bautista missions. Among the villages attributed to this region are Alcoz, Animpayamo, Kapanai, Kulul, Lukaiasta, Mustak, Nutnur, Paisin, Poitokwis, Tiubta, and Ymunakam.

Calendaruc.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 398, 1897. **Kalindaruk.**—A. L. Kroeber, inf'n, 1906 (proper form). **Kathlendaruc.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Nov. 23, 1860. **Katlendarukas.**—Ibid., Apr. 20, 1860.

Kalispel (popularly known as Pend d'Oreilles, 'ear drops'). A Salish tribe around the lake and along the river of the same name in the extreme N. part of Idaho and N. E. Washington. Gibbs divided them into the Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake and the Slka-tkml-schi or Pend d'Oreilles of the Upper Lake, and according to Dr Dart the former numbered 520 in 1851, the latter 480 (Pac. R. R. Rep. I, 415, 1855). McVickar (Hist. Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842) made three divisions: Upper Pend d'Oreilles, Lower Pend d'Oreilles, and Micksucksealton. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 1,600 in 30 lodges in 1805. In 1905 there were 640 Upper Pend d'Oreilles and 197 Kalispel under the Flathead agency, Mont., and 98 Kalispel under the Colville agency, Wash. 101 101 161

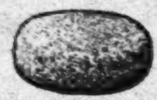
The subdivisions, being seldom referred to, are disregarded in the synonymy.

Ack-min-de-cou-may.—Anon. Crow MS. vocab., B. A. E. (Crow name). **Ak-min'-e-shu'-me.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol., 402, 1862 ('the tribe that uses canoes': Crow name). **Calispelins.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 688, 1857. **Calespelin.**—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Calespell.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Calespin.**—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, op. cit., 170. **Callispels.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 504, 1878. **Calespelin.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 701, 1857. **Calespells.**—H. R. Ex. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Coospellar.**—Drake, Bk. Inds., viii, 1848. **Coospellar.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Coos-pel-lar's Nation.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ear Rings.**—De Smet, Letters, 62, 1843. **Flathead Kootanie.**—Tolmie and Dawson, 101

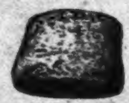
1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Methow

000

discoidal and cylindrical pestle. Many of these hand-stones serve equally well for rubbing, rolling, and pounding. See *Mortars*, *Mullers*, *Notched plates*, *Pestles*.



DISCOIDAL MULLER; CALIFORNIA (1-4)



PESTLE-MULLER; ILLINOIS (1-4)

Consult Cushing in Millstone, IX, X, 1884–1885; Fewkes (1) in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 1898, (2) 22d Rep. B. A. E., 1903; Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 1891; James Stevenson in 2d Rep. B. A. E., 1883; M. C. Stevenson in 23d Rep. B. A. E., 1904. (W. H. H.)

Metate ruin. A prehistoric pueblo ruin in the Petrified Forest, across the wash from the "petrified bridge," near the Navaho-Apache co. boundary, Arizona; locally so called on account of the numerous stone milling troughs, or metates, set on edge in circular or linear form and scattered over the surface. The builders of the pueblo are unknown. The pottery, gray-brown and black in color, is coarse in texture and decorated with rude incision and by indented coiling.—Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 318, 1903.

Metatec. A former Opata pueblo at the E. base of the Sierra de Teras, about 12 m. W. of Baseraca, E. Sonora, Mexico. Possibly identical with Teras, Guepacomatzi, or Toapara, which pueblos are mentioned in early documents as being in that vicinity.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 524 et seq., 1892.

Metea (prob. for *Metawä*, 'he sulks.'—W. J.). A Potawatomi chief, distinguished in his tribe as a warrior and an orator. When the Potawatomi were subsidized by the British at the beginning of the War of 1812 he was one of the leaders of the party that massacred the families of the garrison and citizens of Chicago as they were retreating to Detroit. He led the band that harassed the troops who marched in the fall of 1812 to the relief of Ft Wayne and was shot in the arm by Gen. W. H. Harrison. At a council held at Chicago in 1821 he impressed the whites by his eloquence and reasoning powers, and also when the treaty of the Wabash was concluded in 1826. He advocated the education of Indian youth and sent several from his tribe to the Choctaw academy in Kentucky. He died in a drunken debauch at Ft Wayne, in 1827, after having conducted difficult negotiations with dignity and skill in a conference with commissioners of the Government.—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, 59–64, 1858. See *Mukwawusepeotan*.

Metsahka. A Mandan band. 000

High Village.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 158, 1877. **Me-te-ah'-ke.**—Ibid.

Metewemesick ('place of black earth'). A former Nipmuc (?) settlement on Quinebaug r., near Sturbridge, Mass.—Roger Williams (1643) quoted by Tooker, Algonquian Series, VIII, 33, 1901.

Methow (*Met'-how*). A Salishan tribe of E. Washington, formerly living about Methow r. and Chelan lake, now chiefly gathered on the Colville res. Their number is not officially reported. 101
161

Battle-le-mule-emauch.—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1847. **Lahtohs.**—Van Valkenburgh in Ind. Aff. Rep., 235, 1865 (perhaps a misprint for Methows). **Meat-who.**—Ross, op. cit. **Methau.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. **Met-cow-we.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, IV, 321, 1905. **Metcowwee.**—Lewis and Clark, Exped., II, 252, 1814. **Meteowwee.**—Ibid., II, 316, 1817. **Methau.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 253, 1877. **Methews.**—H. R. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Methoms.**—Shanks, et al. (1873), Ibid., 4. **Methow.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 302, 1877. **Mitaui.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. lxxxviii, 1896. **Mithouies.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. 101

Methy. The burbot (*Lota maculosa*), the *loche* of the Canadian French, a fish common in the waters of N. W. Canada. The word is taken from the name of this fish in the Wood Cree dialect of Algonquian, the Cree proper term being *mihyey*, according to Lacombe. L. Methy in Athabasca is named from this fish; also a lake in Labrador. (A. F. C.) 000

Meti. A former rancheria of gentile (probably Diegueño) Indians near San Diego, s. Cal.—Ortega (1775) quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., I, 253, 1884.

Métis ('mixed,' from French *métis*, a derivative of Latin *miscere*, 'to mix'), or *metif*. A term used by the French-speaking population of the N. W. to designate persons of mixed white and Indian blood. Among the Spanish-speaking population of the S. W. the word *mestizo*, of the same derivation, is used, but is applied more especially to those of half-white and half-Indian blood. The term *mustee*, a corruption of *mestizo*, was formerly in use in the Gulf states. In the W. the term "half-breed" is loosely applied to all persons of mixed white and Indian blood, without regard to the proportion of each. See *Mixed-bloods*. (J. M.)

Métifs.—Brevel *fide* Sibley (1805) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 730, 1832. **Mestigos.**—Williams, Vt., I, 494, 1809 (misprint). **Mestizo.**—Correct Spanish form; feminine *mestiza*. **Métis.**—Correct French form. **Mustees.**—Report of 1741 in Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., II, 353, 1836. **Mustees.**—Bermuda Royal Gazette, July 13, 1875, *fide* Jour. Anthrop. Inst., V, 491, 1876 (used in Bermuda for descendants of Indian slaves brought from the U. S.). **Wissakodewinini.**—Baraga, Otchipwe-Eng. Dict., 421, 1880 (Chippewa name: 'half-burnt wood man'; from *wissakode*, 'burnt trees', referring to their mixed light and dark complexion; pl. *Wissakodewininiwog*. He gives *aiabitawisid* as the literal word for 'half-breed').

Metlakatla. A Tsimshian town 15 m. S. of Port Simpson, Brit. Col. Anciently

1: Hodge E-5 (no date)1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Wenatchi

000 guage in any native American language, excepting for a few words of recent introduction which have had no effect whatever on the general structure or vocabulary.

Consult Catlin, N. Am. Inds., for Mandan theory; Bowen, Am. Discovered by the Welsh, 1876; Burder, Welsh Inds., 1797; Durrett in Filson Club Pub., no. 23, 1908; Lewis in Trans. Oneida Hist. Soc., 1894; Mooney, Growth of a Myth, in Am. Anthr., Oct. 1891, and numerous authorities noted in Winsor, Narr. Crit. Hist. Am., I, notes 109-111, 1889.

The early stories of a tribe of "White Indians" (q. v.), or "White, Bearded Indians," somewhere in the unknown interior, refer sometimes to this mythic Welsh tribe, but more often appear to arise from misinterpreted Indian accounts of other distant European colonies or visitations, or of some tribe of complexion lighter than usual. See *Lost Ten Tribes of Israel*, *Popular Fallacies*. (J. M.)

Madawgwys.—Bowen, Am. Discov. by the Welsh, 93, 1876 (also Madogian and Madogiaint; so called by various authors). **Madocian Inds.**—Ibid. 65 (term used with reference to the Indians of Prince Madoc). **Madogians.**—Janson, Stranger in Am., 270, 1807. **Madogiant.**—Bowen, op. cit., 93. **Masseedons.**—Ker quoted by Drake, Bk. Inds., bk. I, 35, 1848. **Welsh.**—Drake, ibid., xii. **Welsh Bearded Indians.**—Bowen, op. cit., 129. **Welsh Indiasv.**—Croghan (1759) in Rupp, West. Pa., 146, 1846 (misprint).

Welunungsi (*We-lun-ũng-si*, 'little turtle'). A subclan of the Delawares.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 172, 1877.

Welwashkeni (*Welwashχē'ni*, 'place of the large spring'). A former Modoc settlement on the S. E. side of Tule lake, at Miller's farm, N. E. Cal.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. I, xxxii, 1890.

Wenamese. See *Winamac*.

101 [161] **Wenatchi** (Yakima: *winätshi*, 'river issuing from a canyon,' referring to Wenatchee r.). A Salish division, probably a band of the Pisquows, formerly on Wenatchee r., a tributary of the Columbia in Washington. In 1850 there were said to have been 50 on Yakima res., but 66 were enumerated in the Report on Indian Affairs for 1910 as under the Colville agency. It is uncertain whether these bodies belonged to one original band.

Lower Chehalis.—Common name. **Wanasichie.**—Ford in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 341, 1858. **Waratcha.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1861. **Waratka.**—Ibid., 1864, 499, 1865. **Waratkaas.**—Ibid. 1863, 512, 1864. **Wenatcha.**—Lansdale, ibid., 1859, 412, 1860. **Wenatshi.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 704, 1901. **Wenatshapam.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951. **Wenatshapan.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 266, 1857. **Wenatshepum.**—Ibid., 110, 1874. **Winä'tshipûm.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (given as a synonym of Pisquows). **Wynaeshee.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 428, 1855. **Wy-nast-che.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1870.

000 **Wendigo.** See *Windigo*.

Wendjimadub ('whence he sits'; that is, supposing he was sitting in one spot, he moves from it and sits in another). A Chippewa chief and orator, with a strain of French blood, born at La Pointe, Wis., about 1838. He married a Mississippi Chippewa, and since 1868 has lived at White Earth, where he is at the head of a band of about 40. Wandjimadub is noted for his independence. When, about 1878, a half-breed trader induced all the other chiefs to join him in opposing a worthy Indian agent, Lewis Stowe, in order that an agent might be appointed who would further his schemes, Wendjimadub was the only one who had the courage to stand up openly in the council before prominent Americans, and take the agent's part, declaring his innocence and showing why the warfare was waged against him. Although uneducated, Wendjimadub is by far the best speaker among the Chippewa. He served in a Minnesota regiment throughout the Civil War. He farms to some extent, but is in sufficiently affluent circumstances to live without working. He has been converted to Christianity. (J. A. G.)

Wenimesset (*wenomissit*, 'at the grapevine.'—Gerard). A Nipmuc village in 1676, at the present New Braintree, Worcester co., Mass.

Wenimesset.—Rowlandson quoted by Drake, Trag. Wild., 25, 1841. **Wenimisset.**—Kinnicutt, Ind. Names Worcester Co., 56, 1905. **Winnimissett.**—Ibid.

Wenona. A small snake (*Charina bottæ*) found in California and Mexico. From *winona* (q. v.) in the Santee Sioux language, signifying 'first-born child' [if a daughter]. The word is also a place name. (A. F. C.)

Wenrohronon (*Awĕñro'roñ'noⁿ*, probably from a combination of the noun *awĕñ'rŏ'*, the Huron form of the common Iroquoian vocable denoting 'scum,' 'moss,' 'lather,' with the verb stem *-o'*, 'to float,' 'to be immersed or contained in liquid or in the earth,' 'to be in solution,' 'to be contained in,' with the tribal appellative suffix *-roñnoⁿ*. *Awĕñ'rŏ'* (*ouenro* in the Jesuit Relations), the base of the term, signifies, as a geographic name, 'where scum floats on the water'; hence *Awenrohronon* means 'the people or tribe of the place of floating scum.' The suggested meaning of the name would seem to indicate that the Wenrohronon may have lived in the vicinity of the famous oil spring of the town of Cuba, Allegany co., N. Y., described as a filthy, stagnant pool, about 20 ft in diameter, without an outlet. A yellowish-brown oil collects on its surface, and this was the source of the famous "Seneca oil," formerly a popular local remedy for various ailments. The spring was so highly regarded by the Seneca that they always reserved it in their land-sale treaties). One of the tribes which, according to the Jesuit Relation for 1639, had been associated with the Neutral Nation and which had

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau,
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually 101
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. 648
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroachments
by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them 131
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reservation
were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international 175
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Department 122
of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the 114
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal 117
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native messianic
movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been included 121
here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more summarily 122
than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount 127
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement
and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identifying 132
botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcription* 194
of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

114 194 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: snəqaie'tkʷ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); snəkâ'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and sťake'tamixʷ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

Bob Covington was a sober, intelligent half-breed, well respected by his people. For many years he served as Indian policeman and interpreter for his people in dealings with the government. He was a willing worker and exceedingly obliging and hospitable. He interpreted for John Tom, and furnished much information himself. Covington died in July, 1930, at the age of about sixty-five.

William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

Seattle, 1932

Verne F. Ray

INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui'luxʷ) of the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpuell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi'lam), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1]] Any such assumption is definitely in error. 101 737

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix. [551]

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (smaqaie'tkʷ) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the smaqaie'tkʷ groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (sxoie'lpʷ).

The two names (Nespelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were separated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Ferry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common. 131 197

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[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

131
177 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a seperate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lqtcn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan snaqaie'tkʷ Lakes snaiki'lt Colville	nsi'lqtcn
Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	nsiya'lxtcn
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi stske'tamixʷ	ns'xwa'mux'tcn
Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npolxe'nixtcn

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177 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

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177 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the snaqaie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[3] Cf., page 28.

Lower Fraser	t'ləmsiu'x
Thompson	nɛqutəmi'xᵘ
Shuswap	sixwa·'pmx
Similkameen	smɛlkəmi'xᵘ
Kettle river group	snx̣wiyatłpi'tkᵘ
Lakes	sna'itckstᵘ (from a'itckstᵘ, a small speckled fish of the upper Columbia river)
Upper Kutenai	skəlsi'ulkᵘ
Lower Kutenai	sloq̇wəla·'qwax
British Columbia tribes collectively	nuk̓utəmi'xᵘ
Blackfoot	staqwaixu'nəxux
Sioux	á'nxutusəm
Flathead	sá·'lic
Pend d'Oreilles	snyá'lmənxᵘ
Kalispel	qálɛspi·'ləm
Chewelah	sqa·wi'lax
Spokane	spu·ke'nx
snəká'lt (on lower Spokane river)	snqwemi'tqwa'xᵘ ("little river")
Colville	sxoie'lpᵘ
Columbia	snq̇e'us
Moses' Columbia band	squwa·'xtcɛnux
Okanogan	soqɛnakɛ'n
Chelan	stcli'nx, or spat'lmulumxəmux ("bitter-root people")
Methow	sme·'tx̣aux
Wenatchi	snpsqwe''usx
Wenatchi group six miles downriver from present town	sɛ́ske'tɛmixᵘ
Kittitas (pcwa'nwapam)	yiá'qɛma
Yakima	á'tánɛm
Klikitat	i'sunxia''uixᵘ
Palus	sɛ́qamtci'nəx ("slough grass people")
Nez Perce	sa'a·'ptɛnx
Nez Perce, Lapwai group	sná'pəwaxᵘ
Walula (Walla Walla) and Cayuse	skeiu'sx
Umatilla	i'syumɛtálɛx
Snake	snáski·'nqumx ("rattlesnake people")
Wasco	swasq̇o·'paxᵘ
Chinook	tcɛnu'k
Willamette (probably Clackamas)	swayɛ'mpɛmx
Puyallup	spuyá'lɛpxᵘ
People beyond Mt. Rainier collectively	sɛk̓uti'kənx

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The 187
most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[5]

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by 101
the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

131
In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This 133
has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary 101
points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the 131
territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the
latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root 361
gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[6] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

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[5] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[6] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, B Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1873 but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, most of the information is first hand. 101 166 173

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious. 361

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptənuxʷ, located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August. 361 221

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn. 221 361 177

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150. [161]

2. nəpi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snpi·'luxʷ. This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters 361

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Chelan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

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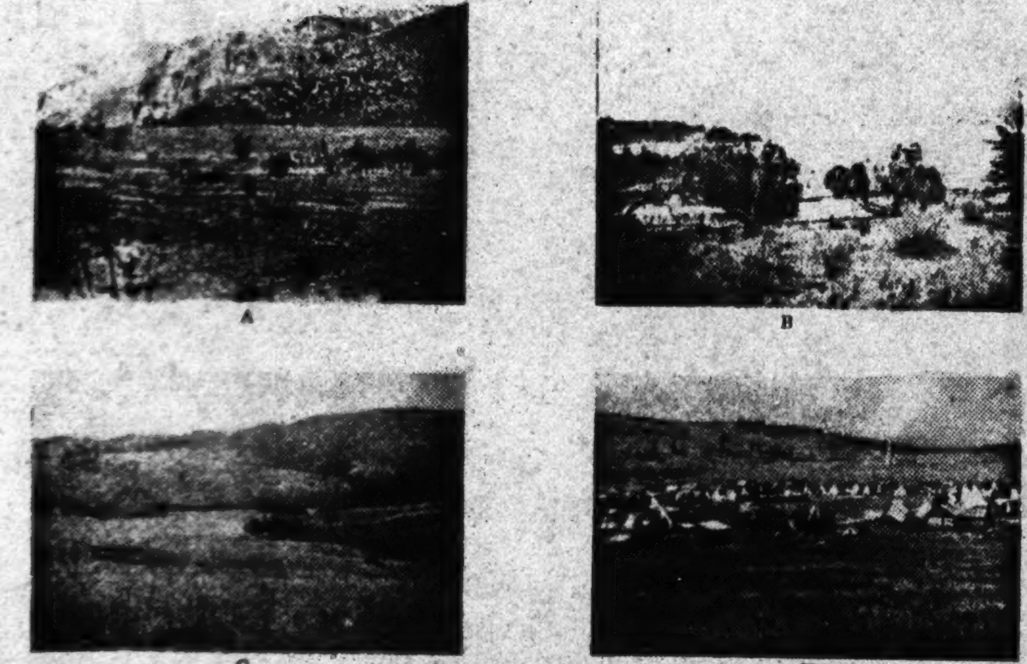

PLATE 4. (A) Site of the principal Sanpoil village, at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. (B) The Columbia River opposite fig. A, with the Sanpoil River in the foreground. (C) Lake Amum (Buffalo Lake) with the Sanpoil mountains in the background. (D) Modern camp circle at the present village of Nespelem.

114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

● 101 121 As a field for investigation for the group I hit on the Southern Okanagon. The cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

● 101 162 361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with it's emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

P. 4 (A)

Sinkaietk

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

•101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe:

> "He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."[1]

621 622 619 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess may be explained as due to dialectic identity, close geographical association, similar customs and friendly relations which have been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

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[1] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâie′tkû, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqaié′t^{kû} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa′in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqaié′t^{kû} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

161 In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4] [1/A]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 74 (A)

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Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

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The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

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Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. In the summer, band organization breaks up, Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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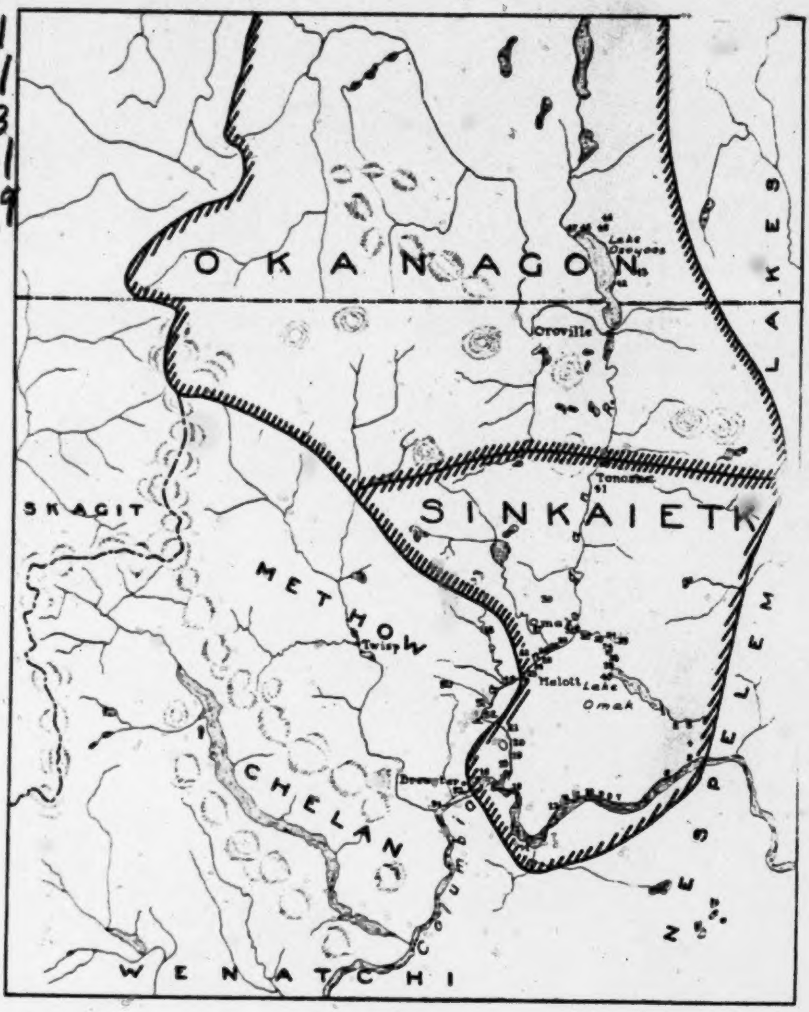
OKANAGON
Lake Osoyoos
Oroville
LAKES
Tonasket
SINKAIETK
SKAGIT
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Lake Omak
Brewster
CHELAN
Columbia
NESPELEM
WENATCHI

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

p. 85

Sinkaietk; Methow
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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29. kàłà'kłàk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
30. kàtôma'ük^{u}, "one hill on the flat."
31. łàámI'na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpI'tsa.
33. Enaqatkà'tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nχuχalI'nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca'ktküłp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa'tqłp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi'nt.
38. sümükwa'aqa'In, "snow on the brush."
39. nē'aōmEn.
40. sInàl·alaqwaI'l'p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaüχōlō's band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaüχōlō's.

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The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of and on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. tłàtsEnI'tk^{ux}, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwaI'e·'nIk^{ux}, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxüwI'ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inłEl·łamEltsI'n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamI'p, "at head of the lake."
47. püstIntsē'ntEn.

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A group of Methow (smē'tχaü^{w}Ix) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci'lōχwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

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Columbia
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THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation. 122 [115]

TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Columbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third tribe, the .nkutɛme'xᵘ or Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ of The Dalles country. However, the affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1] 101 ●

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People, names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were considered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais, Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a shaman) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside, attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticulations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were sometimes called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be 173 101

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

differentiated. The name Wenatchi is, with little doubt, of Yakima origin, 173
probably from Wina't.ca (river issuing from a conyon), referring to Wenatchee River;[3] or from Klickitat awena'tchᴇla (coming out or source), said to 101
be with reference to the position of the tribe above or beyond the Yakima and at the sources of the streams;[4] but the term may have some connection with Wenatchee River. Pisquows (and variations) was also a common name for the Wenatchi, and is derived from their own name.

The Middle Columbia Salish (or at least the Moses-Columbia) call themselves .tskowă'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx, which word seems to have some connection with "main valley," probably with reference to the Columbia valley. My notes do not make it clear whether the term embraces all the Columbia people or simply the Moses-Columbia, most of whom originally lived on the river, near Priest's Rapids. It appears that the Wenatchi and people on the west side of the river are not included in the term. The Columbia also use the name .nkeĕus or .s.nkeiĕus for themselves in a general sense, and the Moses-Columbia recognize it as applied to them by all the other Salish tribes. They say, however, that the term is properly and originally the name of a band or division of their people who once inhabited the Umatilla valley. A few of the Moses-Columbia include the Wenatchi under the names Columbia and .nkeĕ'us, because they speak the same language and are supposed to be of the same origin; but most Columbia, as well as all other Salish, class the Wenatchi as a distinct tribe. The Wenatchi call themselves .s.npeskwa'uẓux̣, and are so called by the Moses-Columbia. The name appears to be used in a general sense for all the people speaking the language of the Middle Columbia Salish west of Columbia River. It also seems to be in a special sense the name for the people of Wenatchee River and district, who were the leading division of the tribe.

NAMES GIVEN BY NEIGHBORING TRIBES

The Columbia and Wenatchi are called by the following names by the neighboring Indian tribes:

By Salish Tribes	Columbia	Wenatchi
Thompson	s.nkaiă'us, Nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkeiĕ'usᴇmux	.s.npᴇskwā'ustᴇmux
Okanagon	.s.nkeiĕ'us, .s.n-qai.ā'us	.npiskwā'u.six
Sanpoil	.s.nkaă'usᴇmᴇx	.s.npᴇskwā'uzᴇx
Colville, Lake	.s.nqeĕ'us	
Spokane, Kalispel	.s.nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkai-ĕ'use	.s.npᴇskwē'us
Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead	.s.nkaiă'use	.s.npᴇskwā'use
Cœur d'Alêne	.s.nkeie'usᴇms	.npᴇsqwe'us

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[3] See *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 932.
[4] See p. 91, note 7.

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By other Interior Tribes

Wasco	Ti'atthuxa[5]	Wina't.ca
Klickitat		Awena'tchᴇla (people[7] at the coming-out or source)
Nez Percé	Papspê'lu[8] (firs or fir-tree people)	

By Coast Tribes

Snohomish	Bö'tcacᴇd[9] (arrows or arrow people)	Tsö'kwob.c
Snohomish	.sā'ladebc,[10] an interior tribe west of the Columbia River (south or below the Yakima)	
Snohomish	Suwa'dabc (inland or interior people)	general names for all interior tribes
Twana	.swā'dab.c (inland people)	
Nootsak	.swa'namc (inland people)	

The Klickitat call the Chelan Tcᴇla'lpam, and the White Bluffs people Wa'napam.[11] According to the Cœur d'Alêne, the name in the sign language for the Columbia is squeezed, or wedged ("with reference to their having been pressed or squeezed between other tribes," as some say); and for the Wenatchi, bent or broken joint. Whether these terms have been given owing to some peculiarities of the tribes, or have been derived from translations of place-names, is not clear. Possibly they are due to folk etymology. [198]

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[5] Said to be the name for a tribe on the east side of Columbia, west of the Spokane, probably the Moses-Columbia.

[6] From the Yakima language.

[7] Said to be with reference to their occupying the country at the heads of the rivers or above the Yakima. Bands of Wenatchi occupied the heads of all the streams between the Yakima and the Cascades.

[8] Compare Yakima name for the Kalispel (*Handbook of American Indians*).

[9] A tribe in the interior, west of or near the Spokane, probably the Columbia, but possibly the Palous or some other tribe. Another name for them was warriors. Their principal village or headquarters was called Bo'lbol, and they sometimes attacked the Snohomish and Coast people.

[10] Probably the Shallatoo, a band or division of the Wenatchi formerly living on the upper Klickitat River (probably before the Klickitat spread there), and latterly farther north (see *Handbook of American Indians*). It is hardly likely that the .s.nia'lᴇmᴇnic (Pend d'Oreilles) are meant.

[11] Said to mean distant or people at the enu or extremity. Compare the name of Wenatchi, also the Klickitat name Wanakshila' (with the same meaning) applied to the Puyallup, and the name Wanu'kt applied to the Tai'tnapam.

NAMES GIVEN OTHER TRIBES

The Columbia call the neighboring tribes by the following names, in which the suffixes *-e, -ᴇx, -ox, -ux̣, -mᴇx, -mexʷ, -mĕux̣, -mix, -mux̣, ᴇmux̣, -ᴇms, -omc, -ebc,* mean people:[12]

INTERIOR SALISH TRIBES

Shuswap	Six̣wa'pmᴇx
Thompson	Lükᴇtame'ux, Nẹkụtame'ux̣[13]
Similkameen	Śmilkᴇmi'x, Smelkami'x
Okanagon	.s.oqᴇnâqai'mᴇx (said to be from a place-name)
Nespilem Sanpoil	Nesilᴇxtci'n, .n.selixtci'n, (probably "Salish-speaking")
Lake	.s.nai'tcᴇkstᴇx (?)
Colville	.sxuiē'lpᴇm, .sxuiē'lpᴇmᴇx (said to be from a place-name)
Spokan	Spŏ.qei'mux̣ (said to be from a place-name)
Kalispel	Kalispa'lᴇm (thought to be from a place-name)
Pend d'Oreilles	.s.nia'lᴇmᴇn (?) (said to be from a place-name)
Flathead	Sa'lᴇmux̣
Cœur d'Alêne	.ski'tᴇtsu
Salish tribe formerly near The Dalles	.nkutᴇmĕ'xʷ, Nekᴇtᴇmĕ'ux̣ (same name as applied to the Thompson Indians)

SHAHAPTIAN TRIBES

Palous	.spalū'.sox̣ (said to be from a place-name)
Yakima	.siā'kᴇma
Klickitat	Tlkā'tat
Wallawalla	.swalawa'laox (said to be from a place-name)
Umatilla	.sumatē'lamux
Nez Percé	Tsha'ptᴇnox

OTHER WESTERN TRIBES

Kutenai	Shalsā'ulkʷ (said to be from a place-name)
Cayuse	Kaie'us, .skeiē'us (said to be from name of Umatilla valley or a place there)

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[12] I obtained no list from the Wenatchi.

[13] There are several slightly variant pronunciations.

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Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people")	101 ●
Klamath	Ła'mał	
Wishram	Wi'sxam	
Wasco	Wasqo'pᴇm	
Chinook	Tsᴇnū'k	
All Coast Indians	Sukᴇti'kᴇnux̣, Sukoti'kᴇnux̣ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)	
Lower Fraser tribe	.sʟᴇmsiū'ᴇx	
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ᴇtsᴇn (possibly the Cowichan)	

DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alêne, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct. 197

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsᴇnux̣ or .nkeēus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé. 131

2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

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[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, 621
but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected
bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. 131
Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usoχ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kεtεmuχ or Tiä'kεtuχ[25] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kεtuχ,[26] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsεnuχ or .skowa'xtsεnεx[27] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[28] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[25] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along
the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akεtcεm or .niä'qεtcεm, 101
which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from
the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or 105
Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tεm in .nia'kεtεm means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iä'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iäkεma and stia'kεt, etc.

[26] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[27] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[28] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern 159
Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he
had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over 622
all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zuχ) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were: 621 131

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcalē'nux, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zuχ, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zuχ or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20] 101 621 131

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[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Pisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pswa'nwapam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallattoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutᴇme'xᵘ, Nekᴇtᴇme'ux̣) I in- 621
clude the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia 131
valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as 197
part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly consid- 167
ered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a 173
language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qö'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101] ●

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 204-205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these 161
tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi 131
are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except 167
that of the Nekᴇtᴇmē̆'ux̣ tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they 131
were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however,
shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took 101 ●
place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

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[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

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passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them 167
settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the 131
country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cas-
cades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, 101
ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam 167
near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this 197
tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been
associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper 101
Cowlitz," (Wanuḳt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are 114
undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date. 167 131

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago. 102 ●

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years. 159 115

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpakwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. 131 About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of 101 ● Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekatamē'ux having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar.

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the [72] upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam.

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. 159 He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. 115 He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement.

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived 167
from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this 131
place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made
their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The 101 ●
language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two
tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining
each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam.
In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and [721]
killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined,
and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable
number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the
Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from
Snoquolmie Falls.[49a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most
of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred
in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After
intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent
incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of
seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish
about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three 551
descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among 167
the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are 131
preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior 101
Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson
and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who
migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been
displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may
have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣, as some of the latter are said to have
crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or
heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the
names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[49a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is
found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small 114
movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost 366
anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern 439
Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the 487
Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles 567
long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes 439
dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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[49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different 101
language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

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Divisions, Bands, Villages.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

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It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

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Villages of St. Joe River division

	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakᴇcᴇn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tcᴇti'ciacᴇcᴇn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stoisᴇlá'wᴇs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcat'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *nicá'mtsᴇn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

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There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sᴇntsᴇn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

201 88. *Came from*, or *I came from* (*certain place* or *country*).—Finger pointed in the direction of place or country where the person came from. When hand in proper direction, finger pointed downward with a slight jerk; then the hand drawn back to the front of the body, and finger pointed down near feet. The raising and stretching of the arm much or little defined to some extent whether the place was distant or near; but, as several places and tribes were often located in the same general direction, the name of the place or tribe was often said, or the sign for the tribe given. When considered necessary, places were also differentiated by defining in signs the nature of the place, whether by a lake or a river, a falls, or in mountains, valley or plains.

89. *White man*, or *whites*.—Right hand raised to left side of brow, inclining slightly inward, palm down, fingers close together and somewhat extended; hand drawn across horizontally to right side of brow, as if making a cut. (The origin of the sign is unknown, but it is thought by the Indians to imitate the wearing of hats by the whites.)

90. *Think the whites are good*.—Same sign as preceding, then sign of "thinking," and then sign of "good."

91. *Think whites are no good*.—The same sign as preceding, only the "no good" sign made instead of sign for "good."

92. *Don't like whites*.—Sign for "whites," then sign of "think," then sign of "no." (The same sign seems to be used for "think" and "like," at least in some cases.)

Tribal Names in the Sign Language

101/201 93. *Coeur d'Alêne*.—The sign of "bow and arrow" and shooting horizontally. Sometimes the sign of direction of the Coeur d'Alêne country was also added. Sometimes the left hand, in making the sign for "bow," was held edge up, with the thumb pointing down, and fingers all close together, the arm held horizontally and arched. The arm was also sometimes moved from left to right. The meaning of the sign is "flat bow" (or "the people who use flat bows, shooting them horizontally"). Some of the Plains tribes used the simple signs of "bow and arrow" and "west" or "sunset" for the Coeur d'Alêne, meaning "Bow and arrow people of the west." This name is supposed to have been given them because at a time when all the other buffalo-hunting tribes had at least some guns the Coeur d'Alêne were still using bows and arrows. The terms "Flat bow" or "Wide bow" were applied to the Coeur d'Alêne in the sign language because of the universal use of flat bows by them, and because, of all tribes, they used the widest bows. The terms "Awl-heart," "Pointed-heart," etc., were not used by any Indians for the Coeur d'Alêne in the sign language. Some of the traders, however, may have used signs with these meanings.

94. *Flathead* or *Salish proper.*—Right hand placed on the right side of the head slightly back of the temples, with fingers extending upward to top of head. Sometimes the hand was merely touched to the side of the head. Supposed to mean "pressed the side of the head" (hence "Flathead"), but the origin and true meaning of the sign are unknown.

95. *Pend d'Oreilles.*—With both hands sign of paddling, first on one side of the body and then on the other. This means "Paddlers" or "Canoe people." Sometimes the sign of "lake" (with reference to Flathead Lake) was added to the sign of "paddling," because at one time a large number of the tribe lived near Flathead Lake; i. e., "Lake paddlers" or "Canoe people of the Lake." The Pend d'Oreilles were called "Paddlers" or "Canoe people" because they used bark canoes, while the Flathead did not, and because they were the most eastern people of the region who used canoes. The terms "Ear drops," "Ear pendants," were never used for the Pend d'Oreilles by any Indians in the sign language.

96. *Kalispel.*—This tribe was called "Paddlers" or "Canoe men," just like the Pend d'Oreilles. When it was desired to differentiate them from the latter the sign of "river" was added; viz, "River paddlers" or "Canoe men of the river." They were so named because of their habitat on Pend d'Oreille River and because they were canoe people like the Pend d'Oreilles and used the same kind of bark canoes.

97. *Spokan.*—First the sign of "salmon" or "fish" was made, then the fingers were raised to the mouth and a motion of swallowing made. The sign means "Salmon eaters," or "People who eat salmon." The Spokan were so named because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group having salmon in their country, and they were the most eastern tribe of the region using salmon extensively as food.

98. *Colville* or *Chaudière.*—Sign of direction of location of country was made, then the sign of "falls" by pushing the hand down, fingers perpendicular, then the signs of "fish" or "salmon" and "catching" up with the hands. Sometimes the sign of "river" was made first of all. The meaning is "Salmon fishers at falls." The term has reference to Kettle Falls, the main salmon place of the Colville, and to the fact that the Colville caught more salmon than any other tribe of the region. The term "Kettle Indians" was not used for the Colville in the sign language by any of the Indians.

99. *Lake* or *Senijextee.*—The sign for "Lake trout" was made, or the sign for "fish," and then of "a spot of yellow." The meaning is "Lake-trout people," so named because it is said that comparatively

few good salmon reached their country, and the tribes depended for food on lake trout, which were abundant.

100. *Sanpoil, Okanagon.*—My informant was not quite sure of the signs for these tribes.

101. *Similkameen.*—The sign of "eagle" was made for this people; "Eagle people." Said to be so named because eagles were formerly very plentiful in the Similkameen country, and eagle-tail feathers were formerly exported from there.

102. *Thompson* or *Couteau.*—My informant thought the sign of "snow" was formerly made by some people for the Thompson; "Snow people." Why so named is quite unknown. It may be derived through folk etymology from the name of the tribe. They were also sometimes called "People of the big river to the northwest." The sign for "knife" was also made for them; "knife people," but this term was used chiefly by the fur traders. The river to the northwest is either the Thompson or Fraser River.

103. *Shuswap.*—My informant was not sure of the sign for the Shuswap, but a term sometimes used meant "People who live (or go down) in the valley on the other side of the high country to the north."

104. *Lillooet.*—My informant was not familiar with any sign for this tribe, but thought the sign for "ax" was probably applied to them because the Okanagon group of tribes call them "ax people."

105. *Wenatchi.*—Fists brought together in front of breast, thumbs adjoining, then each turned upward and backward as if breaking something. Said to mean "bent or nearly broken" or "bent or broken in the middle," but with reference to what is uncertain. The sign may be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

106. *Columbia, Moses Columbia,* or *Columbia Cayuse.*—Hands placed together, points of fingers and wrists almost touching; then right hand pushed hard along middle of left, as if pushing something through. Said to mean "wedged" or "pressed in," or "wedged or divided in the middle," but with reference to what is unknown. The sign may possibly be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

107. *Yakima, Klickitat.*—Both hands held over temples, fingers meeting at top of head. Often the hands are pressed down on the head. Means "pressed or flattened heads." Said to be so named because the Yakima formerly pressed the heads of all infants; and they were the nearest tribe to the Coeur d'Alêne having this custom.

108. *Paloos.*—The common sign for the Paloos was the same as for Yakima, but with the sign of "location" or "direction" added. There was another sign for the Paloos which my informant had forgotten.

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109. *Nez Percé.*—Forefinger of right hand pointed across the nostrils or point of the nose. Sometimes the forefinger was simply held for a moment horizontally across in front of the nose. The meanings of the signs are "Pierced noses." They were so named because long ago nearly all the Nez Percé had their noses pierced, and they wore nose-pins of shell and bone to a greater extent than any other tribe.

110. *Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse.*—My informant said he did not know any signs for these tribes. Usually they were called by the same sign as the Nez Percé, with signs of location added to differentiate them.

111. *Chinook, Wasco.*—My informant said there was an old sign name for the Chinook and Wasco, both being called by the one name, but he had forgotten it.

112. *Coast Indians.*—First the sign for "water" or "drinking" was made; then a wry face was made, as if something bitter had been tasted. Sometimes the sign for "sunset" was added, or for "west beyond the mountains." The meaning is "bitter-water people."

113. *Shoshoni.*—The sign for "snake" (viz, "Snake people") was made for all the Shoshoni. Different tribes were differentiated by signs of location. The origin of the term is unknown. The Flathead are said to have used different signs for certain tribes of Shoshoni besides the general one of "snake."

114. *Kutenai.*—The sign of "robe," and then that for "deer," was made for the Kutenai, meaning "deer robes." They are said to have been so named because they used deer robes extensively in early times. There was a special or additional name occasionally used for the Lower Kutenai, but my informant was uncertain of what it was. The fur traders sometimes used the term "Flat bow" for the Lower Kutenai.

115. *Cree.*—Hand pushed down over nose, or the finger points drawn down over the nose, as if scratching it. Sometimes the two signs were combined. Said to mean "bloody noses" and "striped or scratched noses." The origin of the sign name is obscure. Some Coeur d'Alêne suggested that the name may have arisen from some of them painting their noses red or in stripes.

116. *Gros Ventres or Atsina.*—Two signs were used for this tribe. In one, the two forefingers were crossed near the outer joints, with points extending upward. This means "tent" or "tent poles." This is the oldest sign name for the tribe; but why they were so designated is unknown. Some think it was because they had inferior tents long ago. The other sign was made by bringing the hands together in front of the breast, palms inward, and points of all the fingers touching. The hands were then pushed forward and downward without being parted, making a curve in front of the belly.

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This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot.*—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood.*—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan.*—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho.*—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne.*—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow.*—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow.*—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue men"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux.*—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cut-throats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

COUNTING, GREETING, SIGNALS

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125. *Counting.*—In counting, the Coeur d'Alêne begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

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THE OKANAGON

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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131 **Tribes of the Group.**—The tribes of the Okanagon group are (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

Tribal Names.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoee, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpee," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'nix̣*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.[1]
2. *Snpoi'l*, or *Snpoi'lix̣*, *Snpoai'lᴇx̣ᴇx̣*.
3. *Sxoiē'lpix̣*, or *Sx̣uiē'ylpix̣*, *Sx̣woi'lpᴇx̣*.
4. *Snai'tcᴇkst*, *Snxai'tcᴇkstᴇx̣*, *Snāi'.tcᴇkstᴇx̣*.

The suffix *-ix̣*, *-ᴇx̣*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

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[1] Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are *Ōkanāqēl'x* and *[illegible]*.

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Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. 101 On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a 131 place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salilxᵘ* and the old name dropped out of use.[2] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qēn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

Snpoi'l or *Snpoi'lix̣* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tcᴇkst is from *ai'tcᴇkst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lix̣tcᴇn*" or "*Nse'lix̣tcᴇn*," which means "Salish-speaking "(from *Sa'lix̣*, *Se'lix̣*, or *Si'lix̣*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcᴇn*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.— 101 The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the 201 symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

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[2] See p. 204.

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	Similkameen	Okanagon	Sanpoil	Colville	Lake
Thompson	*Smzle'qzmuz* [1]	*Tcuizuõ'ui, Tcitzûã'ui;* *Tsawa'nzmuz* [2] *Okzná.qai'n* [4]	*Snpoi'l* [5, 10]	*Szoië'lp* [3, 5]	*Snai'iczkei.* [5, 9]
Columbia	*Smzlkami'z* *Smelkami'z* [6]	*Soqznáqai'mzz*	*Nesilzqici'n* [7]	*Szuielpzmzz* [8]	*Snaiiczkelzq.* [9]
Flathead group	*Szmilkami'*	*Otczmáks'* *Otczná.qai'n* *Uiczná'.qai'n*	*Npoi'los* [10] *Snpõi'lzmzc*	*Szãzi'lpi* *Szoië'.lpz*	*Snai'iczisic.* *Snrai'iczisic .*
Coeur d'Alêne	*Smzlkami'cin*	*Wzic.náqai'n*	*Szmpoi'*	*Szoië'lpzma*	
Klickitat (Tobacco Plains band).	*Xwayama'pam* [11]	*Kznáks'n* [11]			
Kutenai		*Àkénuq'lä'lä'm* *Kõkznu'k'kä* [12]		*Kqoplis'nikl* [13]	
Upper Kutenai		*Okznaks'n* [11]	*Szmpoe'ls* [11]	*Hap.kis'n* [12] *Khapiis'nikl*	*Tszlznõ'nikl* [12]
Yakima			*Haiai'nima* *Ipoilq* [11]		
Sign-language names	"Eagle people"	Sometime called "Flat side of head on stream to west" (viz, Flathead of Okanagon River).		"Salmon fishers at falls" (viz, Kettle Falls).	"Lake-trout people."

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[1] Meaning "people of *Smzil'A, Smeik'kzm, Smzizkzmi'n,* or *Smzizkzmil,*" said to be the name of a locality in the Lower Similkameen valley (see also Similkameen villages, p. 200).

[2] Meaning uncertain. It is applied to the Okanagon in particular, but is also a general name for the southern Salish, in the same way as "*Tcuze'nzmuz.*" The same term is used by the Shuswap for the Lower Lillooet.

[3] Also the Shuswap name for the Okanagon. The term probably means "people at the back or behind," "back-country people." It is applied particularly to the Okanagon, but is also a general name for the southern Salish.

[4] A special name for the Okanagon of Okanagon River. Said to be from the name of a place on Okanagon River.

[5] The suffix *-muz* ("people") may be, and occasionally is, added to the Thompson terms for the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lake.

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[6] Said to be the name of the district around the mouth of the Similkameen.

[7] Means "Salish-speaking" or "having Salish speech."

[8] The names for the Colville are said to be derived from a place name near Kettle Falls. They mean "hollowed out" according to some, and "stone skin-grainer" according to some Flathead informants.

[9] "Trout people." All names refer to a variety of trout—lake trout according to some, and salmon trout according to others.

[10] All the names for the Sanpoil are said to be from the name of a place in their country.

[11] Derived through the Salish language.

[12] Said to mean "Falls people."

[13] Probably from a place name. Meaning uncertain.

[14] "Eagle people." Klickitat say they think the name was applied to a tribe east of the Spokan; but Salish and other informants say it is the Klickitat or Yakima name for the Similkameen. The form here given is corrected from Teit's [illegible] by Melville Jacobs.

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NAMES GIVEN TO OTHER TRIBES BY THE OKANAGON.—The terms in the following list were all collected from Sanpoil (Nespelim), Lake, and Okanagon. I obtained none from the Colville.

Lower Fraser	*Tlɛmsiū'xɛ.*
Lillooet	*Nxɛlamī'nɛx* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sɛxwa'pmux, Sɛxwā'pmɛx.*
Thompson	*Lukɛtɛmī'xʷ, Leʷkɛtɛmū'.x, Nɛkɛtɛme'xʷ.*
Wenatchi	*Snpɛskwa'usɛx.*
Wenatchi (Chelan division)	*Stɛxlī'nɛx* ("Chelan people," possibly literally "Lake people").
Columbia	*Snkaī'usɛmɛx, Snqaī'us.*
Bands along Columbia River below the *Takwa'xtɛxɛwux̣* or Moses-Columbia band.	*Naia'qʷicɛn, Niā'qɛicɛn.*
Old Salish tribe at The Dalles	*Neʷkɛtɛmi'ʷxʷ, Leʷkɛtɛme'ux.*
Spokan	*Spoqai'nɛx̣, Spōqei'nɛx̣.*
Kalispel	*Skalɛspi'lɛx̣, Kalspī'lɛm, Skalespe'lɛm.*
Pend d'Oreilles	*Snía'lɛmɛn.*
Flathead	*Sa'lex, Sā'lix.*
Coeur d'Alêne	*Skī'tsōq, Skī'tcoq, S'ki'tcu.x.*
Palouse	*Stɛqa.micī'nɛx̣* ("people of the confluence").[3]
Yakima	*Sīā'kɛmax̣.*
Klickitat [4]	Called by the same name as the Yakima, and also by the name of The Dalles tribes.
Wallawalla	*Skeiū'xax̣.*
Umatilla	
Nez Percés	*Saha'ptɛnɛx̣, S[illegible]tɛnɛx̣.*
Cayuse	Same as Wallawalla and Umatilla.
Wishram	Same as The Dalles tribes.
The Dalles tribes in general	*Sweiī'mpamɛx̣.*[5]
Wasco	*Sweiī'mpamɛx̣, Swāsao'pax̣.*
Chinook	*Tsɛnū'k.*
Shoshoni or Snake	*Snasqe'nitx̣ɛmox, Snaskī'ni* ("snake people").
Upper Kutenai	*Skalsi'ulk.*[6]
Lower Kutenai	*Sloqale'qʷax̣, Ste'lītɛx̣.*[7]
Blackfoot	*Sitkwai'x̣ɛnɛx̣* ("black-footed people").
Sioux, Cree, and Plains tribes in general.	*X̣nox̣'tu'sɛm* ("cut-throats," "cut heads off").

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[3] Either the confluence of the Palouse with the Snake or the latter with the Columbia, probably the latter.

[4] The Handbook of American Indians gives "*tlakī'tat*" as an Okanagon name for Klickitat.

[5] Compare *Xwa'lxwaipam*, a Klickitat name for themselves.

[6] Said to be named from the Upper Kootenai River. By some the name is thought to mean "upper water" or "water above," with reference to the position of the Kootenai River above the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Lake tribes (from *skalt*, "above" or "at the top;" and *s'ulkʷ*, "water"), thought by others to have some connection with *skal* or *skalis* (as in the name Kalispelsm), derived from a word for "young camas" (according to Revais), and thus may mean "camas water." The term *skalza'ulk* ("water-people") is given in the Handbook of American Indians. (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 742.) The interpretation is probably derived from *ske'lux* or *ska'lux* ("man," also "people," "Indian") and *se'ulk* ("water"); i.e., "man's water" or "people's water" or "Indian water." The Indians do not favor this interpretation. (It would mean: "human water."—F. B.) They claim that the name of the people is from the river, and not the river from the people.

[7] Said to be named from Kootenai Lake and River (all the Lower Kootenai, from Bonner's Ferry down).

DIALECTS.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[5] 197

The Colville use the term *Salixtci'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwi'x* or *Stuwi'xemux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES, PLACE-NAMES.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[6] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'xamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[5] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[6] This division is called *[illegible]* ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, *[illegible]*, Lake people.

101 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

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131 3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwī'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

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361 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spä'xamᴇn* or *Spä'xᴇmᴇn*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spä'xamᴇn*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkama'pᴇlks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkama'pᴇlks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pᴇntî'ktᴇn*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkamī'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkamī'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kᴇrᴇmyē'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnū'lox*, or Ashnola [illegible]	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snā'zāi'st*, *Tcutcuwī'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamᴇn* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 208.

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nkaitsā'tᴇp*.

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least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pelᴀks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia. 101 621 361

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites. 361

Upper Similkameen Band:	
1. *Nikai'xɛlîtx*[14]	About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.[15]
2. *Snazäi'st* ("striped rock")[16]	On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley;[17] 10 houses.
3. *Tcutcuwi'xa* or *Tcutcuwi'xa*[18] ("creek" or "little creek").	On same side of river, a little below No. 2; 3 houses.
Ashnola Band:	
4. *Acnū'lôx* ("—— ground")	On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nxe'pus a sqa'nxtx*[19] ("where the stone sticks up or is planted").	A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)
Lower Similkameen Band:	
6. *Kerɛmɛyi'us* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]).	On the north side of the river, near Keremeous; several houses.
7. *Kekerɛmɛyi'aus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]).	Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkuruu'lôx* ("—— ground")	On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smelû'lox*	On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

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[14] Said to be a Thompson name.

[15] The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

[16] A Thompson name (from snac, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and -ûst "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

[17] There were 6 houses and a church at *Snazäi'st* proper, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

[18] This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

[19] Also *Nxe'pus Lux'ux*. So named from a large boulder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

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361 *Smalkammi'n*	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sälī'lx·[34] ("heaped house"[35])	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tzkwora'tzm[36]	On Okanagon River, close to *sälī'lx·*.
Ōkinâ'qēn[37] ("—— head")	An old name for *sälī'lx·*.

101 The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoī'lxx* (Sanpoil or
Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespī'lxx* (Nespelim). The name of the
621 former division is said to be derived from that of the district around
361 Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespī'lem* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around
177 Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

101 I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have
361 I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxielpi'tuk*,[38] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[34] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.
[35] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.
[36] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 761).
[37] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).
[38] Compare the tribal name.

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1. *Skexi'kentm*	On the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke. This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center.
2. *Nkame'psizis* ("base or bottom end," with reference to the end of the lake)	At the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River. Called "Comaplix" by the whites. Said to have had a large population. It was a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries), and root digging.
3. *Kaspi'tsa* ("buffalo robe")	At the upper end of Arrow Lakes, where the town of Arrowhead now is. This also was a salmon-fishing place, and a noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*.
4. *Kw'eqxena'ks*	Now called Kooskanax. On Upper Arrow Lake, a little above Nakusp.
5. *Neqo'sp* ("having buffalo")[29]	Now Nakusp, near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, on the east side. A noted fishing place for salmon and lake trout.
6. *Tci'ukɛn*	A little below Nakusp; a center for hunting. Some fine cariboo grounds were near this place.
7. *Snequi'takstem*	Near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City. This was a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries.
8. *Xaii'kɛn*	At a creek below Burton City. A center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish.
9. *Qxpi'tɛn*	At the mouth of Kootenai River, just above the junction with the Columbia. A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighborhood.
10. *Snekshais'wɛn*	At a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail. This was a center for gathering service berries.
11. *Nkeii'ls*	Close to Waneta, on the east side of Columbia River, just above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreilles River. Many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by.

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[29] There is no tradition of buffaloes occurring here.

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The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Sakxmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takxlxxaitcxkst* ("trout ascend"? [from *ai'tcxkst*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sihwi'lxx*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kă'nicŏ'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'xtxn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skxtu'kxlŏx*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntxkxli'tkᵘ*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nxmi'mxaltxm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntsxlisxli'tuk*[a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Stce'xxllkᵘ*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntsxtsxrri'sxm*	At or very near Northport.

[131] The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kxluwi'ast* (now Rossland), and *Tcxaulxxxi'xtsa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'mxlxp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

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[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. [illegible].

Seven or eight miles east of Nelson.

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seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here. 101

I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below. 361

1. *Ti'kʷt* ("lake" or "large lake").	Arrow Lakes.
2. *Ntspi'ʷtkʷ* ("straight or smooth water").	Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.
3. *Sxwnt'tkʷ* ("swift, rapid, or rough water").	Columbia River below Marcus.
4. *Ntu'lltxpi'tkʷ* ("tu'lltxp [41] or tu'lltxp water," "water of the *stalk* people [?]").	Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.
5. *Ntso'kulsoo'lkʷ* ("portage or carrying place for canoes"). [42]	Bonnington Falls and neighboring parts of Kootenai River.
6. *Skolect'ulkʷ* [43]	Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general.
7. *Sloke'n*	General name for the Slocan River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.
8. *Nkoli'latkʷ*	Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).
9. *Stlapa'tkʷ* or *Stlapai'tkʷ*	Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokan.

POPULATION.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had 161

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[41] Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. 202, said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

[42] The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

[43] Compare *s'ulk*, etc. (name for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in *skal*, *skalcs* (see No. 19, p. 210), etc.; Calispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of *skal s'ulk* as "water above" (from *skal* "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

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THE FLATHEAD GROUP

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Tribes of the Group.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes).
2. Pend d'Oreilles.
3. Kalispel.
4. Spokan.
5. Sᴇmtē'use } Extinct.
6. Tunā'xe } Extinct.

Origin of Tribal Names.—The Flathead were also called Salish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flathead" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Jocko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

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In the Handbook of American Indians [1] the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people,

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[1] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 415; see also ibid., pt. 1, p. 465, under Flathead.

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000 101 *[171] not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called [301] [439] "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

101 619 *[171] NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sel'lictcæn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsl'lixtcæn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sêlic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[3] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stiqetkomstct'*(*nt*) ("people of *Sxqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Stxkê'lixtct'*(*nt*) ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispê'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispê'lEm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[3] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from sälst ("people"). If, however, the suffix -ic means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

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4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix -qein has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 296).	The Spokan.
5. *Sʌmi'l'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sʌmi'l'use*.
6. *Tuna'xē* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xe*.

Names by which Known to Other Tribes; Names Given to Them by Salish Tribes.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sä'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lʌx*, *St'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *St'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlʌmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lʌmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkometci'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sɪqa'tkometci'nt*, *Sɪqatkometci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomeki'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Snia'lʌmʌn* or *Snia'lʌmʌnic* or *Snia'lʌmʌnʌx*, "people of *Snia'lʌmʌn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lʌm* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspi'lʌm*, *Kalispa'lʌm*, *Skalʌspi'lʌx*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lʌm*, the name of

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[3] Compare p. 296.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tunā'xe* while the Kutenai pronounced *Tunā'xa*. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 302, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes [illegible], mean "people"; [illegible] means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

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101 619 a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokan or *Spõqē'inic* are called *Spokei'.nɛms* or *Spõqē'ɛnɛmc* by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spõkei'mux* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nɛx̣* by the Sanpoil, *Spõqe'inɛx̣* and *Spõkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spõkē'n* or *Spõqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Sɛnoxamī'nɛx̣* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal 101 621 division. It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

1. *Stsikastsi'*, *Sīkastsī'lɛn*, or *Sīkāstsī'lɛnic* (=the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called *Sīkastsī'lɛn*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[7] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (=the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snx̣o'mē'*, *Sɛnx̣omē'*, *Sɛnx̣omē'nic* (=the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *x̣ome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[8] but this is probably incorrect.

101 619 +191 NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

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[7] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, [illegible], is translated "people with bad heads."

[8] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name [illegible] is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
	A'kimuqlit'iḱm¹ ("Flatheaded".)	Meqkwö'qxaxk ("Red willow people").	e-ḱinamitl'krwe (' river people")	Sxuyome'n.² Sxuluiû.³
Upper Kutenai	Akkakxma'kxe, Ikkxaik's "Leg or leggy ⁴ people").	e-ḱinuqlilám* ⁵	e-ḱinuqlilám *⁵ ("compress side of head.")	
Nez Percés		snuis'lpmaxw'lc'ikxn	kamī'spels ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		ku'skpêlu*, pepakpâ'n'ilma* ("people of the great fir-trees").⁶	ku'skpêlu*, pepakpâ'n'ilma* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpöâ'n.⁷ Cpoka'n.
Wasco				Lkcl'cuks.⁹
Klamath and Modoc				Spuhl'n.⁷
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Kah-ts'h-api-tu'p-i-o*		ni-ks-ts-to-tu'p-i-o*	
Gros Ventres	Kasbaiinin ¹⁰ ("Flat-head man").			
Arapaho	Ka-ka-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-tu'-ts-tsi-o-ta-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nebagindibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Arubs'pe, Ârubāpe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ab-ml'u-o-sh u'-ms*, ab-min-o-shu-ms* ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	á-too-hā-pe*			
Yankton	pande-shs*, pas-bis'-cs* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably a'ku'qluuk, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 147.

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In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sxmil'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they ~~were~~ the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tʀmeiū'*, *Lameiū'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snẋzlamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sīhwē'pe*, *Sīhwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukʀtʀme'xʷ*, *Nko'tʀme'xʷ*, *Nkʀtʀmī'*, *Lū'kʀtʀme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sʀmilkami'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcʀnākī'*, *Otcʀnāqai'n*, *Otcʀnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npot'lce*, *Snpō'lʀẋʀc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sẋōʀīlpi*, *Sẋoī'lpi* (said to be derived from *ʀxoī'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcʀtsie* or *Snrai'tcʀtsie* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpʀskwā'use*, or *Snpʀskwē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiā'use*, *Snkaī'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Stçi'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomktske'lix*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Ska'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkʷ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qaga'tsn* by the *Tunā'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sʀlkwōla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sēha'ptsn*, *Sahā'ptʀne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktske'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skalī* ("above, up country or to the north") and *se'ulkʷ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 202, note 6.

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Wallawalla	*Suloua'*, *Suwalua'le* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of a place).
Umatilla	*Kit'us*,[12] *Nkait'use*, *Ohāma*[13] (meaning uncertain).
Paloos	*Sixkamici'ni*, *Stiqamici'ne* ("people of the confluence" with reference to the mouth of the Snake).
Yakima	*Iā'qima*, *Ia'kama* (meaning uncertain).
Cayuse	*Kait'us*[14] (meaning uncertain, thought by some to be from the name of a place or district).
Wasco	*Watsqo'pe* (thought to be from the name of a place).
Wasco and Dalles tribes	*Sīnkaitu'* ("above the falls").
Bannock[a]	*Āxwe'tsea*, *Sāxwai'tsa*, *oxhai'tsa*, *panak*[15] (said to mean "bark covering" or "bark lodges" because the tribe formerly used lodges of bark or of bark and grass; some translate the name "striped robes," and others "striped covering," either covering of lodges or covering of the body [robes, for instance]; some Coeur d'Alêne claim that "Bark Lodges" is the old name of the tribe, and "Striped Robes" a later name[16]).
Tribe unidentified, said to be similar to the Bannock; others say a tribe formerly living east of and near the Rocky Mountains.	*pi'liakan* (meaning uncertain, supposed to have some connection with "head").
Shoshoni or Snake (in general)	*Snō'we*, *Snō'we'* ("snake").
Lemhi Shoshoni (a general name)	*Tcatqwei'stan Snō'we* (said to mean "mountain snake").
Shoshoni east and south of Lemhi[17]	*Ona'xᵘ snō'we* ("real snake").[b]
General name for tribes to the south of the Flathead group, particularly the Shoshonean tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the Rockies, and others beyond to the south, in contradistinction to the tribes of the Columbia drainage or west of the Bitterroots ("down-country people") and the eastern or Plains tribes ("cutthroat" or "sunrise" people).	*Taxeniokein s Tke'lix* ("noon people" or "south people").

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[12] Compare Columbia and Cayuse.

[13] Compare the Coeur d'Alêne name for the Nez Percé.

[14] Compare names for Umatilla and Columbia.

[a] Called by the Columbia *sput'tsa*.

[15] Probably a modern name.

[16] In the sign language it seems that they were called by both names.

[b] The Columbia call the Shoshoni of the Mountains *Snake'ntkax*; those east of the mountains *Sxt'e*.

[17] The Ute and several Shoshonean tribes to the south and east are said to have had special names. Nowadays at least the Ute are often called Yū'ta, and the Comanche Kamā'ntsi.

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EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

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General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	*Tcxlc'txtin s'kc'.lix* ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") *Nax̣tu'.* ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	*Sarsi'.* This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	*Sicxqu‿ł'*, *Sicxkuł'.* ("black feet").[18]
Blood	*Sxnhwulstci'ni*, *Snxwulstci'ni* ("blood people").
Piegan	*Txxtaxmi'tsa*[a] ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	*Snkaicokestci'ni* (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles).[19]
Arapaho	*Lapaho'*, *Ala'pho* (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	*Wxtckaiu'*, *xtckai'u'*, *Tskakai'u'*, *Tcxxkai 'u'*, *Tsi'kxkai'u*, *Tskwai'u'* (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white).[20]
Cree	*Nax̣tu'* ("cutthroat" or "beheader"),[21] *Lekri'* (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	*Nax̣tu'* ("cutthroat," "beheader").[22]
Assiniboin	*Sikotunuxtu'*[23] (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	*Stłl'mtci'(ni)* ("raven people").
River Crow	*Skwais'tci'*, *Skwoistci'ni* ("blue [or green] people").[24]
Ojibway	*Nicu'wa'*, *Nicu'a'.*
Iroquois	*yilikwe'* (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

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[18] Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather.

[a] Called by the Columbia [illegible].

[201] [19] In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly."

[201] [20] In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across," sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south."

[201] [21] In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alêne sign language name for them is "striped noses" or "scratched noses."

[201] [22] In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

[23] Compare form and meaning of this word with [illegible] or [illegible], which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection.

[201] [24] In the sign language called "people who defecate by the riverside."

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east. Their approximate northern boundary seems to have cut across the Big Belt Range near its center, following some hilly country north of Helena, between the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. The territory claimed by the tribe included practically all of the present counties of Deerlodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark. This is the country said to have been occupied by the tribe about 1600 (?), when they obtained the first horses. The extreme eastern and southern parts of the territory may have been to some extent neutral ground, and the district east of the Big Belt and Bridger Ranges was possibly not very fully utilized before the introduction of the horse. [10] About the time of the introduction of the horse the Flathead had for neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'x̣e* on the northwest and north, and Shoshonean tribes all around them on the southwest, south, and east. About this time the Crow, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were unknown, for they were not in contact with Salish tribes, and originally they lived far to the east. The Sarsi, Cree, and Assiniboin were also unknown. The only tribes on the Western Plains at this time, other than Salish, were Shoshoni, Kutenai,[26] and Blackfoot, all of which were well known. The Blackfoot people were then in three (some say four) divisions, as they are now,[27] all speaking the same language. There were two groups of Shoshoni—those who lived in and west of the Rockies and those who lived east of the Rockies, on the plains. Both of these divisions consisted of several tribes, some of them speaking dialects considerably different from others. Most of them, however, spoke the "real Snake" language. Various Shoshonean bands or tribes occupied the Lemhi country, and the whole area south of the Nez Percé. These western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on salmon, like the Nez Percé, Spokan, and western Salish tribes. East of the Rockies, Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, including the National Park, and they are said to have extended east to the Big Horn Mountains or beyond. To the south, both east and west of the Rockies, the Flathead knew of no tribes that were not branches of the "Snake." Most of these people depended chiefly on hunting buffalo, elk, and mountain sheep. Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston, and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation. Some think they even stretched east almost to the present Northern Cheyenne Reserve. None of the former Shoshoni boundaries were properly known to the Flathead, however, except

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[26] Kutenai-Tuna'x̣e.

[27] Blackfoot proper, Blood, and Piegan.

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where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tunά'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone.

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After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfeet. (a, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1780-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

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Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tună'χe* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tună'χe*, and the *Tună'χe* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tună'χe*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tună'χe* on the north, the *Sᴇmtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tună'χe* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tună'χe* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32]

The Sᴇmtē'use or Sᴇmtă'use.—The territory of the *Sᴇmtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Phillipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sᴇmtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sᴇmtē'use* were

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[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tună'χe* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

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thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'χe* on the east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sχmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sχmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sχmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'χe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sχmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

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Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101 •

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. 131 It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[23]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at 133 higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. 137 Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems 000 now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

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[23] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

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000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and
were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same
stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous
and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western
Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance
and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the
tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded
a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur
d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai
still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

● 101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week
among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes
merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal
boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
177 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to
have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the
last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse,
however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the
plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were probably identical in material
culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the
Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes
until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture
of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed
a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest
and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and
southeast, although the difference between them was not great.
The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have
more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other
tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any
of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
[412] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan
and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation
by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides.
Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

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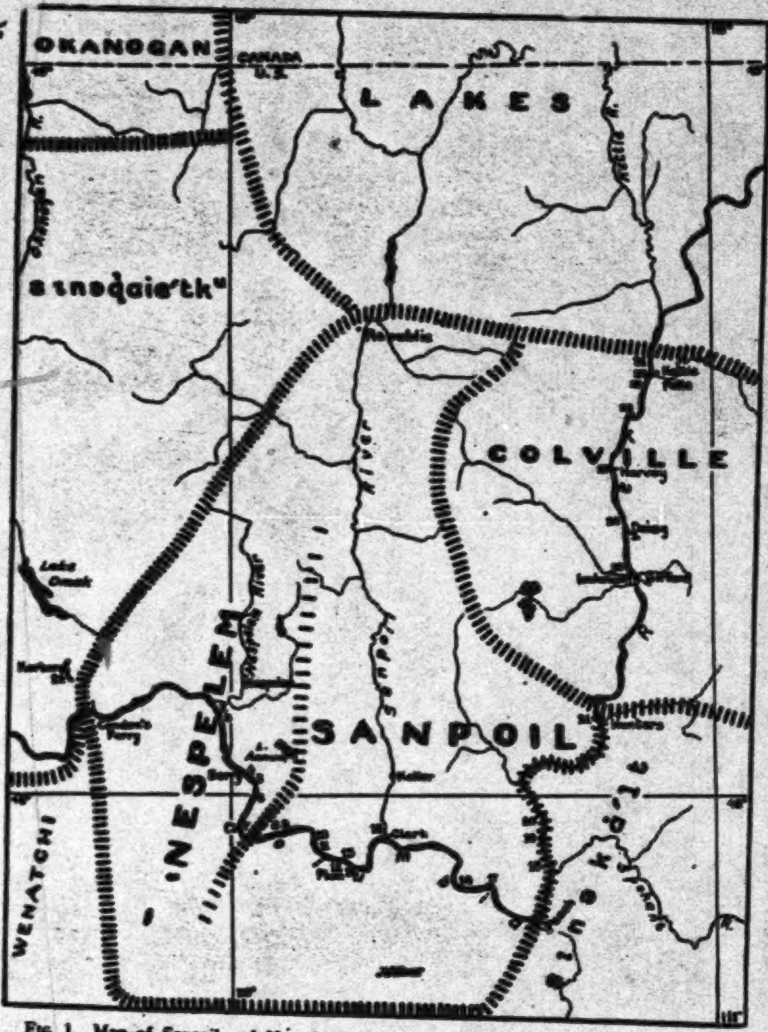
OKANOGAN
CANADA
U.S.
LAKES
COLVILLE
Lake Omak
'NESPELEM
SANPOIL
WENATCHI
River
Keller
Hunters
Clark

FIG. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

177 622 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> 619 648 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 361 619 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 361 619 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 84 (B)

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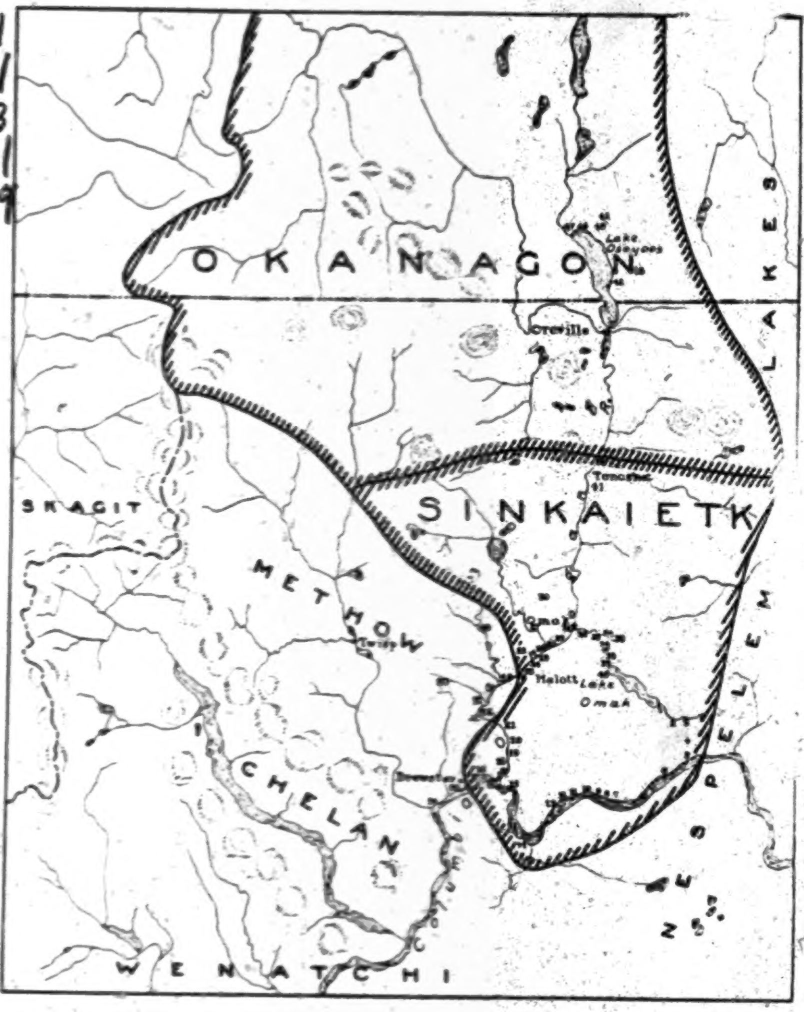
OKANAGON
Lake Osoyoos
Oroville
Tonasket
SINKAIETK
SKAGIT
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Lake Omak
Brewster
CHELAN
WENATCHI
LAKES
NESPELEM

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

103 361 619 The Tukoratum (stEkōra·´t^{ûx}) have winter sites from Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to about four miles above Monse, Washington. This band is sometimes called the snEkEkûm'tcI´n^{aûx}, "people at the mouth of the river."

6." [1] Enkukcl´ptEn (Wenatchi word), "driftwood in the water."
7. ákĭtItqwEtá´n, "tules by the mouth of the creek."
8. sqe´tastûm, "rocks ready for a tipi."
9. nitá´p, "driftwood around the rocks."
10. tuẋtĭatá´ks, "rocky point."
11. kalI´tsman.
12. ya´kĭámalámō´l·^{xû}, "brush at the mouth of the creek."
13. sIûẋtI´na, "below the cliffs."
14. spûkpûkōmi´n, "scattered rocks."
15. tûkōra·´tûm.
16. EnIōẋtcI´n, "below the mouth of the river."
17. nEkEkûm'tcI´n, "mouth of the river." This village is divided and built on both sides of the river.
18. sInkáspi´tlûẋtEn, "old camp sites." This is one of the best winter sites belonging to the Tukoratum band. It is very old.
19. stsōsIẋûwē´ẋ´ûẋ, "fish hawk." This site is so named because birds called tsI´ōûk catch fish there.
20. sxa´IẋkalûktEn.
21. skûpkûpû´naûx^{û}, "sand point."

The Kartar (skata´r^{Ex}) band have winter sites from the foot of Lake Omak to the Columbie River." [1]

1. ya'akspI´tsEn, "place where Indian hemp grows."
2. kata´r^{ûx}, "strip of brush."
3. kaĭEĭEû´l·t, "trail between the cliff and the brush."
4. Ensûpsûpōẋwe´nk^{û}, "holes in the cliff."
5. EnÁkaka´1ûẋstÁmẋōlaû, "between two rocky points."

The Konkonelp (skû´nqwûnIEp) band have winter sites from about three miles above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak.

22. EnẋasẋasI´tk^{û}, "good water."
23. Name forgotten.
24. kaûōqánI´ĭx^{û}, "snowdrift marks."
25. niẋwItI´tk^{ûx}, "little creeks."
26. qō´nqōnIĭp or skû´nqwûnIEp.
27. paka´ûōtsI´st, "white rock."
28. smōqátcI´n, "swallows."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 86 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

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29. kȧɫȧ'kɫȧk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
30. kȧtōma'ūkᵘ, "one hill on the flat."
31. ɫȧȧmī'na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpī'tsa.
33. Enaqatkȧ'tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nx̣ux̣alī'nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca'ktkūɫp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa'tqɫp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi'nt.
38. sūmūkwa'aqa'in, "snow on the brush."
39. nō'aōmEn.
40. sīnȧl·alaqwaī'l'p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaūx̣ōlō's band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaūx̣ōlō's.

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The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of and on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.—

42. tɫȧtsEnī'tkᵘˣ, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwaī'e·'nīkᵘˣ, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxūwī'ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inɫEl·ɫamEltsī'n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamī'p, "at head of the lake."
47. pūstīntsē'ntEn.

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A group of Methow (smē'tx̣aūʷīx) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci'lōx̣wist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

8: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

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36 Numbers refer to sites indicated on the map (Figure 36).[1]

37 In 1853 Gibbs mentioned the Saht-lil-kwu band as though resident at the lake between Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413). This must be Omak or Goose Lake and the band the Kartar people. Teit lists a Southern Okanagon village Saxī'lx^{u} ("heaped house") situated "near the mouth of Similkameen River," according to his Northern Okanagon informant. The informant may very well have said "near the mouth of the river," meaning the Okanogan River, but which Teit took to mean the Similkameen. Immediately following he gives another village "TEkwora'tEm - On Okanagon River, close to .saxī'lx^{u}" (our no. 15) Teit, Salishan Tribes, 208). Saxī'lx^{u} must be a Kartar village and the same as Gibbs' Saht-lil-kwu. —L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 86(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86 (c)

48. carī´pa.
49. lū´plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnī´kĔpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lōx̣wist.
52. ănlâx̣ŭlâx̣swa´tkᵘ, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lâ'x.
54. snx̣Encī´naᵘˣ.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alène

THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

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DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

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It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

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Villages of St. Joe River division

	Location
1. *sti'qʷlakᴇcᴇn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tolti'ctacᴇcᴇn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stoisᴇtá'wᴇs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcat'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *nicá'mtsᴇn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

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There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sᴇntsᴇn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were
common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian
and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
317 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*971 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

[103]
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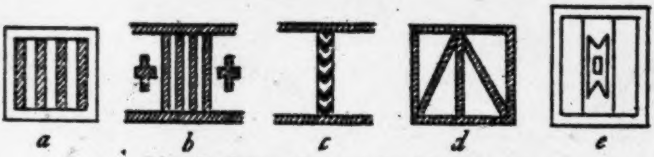

FIGURE 22.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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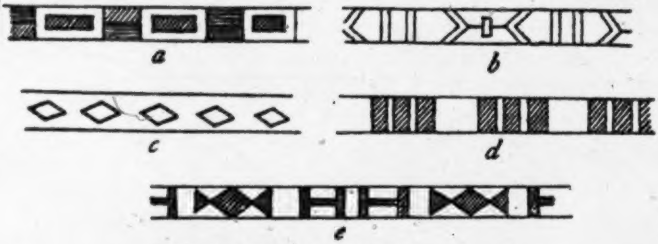

FIGURE 23.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was
exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the
introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said
that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open
and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

726 most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five
guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the
[727] western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Black-
foot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Black-
foot were pursued but made good their escape.

726 Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the
same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were
*171 carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade
with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot
Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few
Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As
they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from
a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot
war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the
party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they
managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got
nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat.
The Pend d'Oreilles called reenforcements, followed the Blackfoot,
[727] who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They
killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The
rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and
made their escape through the woods in the night. After this,
McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at
Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there
were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post.
• [103] The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*,"
from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

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Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

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Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu's, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'x̣um, "chief"
Queen	tuqłumi'luxʷ, "feet"
Flush	sq̇aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	x̣axtıtu', "straight"
Straight flush	x̣axtıtusq̇aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kałłi'łł, "three alike".
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'səs, "four alike," etc.
Pair	k̓ali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asłu·'laxʷ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kanumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'səm, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxtə'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snmłmłuqua'ṗulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	siλ'nəm, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksəxəntcı'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'iməntcı'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

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Smoking (sma'uxʷ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

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The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognised by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lx̣tcn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan snəq̓aie'tkʷ Lakes snəká'lt Colville	nsi'lx̣tcn	Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'łutcn
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi sískə'təmixʷ	ns'x̣wa'mux'tcn	Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtcn

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Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

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Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the snəq̓aie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[3] Cf., page 26.

114 [m]inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

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361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

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177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

P. 4 (A)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, 621
but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected 131
bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kɛtɛmux̣ or Tiä'kɛtux̣[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kɛtux̣,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsɛnux̣ or .skowa'xtsɛnɛx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akɛstcɛm or .niä'qɛtcɛm, 101
which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or 105
Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tcɛm in .nia'kɛtcɛm means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iä'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iäkɛma and stia'kɛt, etc.

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern 159
Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over 622
all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

181 141 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

105 177 MATERIAL CULTURE IN GENERAL.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunа'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

324 WORK IN STONE, WOOD, ETC.—It seems that work in stone was confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes. 32 The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 PAINTING AND DYEING.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

1: Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico. U.S., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1907, 1910.

2 parts.

HRAF copy.

[Only pp. 326-327, 646-647, and 850 from Part 1, and pp. 57, 114-115, 451-452, 509, 576, 594, 625, and 932 from Part 2 have been processed for the Southeast Salish file.]

[Entries from this encyclopedic work have been processed for the following Southeast Salish groups: Colville (pp. 326-327), Kalispel (pp. 646-647), and Methow (p. 850), from Part 1, and Nespelem (Nespelim) (p. 57), Southern Okanogan (Okinagan) (pp. 114-115), Wenatchi (Pisquow) (pp. 263, 932), Sanpoil (pp. 451-452), Lake (Senijextee) (p. 509), Columbia (Sinkiuse) (p. 576), Coeur d'Alene (Skitswish) (p. 594), and Spokane (p. 625) from Part 2. The entries are concise, and give the location of the group, a few facts about their culture, their treaties with the Whites, and their population at various dates. Since most of the data is general in nature, the bulk of the material has been filed under Category 101 Identification. Where more specific information is given, it will be found under the appropriate category numbers.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

111 NR19 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

2: Ray, Verne F. The Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology. Vol. 5. Dec., 1932. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1933.

Pp. 229; frontispiece; 22 text figures; 5 plates; 1 table.

Yale: Nk10. W27.v.5

[The Sanpoil and Nespelem were politically autonomous but in culture and language they were identical. Their culture, which persisted with little change until the twentieth century, was typical of the central Plateau; this is the standard ethnography for that area. Both material and non-material traits of culture are examined in detail. Many verbatim accounts from native informants are used for illustrative purposes. Concepts of the supernatural are given extensive treatment; the guardian spirit quest--important in both religious and secular life--is carefully described. Material on the physical environment, including the flora and the fauna, is rich and complete. The technological descriptions are precise and clear. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-1930
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1953.

111

NR19 Southeast Salish
Sinkaietk

3: Cline, Walter, Rachel S. Commons, May Mandelbaum, Richard H. Post, and L. V. W. Walters. The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Edited by Leslie Spier. Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology, 2. General Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1938.

Pp. 262; preface; 38 figures; 1 genealogical figure; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

/This source is a basic ethnography of the Sinkaietk, or Southern Okanagon. It is divided into chapters on subsistence, technology, social organization, the life cycle, games, and folklore. With the exception of the last chapter, each aspect of Sinkaietk life was discussed by a different member of the team of graduate students who made the study. The field work was done in July and August, 1930, and the several sections were allocated. The separate accounts were then brought together and edited by Leslie Spier. A few relevant portions of the text are filed in NE12 Northeast Salish. The chapter on myths and folktales has been asterisked for category 539, but the table of contents for the chapter has been marked for categories 773 and 539. --Analyst/

Field date: 1930
Analyst: W. W. Stein

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

111

Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

4: Teit, James A. The Middle Columbia Salish. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. II, pp. 89-128. Seattle, Washington, 1928.

HRAF copy.

[Investigations of the distribution of the Salishan tribes were undertaken by James Teit under the direction of Franz Boas during the years 1900-1910. This article was combined from the notes made by Teit on the Middle Columbia Salish, on the occasion of a visit of a few days in 1908. The notes, based in the main on information gained from two informants, reflect Mr. Teit's more extensive knowledge of neighboring tribes with whom he had had longer contact. Although this work is rather general and undetailed, a wide variety of tribal activities are touched upon, and considerable information is given about native group and place names, and locations and migrations of peoples in the area of the Columbia River valley.]

Field date: 1900-1910
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-3
Processed in 1953

NR19 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

5: Teit, James A. The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau. Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1927-1928, pp. 23-197. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1930.

14 text figures; Preface by Franz Boas.

Yale: A52.040.45

Omitted from the Files: p. 24, blank.

[This work presents data collected by Teit during trips in the Plateau country. It includes exhaustive descriptions of the material culture and somewhat less complete information on the social and religious aspects of Coeur d'Alene life in times antedating the introduction of the horse and the infiltration of Plains elements into the cultures of the Plateau area. Traits present during the buffalo hunting times, and after the tribe's removal to the reservation, are occasionally mentioned. The information is largely drawn from oral tradition existing in the tribe at the time of the field work. --Analyst]

Field date: 1906-09
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

111 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanagon; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

6: Teit, James A. The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau. Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1927-1928, pp. 198-294. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1930.

11 text figures; 2 plates.

Yale: A52. 040. 45

[Teit includes in the "Okanogan group" the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville and Lakes tribes. Along with rather general ethnographic data, Teit records considerable historical and geographical information, a genealogy of Okanogan chiefs, and botanical and native names of a number of plants used for food and for medicine. Figures 20-25 (pp. 283-288) reproduce rock paintings and incised figures on tree bark made by these Indians. --Analyst]

Field date: 1906-09 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland Processed in 1954

7: Teit, James A. The Salishan tribes of the Western Plateau. U.S., Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1927-1928, 45. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1930.

295-396 p.; 14 text figures; 2 plates.

Yale: A52. 040. 45.

[This monograph on the "Flathead group" includes data on the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, Semteuse, Kalispel, Spokan, and an extinct group called Tuna'xe who became absorbed by the Kutenai. The author also includes data on a number of other neighboring groups. Teit's main focus seems to have been on the Flathead. He " ... spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, ... " (p. 326). Consequently the data should be viewed somewhat circumspectly from the point of view of the Southeast Salish tribes. Most of the data in the sources is phrased in general terms which include data on the Flathead and the Kutenai as well as the Southeast Salish. These passages have been marked for 171 to alert the researcher that data from other file units is included. Data specifically on other file units have been zeroed out. This is primarily a "memory ethnography" based on interviews with old people who could remember the ways of the tribes before the introduction of the horse and contact with the Whites.]

Field date: 1906-1909
Analysts: Genevieve A. Highland
Marlene Martin

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953 and 1975

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p. 262(A)

113 **Wilkes, Charles** Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842. (Philadelphia, IV, 1845).

p. 262 (B)

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were pointed or practically headless. 324 Both of these styles of top are said to have been common. 412 Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alène and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. 321 Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, common to the Thompson, 285 were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making [314] appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 113 II, 1898-1900]).

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 100, 128, stone pipes.

similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé[159] were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts[160] were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.[161] A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,[162] was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,[163] for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points[164] were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.[165] A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and waterfowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'tclen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *tcatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

Quivers.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,[166] and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.[167] No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern

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[159] *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3-22.

[160] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b;* Field Mus. 111735.

[161] Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

[162] Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *d*.

[163] Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

[164] Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g;* Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

[165] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f;* Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *c;* Field Mus. 111729.

[166] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

[167] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

THE FLATHEAD GROUP

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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TRIBES OF THE GROUP.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes). 4. Spokan.
2. Pend d'Oreilles. 5. Sɛmtē'use } Extinct.
3. Kalispel. 6. Tunā'xe } Extinct.

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES.—The Flathead were also called Salish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flathead" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Jocko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

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In the Handbook of American Indians[1] the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people,

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[1] Bull 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 415; see also ibid., pt. 1, p. 465, under *Flathead*.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai	[illegible][1] ("Flatheaded".)	[illegible] ("Red willow people").	[illegible] ("river people")	Snχome'n.[2] Sntutú.[3]
Nez Percés	[illegible], [illegible] "Log or loggy ' people").	[illegible][4] [illegible]	[illegible][4] ("compress side of head.") [illegible] ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klikitat.		[illegible], [illegible] ("people of the great fir-trees").[6]	[illegible], [illegible] ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpłūs'n.[7] Cpoks'n.
Wasco				LłcLl'cuks.[8]
Klamath and Modoc				Spuḱ'n.[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	[illegible]		[illegible]	
Gros Ventres	[illegible][10] ("Flathead men").			
Arapaho	[illegible],[5] ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	[illegible] ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	[illegible] ("flathead")			
Crow	[illegible], [illegible] (said to mean "Flatheads").	[illegible], [illegible] ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	[illegible]			
Yankton	[illegible], [illegible] ("head cornered or edged").			

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Snmiž'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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[171]*
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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably [illegible], lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for *Flathead*.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From *Salish* tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. I, p. 147.

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177]

Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier. [113]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

p. 396

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2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, 101
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. 648
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach-
ments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them 131
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reser-
vation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international 175
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Depart- 122
ment of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal 114
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native mes- 117
sianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been in-
cluded here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear 121
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more sum- 122
marily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me 127
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identify- 132
ing botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcrip-* 194
tion of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

114
194 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: snaqaie'tkʷ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); snəkā'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and stske'tumixʷ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

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William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

VERNE F. RAY

Seattle, 1932

PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Chelan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

101 121 As a field for investigation for the group I hit on the Southern Okanagon. The cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 162 361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

know, or had forgotten. 115

Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in	father	Λ	as in	but
ä	"	hat	e	"	met
ē	"	fate	i	"	pin
ī	"	pique	o	"	not
ō	"	note	u	"	put
ū	"	rule	E, the indefinite vowel		

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

P.5(B)

3; Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

● 114
22b

1
6 Mr. Post took part in the building of a weir and first-salmon ceremony near Malott. — L.S.

p. 15 (c)

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 15 (A), category 116.-- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

167 131 101 passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz, bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

167 197 101 114 [According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived 167
from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this 131
place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made 101
their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and [72] killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls.[46a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three 551
descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among 167
the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are 131
preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior 101
Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekᴇᴛᴇmē'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[46a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas. 114

Bob Covington

114 194 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

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Seattle, 1932 VERNE F. RAY

9. wał'wałá'skın ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wałá'skınxʷ, situated a half 162 mile up the river from nłxxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was 221 also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and 361 shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are 592 washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11]

10. t'sakt'si'lkskın ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wałá'skın (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the [illegible]a'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

    It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. x̣ax̣sula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sx̣ax̣sula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kałpusp̓u'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kałpusp̓u'stənaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mlkʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kałpusp̓u'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each [226] year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

114 [scrut]inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

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361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105
177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

115

Michel Brooks, Southern Okanagon, aged 55, was born of a Canadian mother (Northern Okanagon ?). He remembers the old life as a little boy. His father and grandfather told him much of the old ways.

Cecile Brooks, about 58 years old, was born at the time of the great earthquake (1872 ?). Wife of Michel Brooks by the levirate. (Her first husband had been a cousin of Michel's and a son of Lucy Joe's.) Kalispel by birth, but married into the Kartar branch of the Okanagon at a rather early age (about fourteen). There got rather full technological training as well as some insight into the functioning of the social and religious order, and traditions about the tabus of menstruation and so forth, which were for the most part no longer practised. Very able and intelligent. Distinguished very carefully between customs of the Okanagon and those she knew of the Kalispel.

Lucy Joe, Kartar, aunt of Michel, was more than 70 years old. She first married at the time of the earthquake, or somewhat before: her oldest child died at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). Remembered days before the establishment of the mission. Herself able and intelligent, she was respected and somewhat feared by the others, particularly as she had a reputation as an important shaman. She did not admit this power openly during the five days we [M.M. and R.S.C.] talked with her, but hinted at it. This may have colored her material on religion somewhat, but her disavowal of Catholicism was frank and clear enough. Had been strongly influenced by the Indian preachings of the local advocate of the Dream dance. Had travelled, particularly to the Thompson country. Intelligent and well-informed on economics and theoretical social arrangements, ceremonies, and so forth.

Julie Josephine, also Kartar, probably about 80, but only a little older than Lucy Joe. These two are cousins: Lucy Joe calls Julie Josephine "older sister," since the father of the former was first cousin of Julie Josephine's mother (or more distantly related ?). This informant was good at specific details, such as relationships between actual individuals in a particular village. Time too short to get very much information.

Suszen Timentwa, 48 years old, present chief of the Kartar band, was born at Okanogan town. Ancestry is a mixture of Moses-Columbia and Kartar on his mother's side for several generations: father was Chelan. Intelligent person with mystical tendencies; prone to formalize everything into a cosmic scheme centering around his religious ideas.

Mary Carden, about 78 years old, member of the Tukoratum band. Her ancestry is Tukoratum and Chelan. Very shrewd, excellent memory, no scruples about divulging the past, and no pet philosophy to uphold.

Josephine Marchand, 38 years old, Mary's daughter. Her father was white. Considers herself a Tukoʔatum. Excellent interpreter; interest was not in the past but in financial returns. Annie Marchand, aged 16, her daughter, furnished a tale.

Chilowhist Jim was born at Entiat about sixty-five years ago. He came to Malott as a boy of eight or younger. His mother lived at Malott, his father at Entiat. He has been on the Methow River a great deal and still goes there often.

Old Harry is also from the southern end of the Okanogan River. He married at twenty-six; had twelve children by two successive wives; his youngest son is now forty; hence Old Harry must be about ninety.

Billie Joe was an unsatisfactory informant whose views were undoubtedly colored by his wide contacts with other tribes. His father was Wenatchi; his mother a Northern Okanagon from Penticton; his stepmother Wenatchi; and his wife a Wenatchi shaman.

Johnnie Louie, aged 49, served both as interpreter and informant. His affiliations seem to be mostly among the central and northern bands, but one or more of his grandparents were Colville, and there is a question how far he identified himself with the Colville. Much of our Colville information was supplied by him. He is shrewd, intelligent, well-informed, and was active in furthering our enterprise.

Emma Louie, his wife, aged about 25, was also interpreter. She is Colville by birth, marriage, and normal residence. Nine years of mission school education. Adequate knowledge of languages; fairly intelligent, completely naive. Translations fairly accurate, as far as could be judged, and unbiased, but not always full enough.

Andrew Tillson, aged 78, affiliated with the northern bands and with the Northern Okanagon. Difficult to work with because of Johnnie's resentment of his deafness, and his character. Material seems to have been trustworthy whenever certainly checked as his own.

Tom Martin, about 60 years old, member of the Inkamip band, Northern Okanagon. He gave reliable information, but there were many things about the past that he did not

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know, or had forgotten.

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Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in	father	á	as in	but
ä	"	hat	e	"	met
ē	"	fate	i	"	pin
ī	"	pique	o	"	not
ō	"	note	u	"	put
ū	"	rule	E,	the indefinite vowel	

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

P.5(B)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation. 122 [115] ●

TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Columbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third tribe, the .nkutᴇme'xᵘ or Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux̣ of The Dalles country. However, the affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1] 101

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People, names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were considered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais, Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a shaman) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside, attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticulations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were sometimes called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be 173 101 parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy. 167 131

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[24] During my conversations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweē'tca, or Kwoiē'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers. 115 167 131

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[24] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

167 131 The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[37] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[38] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

[164] The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[39] regarding

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[37] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[38] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

159 115 [39] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tună'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tună'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

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The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

173/728 kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the [115] great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[218] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead [551] returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutxna'lqʷ*[*], who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na*

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[218] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[*] A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

1: Hodge E-5 (no date) 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Colville

000 elements as conceived in Indian philosophy, viz. fire, wind, water, and earth, are among Siouan tribes symbolized by the colors of the cardinal points; and Cushing relates the same of the Zuñi. Mooney says that among the Cherokee red signifies success, triumph; blue, defeat, trouble; black, death; white, peace, happiness. In another connection he says: "Red is a sacred color with all Indians and is usually symbolic of strength and success, and for this reason is a favorite color in painting the face and body for the dance or warpath and for painting the war pony, the lance, etc." Likewise black was a sign of mourning and white of peace, while red was usually a sign of war.

There is a symbolism of sex among the Navaho that is based on that of the cardinal points. Where two things somewhat resemble each other but one is larger, more violent, noisy, or robust than the other, it is spoken of as the male, while the smaller, finer, or gentler is spoken of as female. Thus the supposedly turbulent San Juan r. is called "male water" and the placid Rio Grande "female water"; an electric storm is called "male rain," a gentle shower "female rain." So the land N. of the Navaho country, with giant snow peaks and violent winds, is regarded as the "male land," while the country to the S., devoid of very high mountains and sending forth warm, gentle breezes, is considered the "female land." For this reason, among the Navaho, black, the color of the N., belongs to the male in all things, and blue, the color of the S. to the female. Among the Arapaho white and yellow are the ceremonial colors for male and female respectively (Kroeber), while the Hopi associate red and yellow with the male, and white and blue or green with the female (Fewkes).

Many Indian personal names contain words denoting colors, often in relations which seem incongruous to us. It is probable that they generally have mystic meanings.

Implements used in games usually have different significant colors. Where there are two opposing sides the colors are often red and black, as they are in many of our games. Thus in the game of *nanzoz*, or hoop-and-pole, among the Navaho, one of the two long sticks is marked black at the base and the other red. In their game of *kesitse* the chip tossed up to determine which party shall first hide the stone in the moccasin is blackened on one side and left unpainted on the other. They say that this symbolizes night and day, and the game itself is based on a myth of the contest of night with day. Day is commonly symbolized by red and night by black among the Indians. The Hopi paint their prayer-sticks in prescribed colors; those for rain are green, for war red. Every *kachina* has a prayer-sick painted yellow, green, red, white, and black, indicative of the cardinal points (see the table). Hopi gods are also assigned special colors—the Sun god red, the Underworld god black, and the Fire god all colors (Fewkes). Many tribes do not distinguish by name between green and light blue, black and dark blue, or white and unpainted. (W. M.) 000

Colotlan. Classed by Orozco y Berra as a branch of the Cora division of the Piman stock inhabiting a N. tributary of the Rio Grande de Santiago (Rio Colotlan), between long. 104° and 105° and about lat. 22°, Jalisco, Mexico. The language was almost extinct by 1864. Among their towns were Comatlan and Apozolco, at which missions were established by the Spaniards. (F. W. H.)

Colotlan.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. **Colotlan.**—Ibid., 58, 280, 282.

Columbians. Applied by Bancroft (Nat. Races, I, 150, 1882) to the Indians of N. W. America dwelling between lat. 42° and 55°, and stated by him to be synonymous with the Nootka-Columbians of Scouler and others. The term Columbians, however, is evidently broader in its scope; as it includes all the tribes W. of the Rockies from the Skittagetan group, in the N., to the S. boundary of Oregon, while Scouler's term comprises a group of languages extending from the mouth of Salmon r. to the S. of Columbia r., now known to belong to several linguistic stocks.

Colville. A division of Salish between Kettle falls and Spokane r., E. Wash.; said by Gibbs to have been one of the largest of the Salish tribes. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 2,500, in 130 houses, in 1806. There were 321 under the Colville agency in 1904. 101

Basket People.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 444, 1845. **Cauldrons.**—Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Chaudière.**—Cox, Columbia R., I, 189, 1831. **Chualpays.**—Kane, Wand. in N. Am., 309, 1859. **Collville.**—Dart (1851) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 632, 1853. **Colville.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Covilles.**—Stevens (1856) in H. R. Doc. 48, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1856. **Gens des Chaudières.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 335, 1844. **Hualpais.**—Petitot, Autour du Lac des Esclaves, 362, 1891. **Kettle Falls.**—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Kettle Indians.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 155, 1831. **Kqeptlü'alk.**—Chamberlain, 8th Rep. on N. W. Tribes of Can., 8, 1892 ('people of the falls': Kutenai name). **Les Chaudières.**—Cox, op. cit., I, 256. **Quarlpi.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 532, 1878. **Quiarlpi.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 444, 1845. **Sälsxuyilp.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). **Schroo-yel-pi.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 428, 1854. **Schwo-yel-pi.**—Ibid., 445. **Schwoyelpi.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 413, 1855. **Shuyelpees.**—Smet (1859) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 65, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 141, 1860. **Shuyelphi.**—Smet, Oregon Miss., 108, 1847. **Shuyelpi.**—Smet, Letters, 213, 1843. **Shwoi-el-pi.**—Stevens, Rep. on Pac. R. R., 94, 1854. **Sin-who-yelp-pe-took.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Siyëlpa.**—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **Skuiel-pi.**—Mayne, Brit. Col., 296, 1861. **Skuyélpi.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (so called by other

1: Hodge E-5 (no date) 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Colville

101 Salish tribes). Soayalpi.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., vi, 205, 1846. Squaw-a-tosh.—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., i, 300, 1855. Squeer-yer-pe.—Ibid. Squiaelps.—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. Swielpa.—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. Swi-el-pee.—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. Whe-el-po.—Lewis and Clark, Exped., i, map, 1814. Whe-el-poo.—McVickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, ii, 385, 1842.

000 **Comac.** A former Pima rancheria, visited by Kino and Mange in 1699; situated on the Rio Gila, 3 leagues (miles?) below the mouth of Salt r., s. Ariz.

S. Bartolomé Comac.—Mange in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 366, 1856.

Comachica. A Calusa village on the s. w. coast of Florida, about 1570.—Fontaneda Memoir (ca. 1575), Smith transl., 19, 1854.

Comanche. One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the n. boundary of the Comanche.

000 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as Padouca fork. At that time they roamed over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range. Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

ASA HAVI (THE MILKY WAY)—PENATEKA COMANCHE

COMANCHE WOMAN

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish

Kalispel

000 more numerous, but the following are the chief ones of which there is definite information: Ahantchuyuk or Pudding River, Atfalati or Tualati, Calapooya, Chelamela, Chepenafa, Lakmiut, Santiam, Yamel, and Yonkalla.

The following are presumed to be Kalapooian tribes or bands, but have not been fully identified: Chemapho, Chemeketas, Chillychandize, Laptambif, Leeshtelosh, Peeyon, Shehees, Shookany, and Winnefelly. See *Calapooya*. (L. F.)

>**Calapooya**.—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 629, 1882. ×**Chinooks**.—Keane in Stanford, Compend., Cent. and So. Am., app., 474, 1878 (includes Calapooyas and Yamkally). =**Kalapooiah**.—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 225, 1841 (includes Kalapooiah and Yamkallie; thinks the Umpqua and Cathlascon languages are related); Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 599, 617, 1859 (follows Scouler). =**Kalapooian**.—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 81, 1891. =**Kalapuya**.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 217, 564, 1846 (of Willamet valley above falls); Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 17, 77, 1848; Berghaus (1851), Physik. Atlas, map 17, 1852; Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853; Latham in Trans. Philol. Soc. Lond., 73, 1856; Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 617, 1859; Latham, Opuscula, 340, 1860; Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 167, 1877; Gatschet in Beach, Ind. Miscel., 442, 1877. >**Yamkally**.—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 630, 1882 (bears a certain relationship to Calapooya).

Kalashiauu (*Ka-la'-ci-au-u*). The Raccoon clan of the Chua (Snake) phratry of the Hopi.—Stephen in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 38, 1891.

Kalawashuk (*Ka-la-wa'-cŭk*). One of the Chumashan villages connected with the former Santa Inez mission, Santa Barbara co., Cal.—Henshaw, Santa Inez MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884.

Kalawatset. A geographical group of tribes of different families in w. Oregon, embracing particularly the Coos, Kuitsh, and Siuslaw.

Kala-Walset.—Mannypenny in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 9, 1857. **Kalawatset**.—Milhau, MS. vocab. Coast Inds., B. A. E. **Kalawatshet**.—Gibbs, MS., B. A. E. **Killiwatsal**.—Framboise, quoted by Gairdner (1835) in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841. **Killiwashat**.—Hale, Ethnol. and Philol., 221, 1846. **Killawat**.—Drake, Bk. Inds., viii, 1848. **Killewatsis**.—Armstrong, Oreg., 116, 1857. **Killiwashat**.—Latham (1853) in Proc. Philol. Soc. Lond., VI, 82, 1854. **Killiwatshat**.—Hamilton quoted by Gibbs, MS., B. A. E. **K'qlo-qwec'ǫ́ŭnnĕ**.—Dorsey, MS. Chasta Costa vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Chastacosta name). **Kal-la-wat-sets**.—Drew in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 127, 1856.

Kalhauvane. A former Delaware (?) village on the headwaters of the w. branch of Susquehanna r., Pa.—Pouchot map (1758) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., X, 694, 1858.

Kalbusht ('where the water rolls'). A former Alsea village on the s. side of Alsea r., Oreg.

Xäl'-bŭct'.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 230, 1890.

Kalekhta. A former Aleut village on Unalaska, Aleutian ids., Alaska, containing 14 persons about 1825.

Kahlechtenskoi.—Elliott, Cond. Aff. Alaska, 225, 1875. **Kalaktak**.—Coxe, Russian Discov., 167, 1787. **Kalechtinskoje**.—Holmberg, Ethnog. Skizz., map, 1855. **Kalekhtinskoe**.—Veniaminoff, Zapiski, II, 202, 1840.

Kalelk (*Ka'-lelk*). A former Modoc settlement on the N. shore of Tule, or Rhett lake, s. w. Oregon.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. 1, xxxii, 1890. 000

Kali ('fishermen'). A Knaiakhotana clan living on Cook inlet, Alaska.—Richardson, Arct. Exped., I, 407, 1851.

Kalignak. A Nushagagmiut village on a tributary of Nushagak r., Alaska; pop. 91 in 1880.—Petroff, Rep. on Alaska, 47, 1880.

Kaliko. A Yuit Eskimo village on the Siberian coast E. of Iskagan bay.—Krause in Deutsche Geog. Blätt., V, 80, map, 1882.

Kalindaruk (*kalin* 'ocean', *ta* 'at', *ruk* 'houses.'—Kroeber). A village near the mouth of Salinas r., Cal. The name has been used, whether or not with justification, to designate the group of Indians inhabiting the villages on lower Pajaro r., and between it and the Salinas, near the coast. Indians from this area were taken both to San Carlos and to San Juan Bautista missions. Among the villages attributed to this region are Alcoz, Animpayamo, Kapanai, Kulul, Lukaiasta, Mustak, Nutnur, Paisin, Poitokwis, Tiubta, and Ymunakam.

Calendaruc.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 398, 1897. **Kalindaruk**.—A. L. Kroeber, inf'n, 1903 (proper form). **Kathlendaruc**.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Nov. 23, 1860. **Katlendarukas**.—Ibid., Apr. 20, 1860.

Kalispel (popularly known as Pend d'Oreilles, 'ear drops'). 101 A Salish tribe around the lake and along the river of the same name in the extreme N. part of Idaho and N. E. Washington. Gibbs divided them into the Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake and the Sika-tkml-schi or Pend d'Oreilles of the Upper Lake, 101 and according to Dr Dart the former numbered 520 in 1851, 161 the latter 480 (Pac. R. R. Rep. I, 415, 1855). McVickar (Hist. Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842) made three divisions: Upper Pend d'Oreilles, Lower Pend d'Oreilles, and Micksucksealton. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 1,600 in 30 lodges in 1805. In 1905 there were 640 Upper Pend d'Oreilles and 197 Kalispel under the Flathead agency, Mont., and 98 Kalispel under the Colville agency, Wash.

The subdivisions, being seldom referred to, are disregarded in the synonymy.

Ash-min-de-sou-may.—Anon. Crow MS. vocab., 101 B. A. E. (Crow name). **Ah-min'-e-shu'-me**.—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol., 402, 1862 ('the tribe that uses canoes': Crow name). **Calespelins**.—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 696, 1857. **Calespelin**.—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Calespell**.—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Calespin**.—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, op. cit., 170. **Calispella**.—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 504, 1878. **Calespelin**.—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 701, 1857. **Calespella**.—H. R. Ex. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Coospelllar**.—Drake, Bk. Inds., vii, 1848. **Coospellar**.—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Coos-pel-lar's Nation**.—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ear Rings**.—De Smet, Letters, 62, 1843. **Flathead Kootanie**.—Tolmie and Dawson, 1: Hodge E-5 ~~1907~~, 1910 Southeast Salish

Kalispel [pt. 1]

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Comp. Vocabs., 124B, 1884 (erroneously so called). **Hanging Ears.**—Irving, Rocky Mts., I, 157, 1837. **Kah-lis-pelm.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 461, 1854. **Kalespel.**—Ibid., 416. **Kalispelum.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). **Kalispel.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, 692, 1902 (own name). **Kalispelines.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 418, 1854. **Kalispelms.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. **Kalispels.**—Smet, Letters, 170, 1843. **Kalispelum.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 419, 1854. **Kalispelu-sm.**—Ibid., 418. **Ka'nîqtlā'tlām.**—Chamberlain in 8th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 8, 1892 (Kutenai name: 'compress side of head'). **Kellespem.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 101, 335, 1844. **Klanoh-klatklam.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Comp. Vocabs., 124B, 1884 (Kutenai name). **Kulise Palsa.**—Warre and Vavasseur in Martin, Hudson Bay Ter., 82, 1849. **Kullespelm.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 1846. **Kullespen.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, 27, 1848. **Kúshpĕlu.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 731, 1896 (a Yakima or Paloos form). **Kutlel-spelm.**—Latham, Comp. Philol., 399, 1862. **Lower Pend d'Oreilles.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. **Ni-he-ta-te-tup'i-o.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol., 264, 1862 (Siksika name). **Papshpûn'lĕma.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 731, 1896 (Yakima name: 'people of the great fir trees'). **Pends d'Oreilles.**—Audouard, Le Far West, 204, 1869. **Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. **Pend d'Oreilles of the Upper Lake.**—Ibid. **Ponds-d'oreilles.**—Smet, Letters, viii, 1843. **Ponds Oreilles.**—Irving, Rocky Mts., I, 121, 1837. **Pend d'Oreilles.**—Price in Sen. Ex. Doc. 44, 47th Cong., 2d sess., 2, 1882. **Ponderas.**—McVickar, Hist. Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842. **Pondera.**—Parker, Jour., 293, 1840. **Ponderas.**—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 8, 1848. **Ponderays.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 569, 1846. **Pord Oreilles.**—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. **Ponderas.**—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Ponderas.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Sar-lit-hu.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Slka-tkml-schi.**—Gibbs, ibid., 415. **Upper Pend d'Oreilles.**—Com'r. Ind. Aff. in Sen. Misc. Doc. 136, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 11, 1870.

000 **Kaliukluk.** A Kaialigmiut Eskimo village s. of C. Vancouver, Nelson id., Alaska; pop. 30 in 1880.

Kalikhhlegamute.—Nelson quoted by Baker, Geog. Dict. Alaska, 1902. **Kaliukhlegamute.**—Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, 54, 1884. **Kaliukluk.**—Baker, op. cit.

Kalkalya. A former Maidu village on the site of Mooretown, Butte co., Cal.—Dixon in Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pl. xxxviii, 1905.

Kalokta. The Crane clan of the Zuñi of New Mexico.

Ká'loktâ-kwe.—Cushing in 13th Rep. B. A. E., 368, 1896 (*kwe*='people'). **Ko-lă-lăk-tă-que.**—Stevenson in 5th Rep. B. A. E., 541, 1887.

Kalokwis (*Qā'loquis*, 'crooked beach'). A village of the Tlauitsis on Turner id., Brit. Col. It was the legendary home of the Kwakiutl tribe at which all the transformations of animals took place.

Kā-loo-kwis.—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. for 1887, sec. II, 72. **Kar-luk-wees.**—Boas in Bull. Am. Geog. Soc., 229, 1887. **Qā'loqwis.**—Boas, inf'n, 1906 (='crooked beach'). **Qalukwis.**—Boas in Bull. Am. Geog. Soc., op. cit.

Kalopaling (pl. *Kalopalit*). A merman of Eskimo mythology; also called Mitiling ('with eider ducks'). He wears a jacket of eider-duck skins spotted with their black heads, and into the enormous hood he puts drowned hunters when kaiaks capsize. His feet are as big as sealskin floats. The Central Eskimo believe that once there were many Kalopalit, while now only few are left, but they imagine that they still see one occasionally swimming far out at sea and splashing the water with his legs and arms, or basking on a rock, or sitting in winter on the edge of a floe. They are supposed to delight in overturning kaiaks, and hunters tell stories of stealing up to Kalopalit while they lie asleep on the water and killing them with walrus harpoons, but one must shut his eyes as he makes the cast, else the Kalopaling will overset the kaiak and drown all on board. The flesh of the Kalopalit is said to be poisonous, but it can be fed to dogs.—Boas in 6th Rep. B. A. E., 620, 1888.

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Kaltag. A Kaiyuhkhotana village on the left bank of the Yukon, Alaska; pop. 45 in 1880.

Coltog.—Whymper, Alaska, 180, 1869. **Kahltag.**—Raymond in Sen. Ex. Doc. 12, 42d Cong., 1st sess., 25, 1871. **Kaltag.**—Dall, Alaska, 41, 1870. **K-kaltat.**—Zagoskin quoted by Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, 37, 1884. **Khkaltel.**—Tikhmenief (1861) quoted by Baker, Geog. Dict. Alaska, 1902.

Kaltat. A Koyukukhotana village on an island in Yukon r., not far from its junction with Koyukuk r., Alaska; pop. 9 in 1842.

Khaltat's village.—Allen, Rep. on Alaska, 110, 1887. **K-khaltat.**—Zagoskin quoted by Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, 37, 1884.

Kaltsergheatunne ('people on a point of land extending far into the ocean'). A division of the Tututni, formerly residing at Port Orford, on the coast of Oregon.

Kûl-ts'e'-rxe-a ʇûnnĕ'.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 233, 1890 (own name). **Port Orford Indians.**—Palmer in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 214, 1857. **Port Orfords.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 470, 1865. **Qwûs-tcu'-mûtc-tûn ʇûnnĕ'.**—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 233, 1890 (Naltunnetunne name). **Tce-re-ar-te-ay.**—Abbott, MS. Coquille census, B. A. E., 1858. **Tc'e-rxi'-ă ʇûnnĕ.**—Dorsey, Coquille MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884. **Tse-xi'-ă tĭnĕ'.**—Everette, Tutu MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1883 (='people by C. Foulweather').

Kaltshak. A Kuskwogmiut Eskimo village on the right bank of Kuskokwim r., about lon. 161°; pop. 106 in 1880, 29 in 1890.

Kakhligagh-miut.—Zagoskin in Nouv. Ann. Voy., 5th s., XXI, map, 1850. **Kalkhagamute.**—Hallock in Nat. Geog. Mag., IX, 90, 1898. **Kalthagamute.**—Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, map, 1884. **Kaltkagamiut.**—Eleventh Census, Alaska, 164, 1893. **Kaltkhagamute.**—Petroff, op. cit., 53. **Kaltshagamut.**—Spurr and Post quoted by Baker, Geog. Dict. Alaska, 1902. **Kaltshak.**—Baker, ibid. **Kchaljkagmjut.**—Holmberg, Ethnog. Skizz., map, 1855.

Kaluiak. A Kaniagmiut Eskimo village and fishing station on Chignik bay, Alaska; pop. 30 in 1880, 193 in 1890.

Chignik Bay.—Eleventh Census, Alaska, 163, 1893. **Kaluiak.**—Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, 28, 1884.

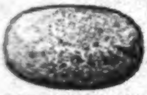
Kalukhtak. An Eskimo village in the Kuskokwim district, Alaska; pop. 29 in 1893.

Kahlukhtughamiut.—Eleventh Census, Alaska, 164, 1893.

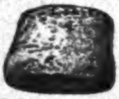
Kalulaadlek (*Kalulaā'ʟEX*, 'small house of owl'). A village of the Ntlakyapamuk on the E. side of Fraser r., about 24 m. above Yale, Brit. Col.—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 169, 1900.

1; Hodge E-5 1907,1910 Southeast Salish
Methow

000 discoidal and cylindrical pestle. Many of these hand-stones serve equally well for rubbing, rolling, and pounding. See *Mortars, Mullers, Notched plates, Pestles.*



DISCOIDAL MULLER; CALIFORNIA (1-4)



PESTLE-MULLER; ILLINOIS (1-4)

Consult Cushing in Millstone, IX, X, 1884–1885; Fewkes (1) in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 1898, (2) 22d Rep. B. A. E., 1903; Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 1891; James Stevenson in 2d Rep. B. A. E., 1883; M. C. Stevenson in 23d Rep. B. A. E., 1904. (W. H. H.)

Metate ruin. A prehistoric pueblo ruin in the Petrified Forest, across the wash from the "petrified bridge," near the Navaho-Apache co. boundary, Arizona; locally so called on account of the numerous stone milling troughs, or metates, set on edge in circular or linear form and scattered over the surface. The builders of the pueblo are unknown. The pottery, gray-brown and black in color, is coarse in texture and decorated with rude incision and by indented coiling.—Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 318, 1903.

Metates. A former Opata pueblo at the E. base of the Sierra de Teras, about 12 m. W. of Baseraca, E. Sonora, Mexico. Possibly identical with Teras, Guepacomatzi, or Toapara, which pueblos are mentioned in early documents as being in that vicinity.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 524 et seq., 1892.

Metea (prob. for *Metawä*, 'he sulks.'—W. J.). A Potawatomi chief, distinguished in his tribe as a warrior and an orator. When the Potawatomi were subsidized by the British at the beginning of the War of 1812 he was one of the leaders of the party that massacred the families of the garrison and citizens of Chicago as they were retreating to Detroit. He led the band that harassed the troops who marched in the fall of 1812 to the relief of Ft Wayne and was shot in the arm by Gen. W. H. Harrison. At a council held at Chicago in 1821 he impressed the whites by his eloquence and reasoning powers, and also when the treaty of the Wabash was concluded in 1826. He advocated the education of Indian youth and sent several from his tribe to the Choctaw academy in Kentucky. He died in a drunken debauch at Ft Wayne, in 1827, after having conducted difficult negotiations with dignity and skill in a conference with commissioners of the Government.—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, 59–64, 1858. See *Muskwawasepeotan.*

Meteahke. A Mandan band. 000

High Village.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 158, 1877. **Me-te-ah'-ke.**—Ibid.

Metewemesick ('place of black earth'). A former Nipmuc (?) settlement on Quinebaug r., near Sturbridge, Mass.—Roger Williams (1643) quoted by Tooker, Algonquian Series, VIII, 33, 1901.

Methow (*Met'-how*). A Salishan tribe of 101
E. Washington, formerly living about
Methow r. and Chelan lake, now chiefly 161
gathered on the Colville res. Their number is not officially reported.

101 **Battle-le-mule-emauch.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1847. **Lahtoha.**—Van Valkenburgh in Ind. Aff. Rep., 235, 1865 (perhaps a misprint for Methows). **Meat-who.**—Ross, op. cit. **Meshons.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. **Met-cow-we.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, IV, 321, 1905. **Metcowwee.**—Lewis and Clark, Exped., II, 252, 1814. **Metcowwee.**—Ibid., II, 318, 1817. **Methau.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 253, 1877. **Methews.**—H. R. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Methoons.**—Shanks, et al. (1873), ibid., 4. **Methow.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 302, 1877. **Mitaui.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. lxxxviii, 1896. **Mithouies.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870.

Methy. The burbot (*Lota maculosa*), the 000
loche of the Canadian French, a fish common in the waters of N. W. Canada. The word is taken from the name of this fish in the Wood Cree dialect of Algonquian, the Cree proper term being *mihyey*, according to Lacombe. L. Methy in Athabasca is named from this fish; also a lake in Labrador. (A. F. C.)

Meti. A former rancheria of gentile (probably Diegueño) Indians near San Diego, S. Cal.—Ortega (1775) quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., I, 253, 1884.

Métis ('mixed,' from French *métis*, a derivative of Latin *miscere*, 'to mix'), or *metif*. A term used by the French-speaking population of the N. W. to designate persons of mixed white and Indian blood. Among the Spanish-speaking population of the S. W. the word *mestizo*, of the same derivation, is used, but is applied more especially to those of half-white and half-Indian blood. The term *mustee*, a corruption of *mestizo*, was formerly in use in the Gulf states. In the W. the term "half-breed" is loosely applied to all persons of mixed white and Indian blood, without regard to the proportion of each. See *Mixed-bloods.* (J. M.)

Maitiffs.—Brevel *fide* Sibley (1805) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 730, 1832. **Mestigos.**—Williams, Vt., I, 494, 1809 (misprint). **Mestizo.**—Correct Spanish form; feminine *mestiza*. **Métis.**—Correct French form. **Mustees.**—Report of 1741 in Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., II, 353, 1836. **Mustees.**—Bermuda Royal Gazette, July 13, 1875, *fide* Jour. Anthrop. Inst., V, 491, 1876 (used in Bermuda for descendants of Indian slaves brought from the U. S.). **Wissakodewinini.**—Baraga, Otchipwe-Eng. Dict., 421, 1880 (Chippewa name: 'half-burnt wood man'; from *wissakode*, 'burnt trees', referring to their mixed light and dark complexion; pl. *Wissakodewininiwog*. He gives *aiabitawisid* as the literal word for 'half-breed').

Metlakatla. A Tsimshian town 15 m. S. of Port Simpson, Brit. Col. Anciently

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Nespelem

000 **Nescambioûit.** See *Assacumbuit.*

Nescopeck. A mixed Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware village formerly at the mouth of Nescopeck r., in Luzerne co., Pa., where a town of the same name now stands. It had been abandoned by 1779. (J. N. B. H.)

Neshamini. A Delaware tribe or band formerly living on Neshaminy cr., Bucks co., Pa.

Neshamani.—Clay quoted by Day, Penn., 485, 1843. **Neshaminas.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 127, 1816. **Ne-sham-i-ses.**—Macauley, N. Y., II, 166, 1829. **Neshaminies.**—Proud, Penn., II, 294, 1798. **Nishamines.**—Sanford, U. S., cxlvii, 1819.

Neshannock. A white-fleshed variety of potato; from the name of the place in Pennsylvania, where it was first produced. *Neshannock*, the name of a village and stream in Mercer co., comes from a word in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, signifying 'place of two rivers', from *nisha* 'two', *-hanne* 'flowing stream', *-ock* locative suffix. (A. F. C.)

Neshasath (*Nɛ'c'asath*). A sept of the Seshart, a Nootka tribe.—Boas in 6th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 32, 1890.

Neshaw. A local word for eel in Massachusetts. Trumbull (Natick Dict., 80, 1903) says: "The name of 'neshaw eel' is yet retained by the fishermen of Marthas Vineyard and perhaps elsewhere in Massachusetts for the silver eel (*Muræna argentea*)." The derivation is from Narraganset *neeshaûog* 'eels', literally 'pairers,' from *nees* 'two', *auog* 'they go to'. This Algonquian name, Trumbull thinks, may have belonged originally to the lamprey. (A. F. C.)

Nesheptanga. An ancient ruined pueblo situated in Jeditoh valley, in the Hopi country, N. E. Arizona. It seemingly was one of the group of villages built and occupied by the Kawaika people, who were of Keresan stock from the Rio Grande. It was first described, but not named, by V. Mindeleff in 1885 as a ruin between the Bat House (Chakpahu) and the Horn House (Kokopnyama), and was partially excavated by Dr Walter Hough for the National Museum in 1901. See Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 50-51, 1891; Fewkes in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 590, 1898; Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 333 et seq., 1903.

Neshepatanga.—Hough, op. cit., pl. 82.

Neshta. An extinct subgens of the Wazhazhe gens of the Ponca.

Necta.—Dorsey in 15th Rep. B. A. E., 229, 1897 (c=sh).

Nesietsha. A Naskotin village at the confluence of Blackwater and Fraser rs., Brit. Col.

Black Water.—Morice, Notes on W. Dénés, 24, 1893. **Nesietcah.**—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 109, 1892.

Nesikeep ('little deep hollow or cut', according to Teit; 'destroyed', referring to the incidents of a story, according to Hill-Tout). A village belonging to the Upper Fraser band of Ntlakyapamuk, on the w. side of Fraser r., 38 m. above Lytton, Brit. Col. Pop. 12 in 1901, the last time the name was officially reported. Dawson gives this as a Lillooet town. 000

N'eīk'p't.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Ethnol. Surv. Can., 4, 1899. **Nesikeep.**—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901. **Nes-i-kip.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 44, 1891. **Nesykep.**—Can. Ind. Aff. 1892, 312, 1893. **Nisceap.**—Ibid., 78, 1878. **Nēx'qīp.**—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 172, 1900.

Neskollek. A Natsotin village on Babine lake, Brit. Col.

Nes'qōllek.—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., x, 109, 1892.

Nespelim. A Salish tribe on a creek of same name, a N. tributary of Columbia r., about 40 m. above Ft Okinakane, Wash. Ross speaks of them as one of the Okinagan tribes, while Winans classes them as part of the Sanpoil. The latter two together numbered 653 on Colville res., Wash., in 1906. 101 [161]

In-as-petsum.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 185, 1855. **In-spellum.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Nepeelium.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 253, 1877. **Nespectums.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nes-pee-lum.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Nespelim.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, pt. I, 702, 1902. **Nespilim.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. 88, 1896. **Sin-spee-lish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855.

Nesquehonite. A variety of magnesium carbonate, from *Nesquehoning*, the place in Pennsylvania where it was found, and *-ite*, representing the Greek *ιτος*. Nesquehoning, the name of a stream and village in Carbon co., signifies, in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, 'at the black deer lick,' from *nisque* 'black', *mahoni* 'deer lick,' *-ing* locative suffix. (A. F. C.) 000

Nestucca. A branch of the Tillamook, formerly living on and near Nestugga r., N. W. Oreg., now on the Grande Ronde and Siletz res. Their popular name is derived from that of their country; their own name is Stagä'ush ('people of Staga'). Pop. 46 in 1881. They are no longer separately enumerated.

Apĕfan.—Gatschet, Kalapuya MS., B. A. E., 30 (Atfalati name for the Oregon Salish; perhaps from *tchápĕifan*, 'on the coast'). **Nas-tá'-kin-me' ȷûnnĕ.**—Dorsey, MS. Tutu vocab., 1884 (Tututunne name). **Nas-tŭk'-e-me' ȷûnnĕ.**—Dorsey, Naltunnetunne MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Naltunnetunne name). **Nestackee.**—Condon in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1863, 82, 1864. **Nestockies.**—Palmer in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 111, 1856. **Nestucalips.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestucals.**—H. R. Rep. 98, 42d Cong., 3d sess., 374, 1873. **Nestuccas.**—Huntington in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 71, 1868. **Nestucka.**—Ibid., 62. **Nestuckah.**—Victor in Overland Mo., VII, 346, 1871. **Nestuckers.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 221, 1861. **Nestuckias.**—Taylor in Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 40th Cong., spec. sess., 26, 1867. **Nextucas.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestrucca.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 74, 1874. **Nes Tucca.**—Ibid., 412, 1872. **Nestucca.**—Ibid., 346, 1875. **Nikaas.**—Framboise (1835) quoted by Gairdner in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841 (probably identical). **Nikas.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 335, 1844 (probably identical). **Nštěki Ampaf amim.**—Gatschet, Lakmiut MS., B. A. E., 105 (Lakmiut name). **Shibalta.**—Gatschet, Shasta vocab., B. A. E., 1877 (Yreka [Kikatsik] name). **Si ni'-tĕ-lĭ.**—Dorsey, Coquille MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 ('flatheads': Coquille name). **Stagä'ush.**—Boas, inf'n, 1906. **Tágahosh.**—Gatschet, Nestucca MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (own name). **Tçeç'-k'qâ.**—Dorsey, Alsea MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Alsea name).

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000 where are still the remains of a town. It is possible that White's branch was also called Okalusa in Romans' time. This writer represents the Black Water warriors as predatory in their habits, often making inroads into the territory of the Creeks. In 1831 the Black Water people numbered 78.—Halbert in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., III, 367–368, 1900; VI, 420, 1902.

Black Water.—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 165, 1761. **Oaka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, map, 1775. **Oque Loussa.**—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 164, 1761. **Oka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, 310, 1775. **Okeeousa.**—Lattré, Map U. S., 1784. **Oke Loosa.**—Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 420, 1902 (misquotation of d'Anville). **Oké Loussa.**—d'Anville's map in Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, 158, 1897. **Oqué-Loussas.**—Du Pratz, La., II, 241, 1758.

Okanagan Lake. The local name for a body of Okinagan on the w. shore of Okanagan lake in s. w. British Columbia; pop. 37 in 1901, the last time the name appears.

Kelowna.—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901.

Okapoolo. A former Choctaw village probably in the present Newton co., Miss.—Romans, Florida, map, 1775.

Okatalaya (*Oka-talaia*, 'spreading water'). One of the Choctaw Sixtowns which controlled a large extent of territory in the present Jasper and Smith cos., Miss., but centered on Oka Talaia cr.—Halbert in Pub. Ala. Hist. Soc., Misc. Coll., I, 383, 1901.

Okawasiku ('coot'). A subphratry or gens of the Menominee.—Hoffman in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 42, 1896.

Okchayi. A former Upper Creek town on Oktchayi cr., a w. tributary of Tallapoosa r., 3 m. below Kailaidshi, in Coosa co., Ala. Its inhabitants were of Alibamu origin, as were also those of Okchayudshi. Milfort gives a tradition concerning their migration. Another Creek settlement of the same name was situated on the E. bank of Tombigbee r., at the ford of the trail to the Creek Nation, which was in a bend of the stream a few miles below Sukanatchi junction, probably in Sumter co., Ala. This was probably the mother town of the other Okchayi and of Okchayudshi. (A. S. G.)

Hook-choie.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hootchoose.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 852, 1832. **Oakchog.**—Sen. Ex. Doc. 425, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 302, 1836. **Oakchoie.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 341, 1851. **Oakchoys.**—Swan (1791) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, V, 262, 1855. **Oakgees.**—Galphin (1787) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 32, 1832. **Oakjoys.**—Blount (1792), ibid., 270. **Ocoha.**—Jefferys, French Dom. Am., I, 134, map, 1761. **Occhoy.**—Romans, Florida, 327, 1775. **Ocka.**—Alcedo, Dic. Geog., III, 361, 1788. **Ockha.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **Ockhoys.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 80, 1854. **Ok-chai.**—Adair, Am. Inds., 257, 273, 1775. **Okchoys.**—Romans, Florida, 90, 1775. **Oke-choy-atte.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 266, 1851. **Okohoys.**—Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., I, 190, 1836. **Oukohaes.**—Schermerhorn (1812) in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d s., II, 18, 1814. **Ouiallies.**—Milfort, Mémoire, 266, 1802. **Ousallies.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., I, 86, 1851.

Okchayi. A town of the Creek Nation, on Canadian r., near Hillabi, Okla. 000

Oktchayi.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., II, 186, 1888.

Okchayudshi ('little Okchayi'). A former small Upper Creek town in the present Elmore co., Ala., on the E. bank of Coosa r., between Odshiapofa (Little Talasse) and Tuskegee. The village was removed to the E. side of Tallapoosa r. on account of Chickasaw raids.

Hook-choie-oo-che.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hookchoioche.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 854, 1832. **Little Oakchoy.**—Creek paper (1836) in H. R. Rep. 37, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 122, 1851. **Little Oakjoys.**—U. S. Ind. Treat. (1797), 68, 1837. **Oakchoieooche.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 267, 1851. **Oktchayú'dshi.**—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 141, 1884.

Oke. The principal village of the Ehatisaht (q. v.), on Esperanza inlet, w. coast of Vancouver id., Brit. Col.—Can. Ind. Aff., 264, 1902.

Okechumne. A former Moquelumnan group on Merced r., central Cal.

Ochekhamni.—Kroeber in Am. Anthrop., VIII, 659, 1906. **Okechumne.**—Wessells (1853) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 30, 1857.

Okehumpkee (probably 'lonely water'). A former Seminole town 30 m. s. w. from Volusia, and N. E. of Dade's battle ground, Volusia co., Fla. Mikanopy was chief in 1823, between which date and 1836 it was abandoned.

Oakhumpky.—Gadsden (1836) in H. R. Doc. 78, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 407, 1838. **Okahumky.**—Scott's map, ibid., 408–9. **Okehumpkee.**—H. R. Doc. 74, 19th Cong., 1st sess., 27, 1826.

Oketo. The Yurok name of Big lagoon on the N. W. coast of Cal., 10 m. N. of Trinidad, as well as of the largest of the several Yurok villages thereon. (A. L. K.)

Okhatatalaya (*Okhata-talaia*, 'spreading pond'). A former Choctaw town in the westernmost part of the present Newton co., Miss. It was named from a pond several acres in extent, near the center of the town, which was a great resort for wild fowl.—Brown in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 445, 1902.

Okilisa (*O-ki'-li-sa*). An extinct Creek clan.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 155, 1884.

Okinagan (etymology doubtful). A name originally applied to the confluence of Similkameen and Okanogan rs., but extended first to include a small band and afterward to a large and important division of the Salishan family. They formerly inhabited the w. side of Okanogan r., Wash., from Old Ft Okanogan to the Canadian border, and in British Columbia the shores of Okanagan lake and the surrounding country. Later they displaced an Athapascan tribe from the valley of the Similkameen. In 1906 there were 527 Okinagan on Colville res., Wash., and 824 under the Kamloops-Okanagan agency, British Columbia; total, 1,351. Gibbs in 1855 gave the following list of Okinagan bands on Okanogan r.: Tkwuratum, Ko- 101 [161]

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101 nekoneр, Kluckhaitkwu, Kinakanes, and Milakitekwa. The Kinakanes appear to be the Okinagan proper. He also classed the Sanpoil with them, but says "these are also claimed by the Spokans," and in fact they are still oftener placed by themselves. To Gibbs' list should be added the Intietook band of Ross. The following villages or bands are enumerated in the Canadian Reports of Indian Affairs: Ashnola, Chuchunayha, Keremeus, Nkamaplix, Nkainip, Okanagan Lake, Penticton, Shennosquankin, and Spahamin. Teit gives four others: Kedlamik, Komkonatko, Ntlkius, and Zutsemin. Dawson adds Whatlminek. See also *Skamoynumachs*.

Kĭnk′-ᴇlla′tlāᴇm.—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889 ('flatheads': Kutenai name). **Kinakanes.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 412, 1855. **Kōkenū′k'kē.**—Chamberlain in 8th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 7, 1892 (Kutenai name). **Oakanagans.**—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 44, 1855. **Oakinacken.**—Ross, Adventures, 287, 1847 (used collectively and also as applying to a subdivision). **Oakinagan.**—Cox, Columb. R., II, 86, 1831. **Okinakēin.**—Giorda, Kalispel Dict., I, 439, 1877–79. **Okanagan.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 100, 1844. **Okanagan.**—Parker, Journal, 298, 1840. **Okanagon.**—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 167, 1900. **O-kan-ā-kan.**—Morgan, Consang. and Affin., 290, 1871. **Okanakanes.**—De Smet, Letters, 230, 1843. **Okanaken.**—Boas in 6th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., map, 1890. **O'Kanies-Kanies.**—Stevens in H. R. Doc. 48, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1856. **Okenaganes.**—Shea, Cath. Miss., 477, 1855. **Okenakanes.**—De Smet, Letters, 224, 1843. **Okiakanes.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 190, 1857. **Okinaganes.**—De Smet, op. cit., 37. **Okinagans.**—M'Vickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, 1842. **Okinahane.**—Stevens in Sen. Ex. Doc. 66, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 12, 1856. **O'Kinakain.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, 27, 1848. **Okinakan.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 1846. **Okinakanes.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 392, 1854. **O'Kinakanes.**—Taylor in Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 40th Cong., spec. sess., 26, 1867. **Okinā′k'ēn.**—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889. **O'kinā′k'ēn.**—Chamberlain in 8th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 7, 1892. **Okinekane.**—De Smet, Letters, 215, 1843. **Okin-e-Kanes.**—Craig in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 171, 1857. **O-kin-i-kaines.**—Shaw in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 113, 1857. **Okinekans.**—Watkins in Sen. Ex. Doc. 20, 45th Cong., 2d sess., 5, 1878. **O-ki-wah-kine.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 27, 1870. **Okanagans.**—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 9, 1848. **Okenagan.**—Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 431, 1845. **Okonagon.**—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. **Okonegan**—Wilkes, ibid., 461, 1854. **Omahanes.**—Stevens in Sen. Ex. Doc. 66, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 10, 1856. **Oukinegans.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Oo-ka-na-kane**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 6, 1891 (Ntlakyapamuk name). **Oukinegans.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Schit-hu-a-ut.**—Mackay quoted in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 6, 1891. **Schit-hu-a-ut-uh.**—Ibid. **Sinkuaíli.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (properly Isonkuaili, 'our people': own name). **Ske-luh.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 7, 1891 (own name). **Soo-wān′-a-mooh.**—Dawson, ibid., 5 (Shuswap name). **Su-a-na-muh.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson, ibid. **Tcitqua′ut.**—Boas in 5th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 10, 1889 (Ntlakyapamuk name). **U-ka-nakane.**—Mackay quoted by Dawson, op. cit., 6.

000 **Okinoyoktokawik.** A small Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on the coast opposite Sledge id., Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893.

Okiogmiut. A name sometimes given collectively to the Eskimo of St Lawrence and the Diomede ids., Alaska. The former belong properly to the Yuit of Asia; for the latter, see *Imaklimiut* and *Ingaklimiut*. 000

Island Innuit.—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., XXXIV, 377, 1885. **Kikh′tit innūin.**—Simpson quoted by Dall in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., I, 15, 1877. **Okee-og′-mūt.**—Dall, ibid. **Okeeogmutes.**—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., XVIII, 266, 1869. **Okhogamut.**—Petroff in 10th Census, Alaska, map, 1884.

Okiosorbik. A former Eskimo village on Aneretok fjord, E. Greenland; pop. 50 in 1829.

Okiosorbik.—Graah, Exped. E. Coast Greenland, 114, 1837.

Okisko. A chief of the Weapemeoc of Virginia, in 1585–86, who with Menatonon gave to Ralfe Lane most of the information communicated to Sir Walter Raleigh respecting the surrounding region. Although independent, Okisko was dominated to some extent by Menatonon, who induced him to acknowledge subjection to the English queen. Nevertheless Lane accused him of being the leader in the plot formed by his tribe, the Mandoag (Nottoway), and other Indians, to massacre the colonists. (C. T.)

Okitiyakni (Hitchiti: *Oki-tiyákni*, probably 'whirlpool' or 'river bend'). A former Lower Creek village on the E. bank of Chattahoochee r., 8 m. below Eufaula, in Quitman co., Ga. Pop. 580 in 1822.

Ocitiyakay.—Woodward, Reminis., 107, 1859. **O-he-te-yoo-co-nee.**—Hawkins (1814) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 859, 1832. **Oka-tiokinans.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 364, 1822. **Ohetayeeonne.**—Hawkins, op. cit., 860. **Ohete Yeonnee.**—Ibid., 845. **O-he-teyoo-co-ne.**—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 65, 1848. **Oki-tiyákni.**—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 140, 1884.

Oklafalaya ('the long people'). One of the three great divisions into which the Choctaw (q. v.) were divided for at least a third of a century prior to their removal to Indian Ter. Originally it may have been the name of a town, extended in time to include all the settlements in the region in which it was situated. Unlike those in the eastern divisions, the Indians of this section were scattered in small settlements over a great extent of territory. "The boundary line separating this from the northeastern district began in the vicinity of the present little town of Cumberland, in Webster co. [Miss.]; thence ran southwesterly on the dividing ridge separating the headwaters of Tibbee (Oktibbeha) on the E. from the Big Black waters on the W. down to the vicinity of Dido, in Choctaw co.; thence in a zigzag course on the dividing ridge between the Noxubee and the Yokenookeny waters to the vicinity of New Prospect; thence it zigzagged more or less easterly between the headwaters of Pearl r. and the Noxubee waters to a point on the ridge not far S. of Old Singleton (not the present Singleton); thence southerly on the ridge between the Pearl r. waters on the W. and

000 regards them as probably identical with the Pisko band of the Yakima. (L. F.)
Pish quit pás.—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, III, 137, 1905. **Pishquitpah.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 252, 1814. **Pishquitpaws.**—Ibid., 38. **Pishquitpows.**—Ibid., II, 219, 1817. **Pisquitpahs.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 370, 1822. **Pisquitpaha.**—Domenech, Deserts N. A., I, 443, 1860.

Piskakauakis (*Apistikákakis*, magpie, lit. 'small raven.'—Hewitt). A Cree band living in the vicinity of Tinder mtn., Northwest Ter., Canada, in 1856. They occupied 30 earth lodges and log cabins, and cultivated small patches of corn and potatoes; during the winter they hunted buffalo and traded the hides to the Hudson's Bay Co.—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 237, 1862.

Piskaret. See *Pieskaret.*

Piskitang. An unidentified Algonquian tribe or band formerly living near the Nipissing in Canada.
Piskatang.—Jes. Rel., Thwaites ed., XLV, 105, 1899. **Piskitang.**—Jes. Rel. 1658, 22, 1858.

Pisko ('river bend'). A Yakima band occupying a village on the s. side of Yakima r. between Toppenish and Setass crs., on the Yakima res., Wash.

Pispizawichasha ('prairie-dog people'). A band of the Brulé Teton Sioux.
Pispiza-wićaśa.—Dorsey in 15th Rep. B. A. E., 218, 1897. **Pispiza-wićaśa.**—Ibid.

Pispogutt. A village of Christian Indians, probably Nauset, in 1674 (Bourne, 1674, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., I, 198, 1806). It seems to have been in w. Barnstable co., Mass., near Buzzards bay, and may be identical with Pocasset.

Pisqueno. A Chumashan village on one of the Santa Barbara ids., Cal., probably Santa Rosa, in 1542.—Cabrillo, Narr. (1542), in Smith, Colec. Doc. Fla., 186, 1857.

101 **Pisquows** (probably from the Yakima *pisko*, 'bend in the river'). Originally a Salish tribe on Wenatchee or Pisquows r., a western tributary of the Columbia in the present Kittitas and Okanogan cos., Washington. Gibbs states that by 1853 they were so largely intermarried with the Yakima as to have almost lost their identity. Gibbs, Hale, and most subsequent authors have employed the term in a collective sense. The former made it include "the Indians on the Columbia between the Priest's and Ross' rapids on the Pisquouse or Winatshapam r., the Ente-at-kwu, Chelan lake, and the Methow or Barrier r." The Pisquows proper or the remnant of them are now on the Yakima res., Wash. Their bands were Camiltpaw, Siapkat, Shallattoo, Shanwappom, Skaddal, and Squannaroo. See Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896.
Pichena.—Wilkes, West Am., 104, 1849. **Piscahoose.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 174, 1850. **Piscaous.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 335, 1844. **Pischoula.**—Stevens (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 55, 1857. **Pisshous.**—Irving, Astoria, map, 1849. **Piscous.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 210, 1846. **Piskwaus.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, 20, 1848. **Piskwaus.**—Latham in Trans. Philol. Soc. Lond., 71, 1856. **Pisquows.**—Hale, op. cit., 224. **Pisquouse.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951, 1863. **Pis-cows.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1847. 101

Pissacoac. The chief village of the 000 Pissasec in 1608, situated on the N. bank of Rappahannock r. above the present Leedstown, in Westmoreland co., Va.
Pisacack.—Simons in Smith (1629), Va., I, 185, repr. 1819. **Pissacoack.**—Smith, ibid., map.

Pissasec. A tribe or band of the Powhatan confederacy living on the N. bank of Rappahannock r. in King George and Westmoreland cos., Va. They formed part of the Matchotic tribe. Their principal village was Pissacoac.
Pissaseck.—Smith (1629), Va., I, map, repr. 1819. **Pissassack.**—Simons, ibid., 186. **Pissassees.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 129, 1816 (misprint).

Pisuh (cognate with Chippewa *piji*^{n}, 'lynx.'—W. J.). A gens of the Abnaki.
Pezo.—J. D. Prince, inf'n, 1905 (modern St Francis Abnaki form). **Piji^n.**—Wm. Jones, inf'n, 1906 (Chippewa form). **Pis-suh'.**—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 174, 1877.

Pistchin. A Clallam village on Pysht r., Wash., which flows into Juan de Fuca strait. Starling erroneously states that the "Macaws and Pist-chins speak the same language."
Pisht.—Eels in Smithson. Rep. 1887, 608, 1889. **Pishtat.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 450, 1854. **Pishtst.**—U. S. Ind. Treat., 800, 1873. **Pist-chin.**—Starling in Ind. Aff. Rep., 170, 1852. **Pist-chins.**—Ibid., 172.

Pitac. A former rancheria of the Pima on the Gila r., s. Ariz., visited by Father Garcés in 1770 (Arricivita, 1791, quoted by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. M., 387, 1889). Cf. *Petaïkuk.*

Pitahauerat ('down stream,' or 'east.'—Grinnell). One of the tribes of the Pawnee confederacy. The French spoke of them as Tapage Pawnee, and in a treaty with the U. S. in 1819 the tribe is designated as Noisy Pawnees. The Pitahauerat always placed their villages toward the E., or downstream, from the Chaui, and are spoken of as the lower villages. At one time the tribe lived on Smoky Hill r., w. Kans., and later rejoined their kindred on Loup r., Nebr., where their reservation was established in 1867. In 1876 they were removed to Oklahoma, where they now live. Their lands have been allotted in severalty, and they are citizens of the U. S. In their village organization, customs, and beliefs, they did not differ from the other Pawnee. According to Grinnell the tribe is divided into the Pitahauerat proper and the Kawaraki[illegible]. (A. C. F.)
Noisy P[illegible].—Treaty of 1819 in U. S. Stat., VII, 172, 1846. **P[illegible] Tappage.**—Treaty of 1819 in U. S. Ind. Treat., 64[illegible], 1873. **Pawnee Tappahs.**—Treaty of 1858, ibid., 650. **Pawnee Tappaye.**—Treaty of 1834, ibid., 648. **Pe-tä-hā'-ne-rat.**—Morgan in Smithson. Cont., XVII, 196, 1871. **Pethahanerat.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 530, 1878. **Pethowerats.**—Ibid. **Pe-tou-we-ra.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., II, lxxxv, 1823. **Pit-a-hau'-ĕ-rat.**—Dunbar in Mag. Am. Hist., IV, 251, 1880. **Pitahāwiratá.**—Sanssouci quoted by Dorsey in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., VI, 381, 1892 (prob. Omaha notation of Pawnee name). **Pitavirate Noisy Pawnee.**—Treaty of 1819 in U. S. Ind. Treaties, 645, 1873. **Tapage.**—Parker, Jour-

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San Pascual. A former pueblo of the Piro on the E. bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the present San Antonio village (which occupies the site of Senecú), Socorro co., N. Mex. Shea (Cath. Miss., 82, 1855) states that a mission existed there and that it was destroyed during the rebellion of 1680. According to Bandelier, however, the village in all probability was abandoned about 1675, since Senecú, on the opposite side of the river, was destroyed early in that year by the Apache. Consult Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 250, 1892. See also *Piro*.

San Pascual. A former Yuma rancheria on Gila r., Ariz., 16 to 20 leagues above its mouth, visited by Anza and Font in 1775.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 392, 1889.

San Pascual. A village of the Gidanemuk, a branch of the Serranos of S. California, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776.

San Pasqual.—Garcés, Diary, 273, 1900.

San Pedro (Saint Peter). A Yuma rancheria on the Rio Gila in Arizona, 3 leagues above its junction with the Colorado. It was visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699.

S. Pedro.—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889 (see p. 359). **S. Petrus.**—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726. **S. Peter.**—Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759 (located where San Pablo should be).

San Pedro. A Mohave rancheria, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776; situated on or near the w. bank of the Rio Colorado, lat. 35° 01′, about 8 m. N. w. of Needles, S. E. Cal.—Garcés, Diary (1776), 234, 416, 1900.

San Pedro de los Jamajabs.—Garcés, op. cit.

San Pedro. A Timucua mission on the present Cumberland id., Fla., named in 1688 in an address from the chiefs of the tribe to the King of Spain, a translation of which appears in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., XVIII, 497, 1880.

San Pedro. A rancheria of the Tejas (Hainai), on a stream of the same name, at which the Franciscan mission of San Francisco de los Tejas (q. v.) was founded in 1690. It contained 80 men in 1782 (Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 665, 1886). See *Nabedache*.

San Pedro. One of the principal settlements of the Mayo, situated in S. Sonora, Mexico.—Hrdlička in Am. Anthr., VI, 59, 1904.

San Pedro Guazave. A former settlement of the Guazave (Vacoregue) on the E. bank of Rio Sinaloa, about lat. 25° 40′, N. W. Sinaloa, Mexico.

Guazave.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. **San Pedro Guazave.**—Ibid., 332.

San Pedro Martire (Saint Peter the Martyr). A Dominican mission, founded May 28, 1794, by Father Pallas, about 40 m. E. of Santo Tomás mission, lat. 31° 50′, Lower California.

San Pedro Martyr.—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 50, 1869.

San Pedro y San Pablo (Saint Peter and Saint Paul). A mission established by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1780 among the Yuma on the w. bank of Colorado r., near the site of modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob), 8 or 10 m. below Yuma, in extreme S. E. California. On July 17-19, 1781, the mission was sacked and burned by the natives, about 50 Spaniards, including Garcés, three other friars, and Capt. Rivera y Moncada were killed, and the women and children made captives. See *Concepción*, *Missions*, *San Pablo*.

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Bicuñer.—Coues, Garcés Diary, 21, 1900. **San Pedro Pablo.**—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 51, 1869. **San Pedro y San Pablo.**—Arricivita, Crón. Seraf., 504-511, 509, 1792; Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 397, 1889; Coues, cited above. **San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.**—Coues, Garcés Diary, 19, 1900.

San Pedro y San Pablo. A Cochimi settlement and visita in 1745, situated 8 leagues E. of the parent mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, lat. 27°, Lower California.

San Pedro and San Pablo.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., II, 198, 1759.

Sanpet. A body of Ute formerly occupying San Pete valley and Sevier r., central Utah. Powell found 36 on the Uinta res., Utah, in 1873, although they are said to have numbered 500 in 1865. They are now included under the collective name of Uinta Ute. (H. W. H.)

Land Pitches.—Farnham, Travels, 58, 1843. **Sampetches.**—DeSmet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sampiches.**—Prichard, Phys. Hist. Man., v, 430, 1847. **Sampichya.**—Burton, City of Saints, 578, 1861. **Sampuches.**—Collins in Ind. Aff. Rep., 125, 1861. **San-Petes.**—Humphreys in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1859, 361, 1860. **Sanpiche Utahs.**—Wilson (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 185, 1850. **San Pitch.**—Correll (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 29, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1862. **San Pitches.**—Cooley in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1865. **Sanpits.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 5, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Sanpiche Utahs.**—Wilson in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1849, 67, 1850.

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Sanpoil. A body of Salish on Sans Poil r. and on the Columbia below Big bend, Wash. Gibbs classed them as one of the 8 bands of Spokan and also as one of the 6 bands of Okinagan, they being claimed by both tribes. In 1905 they were reported to number 324, on the Colville res., but in 1909 their population was given as only 178, the disparity being attributed to duplication in previous counts. No treaty was ever made with these Indians for their lands, the Government taking possession of their country except such portions as have been set apart by Executive order for their occupancy.

Ginppells.—De Smet, Letters, 230, 1843. **Hai-ai'-nima.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (Yakima name). **He-high-e-nim-mo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855. **Hihighenimmo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Hihighenimo.**—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. **Ipeliq.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (Yakima name). **Lingpellish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 200, map 1853. **N'pochele.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **N'pooh-le.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **N'peckle.**—Gibbs, op. cit., 412. **San Poels.**—Shanks in Sen. Misc. Doc. 32, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1874. **Sanpoil.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, 702, 1902. **Sanpoils.**—

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Stevens, ibid., 22, 1870. **Sanpoils.**—Wilson in Trans. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **Sans Puelles.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **Sapwell.**—Parker, Jour., 293, 1840. **Sempoils.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Sinapoil.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 33, 1831. **Sinapoiluch.**—Anderson quoted by Gibbs in Hist. Mag., VII, 77, 1863. **Sinipouals.**—Duflot de Mofras, Oregon, II, 335, 1844. **Sinpaivelish.**—M'Vickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, 1842. **Sinpauelish.**—Parker, Jour., 313, 1842. **Sin-poh-ell-ech-ach.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Sinpoil.**—De Smet, Letters, 169, 1843. **Sin-poil-er-hu.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Sin-poil-schne.**—Gibbs, ibid., 414. **Sun-Poils.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896 (variant form). **Sklarkum.**—Suckley, op. cit., 300. **Snpoilixix.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan form). **Snpuelish.**—Ibid. (Salish form).

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San Rafael. The next to the last Franciscan mission established in California; founded as an asistencia or branch of San Francisco (Dolores). The mortality among the Indians in San Francisco had become so great that a panic was feared, and a transfer of a portion of the survivors to some situation on the N. side of the bay was proposed. At first they were sent over without a priest, but after several had died it was determined to found a new establishment; this was done, Dec. 14, 1817, the new mission being dedicated to San Rafael Arcángel. The native name of the place was Nanaguami. About 230 neophytes were transferred from San Francisco, most of whom, however, originally came from the N. side of the bay. An adobe building, 87 by 42 ft, divided into rooms for chapel, dwelling-rooms, etc., was finished in 1818. Two years later there were 590 neophytes, and 1,140, the highest number reached, in 1828. By 1823 the establishment was recognized as a separate mission. Its wealth was never very great, though it was prosperous, having in 1830, 1,548 large stock and 1,852 sheep, with an average crop for the preceding decade of 2,454 bushels. In 1830 there were 970 neophytes, the number decreasing about 50 percent in the next four years. At the time of secularization considerable property was distributed among the Indians; but in 1837, under the plea that the natives were not making good use of it, this was again brought together, with a promise of redistribution under more favorable circumstances. In 1839 the Indians were reported to be greatly dissatisfied, and in 1840 a distribution of the livestock was ordered. There were then 190 Indians near the mission, and probably 150 more scattered elsewhere. In 1846 Frémont took possession of the mission. After he left, it seems to have been unoccupied, and it has now entirely disappeared. The neophytes probably belonged chiefly to the Olamentke division of the Moquelumnan family. (A. B. L.)

San Rafael. Formerly a rancheria of the Papago in s. Arizona, near the headwaters of the Rio Salado of Sonora, Mexico; visited in 1701 and 1702 by Father Kino and so named by him. Possibly identical with the modern Mesquite or Quijotos (q. v.), but not to be confounded with the mission of Guevavi, which bore the same saint name, nor with San Serafin (Actum).

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San Rafael.—Kino (1700) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 318, 1856. **S. Rafael.**—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889; Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759. **S. Rafael Actum.**—Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 502, 1884. **S. Raphaël.**—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726.

San Rafael. A former rancheria in s. Arizona, probably Maricopa, visited by Kino and Mange in 1699 (Mange cited by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 358, 1889). Not to be confounded with the San Rafael in the Pima country.

San Rafael de los Gentiles. Mentioned by Bancroft (Ariz. and N. Mex., 281, 1889) as a pueblo settlement of New Mexico with 15 inhabitants, about 1765. Locality not known.

San Rudesindo. A rancheria of the Quigyuma, visited and so named by Father Kino in Mar. 1702. Doubtless situated on the E. bank of the Rio Colorado, just above its mouth, in N. W. Sonora, Mexico. See Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, 310, 1759; Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 500, 1884; Coues, Garcés Diary, 178, 1900.

San Sabá. A Franciscan mission established on the Rio San Sabá in Texas, in Apr. 1757, among the Lipan Apache, under the protection of the presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas, 1½ leagues distant, named in honor of the Viceroy of Mexico. The Spaniards were induced by the Lipan to found the mission in order that they might gain the aid of the former against their enemies the Comanche, but after its establishment the Lipan refused under various pretexts to become concentrated under mission influence. On Mar. 2, 1758, the Comanche and their allies (Wichita and others) raided the Spanish horse herd and captured 62 head, and on the 16th 2,000(?) mounted hostiles gained entrance to the mission under protestations of friendship, murdered nearly all the occupants, and burned the buildings. But few of the Lipan were killed, most of them having fled to the mountains on the approach of the Comanche. In the following year an expedition against the raiders was made, and in an attack on a rancheria 150 leagues away, 55 of the foe were killed, but little else was accomplished, the Spaniards fleeing when a band of warriors, said to number 6,000, of different tribes, at a place called San Teodoro in the Wichita (Taovayases) country, made a stand against them. See Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 646, 1886; Garrison, Texas, 1904.

San Sabas. A visitation town in 1745, situated 3 leagues from the parent mission of San Ignacio de Kadakaman, about lat.

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000 the Apaches surprised the pueblo of Senecu, killed its missionary, Fray Alonzo Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted." Not to be confounded with the Senecu (see *Senecu del Sur*) below El Paso, in Chihuahua, which was settled about 1680 by fugitive Piro and Tigua from New Mexico, some of them being from the older Senecu. See also *Piros*; *Pueblos*. (F. W. H.)

Cenecu.—Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 319, 1869. **Senecay.**—New Mex. Doc. quoted by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 171, 1889 (identical?). **San-Antonio de Senecu.**—Benavides, Memorial, 19, 1630. **Sant Antonio de Seneca.**—Blaeu, Atlas, XII, 61, 1667. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Map Am. Sept., 1700. **S. Antonio.**—D'Anville, Map N. A., Bolton's ed., 1752. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—Crepy, Map Amér. Sept., 1783 (?). **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—Brion de la Tour, Map l'Amér., 1779. **S. Antonio de Seneci.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Carte Mexique et Floride, 1703. **Senecu.**—Davis, El Gringo, 123, 1857. **Séne.**—Doc. of 17th cent. quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 251, 1892. **Seneca.**—Columbus Mem. Vol., 156, 1893 (misprint). **Seneca.**—Benavides, Memorial, 14, 1630. **St. Antonio.**—Shea, Cath. Miss., 80, 1855. **Sᵗ Antony.**—Kitchin, Map N. A., 1787. **Tze-cué.**—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 247, 1892 (Senecú, or). **Zenecu.**—Solis Miranda (1676) quoted by Bandelier, ibid., III, 131, 1890.

Senecu del Sur (Span.: 'Senecu of the South'). A pueblo on the S. E. bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles below El Paso, in Chihuahua, Mexico, inhabited by the last remnant of the Piro and Tigua who escaped from Senecu, N. Mex., during an Apache outbreak in 1675, or who were taken there from Isleta, Socorro, and Alamillo by Gov. Otermin on his retreat from Santa Fé during the Pueblo revolt of 1680. The mission of San Antonio was established there in 1682. The natives have practically lost their language and are almost completely "Mexicanized." (F. W. H.)

Cinecú.—Escudero, Not. Nuevo-Méx., 14, 1849. **Isenecu.**—Siguenza (1691-93) quoted by Buschmann, Neu-Mexico, 264, 1858. **Jenecu.**—Buschmann, ibid., 249. **San Antonio of Sinolu.**—Cruzate (1685) as quoted by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 327, 1869 ("supposed to be the same"). **San Antonio Senecu.**—Ward in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 213, 1868. **Senecu.**—Morse, Hist. Am., map, 1798. **Seneca.**—Calhoun (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 215, 1850. **Senecú.**—Rivera, Diario, leg. 684, 1736. **Sinecu.**—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., I, 149, 1854. **Sinicú.**—Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 259, Apr. 1882 (Sinecú, or).

Senedo. According to Peyton (Hist. Augusta Co., 6, 1882), a tribe formerly on the N. fork of Shenandoah r., Va., and exterminated by the Southern Indians in 1732. The statement is of doubtful authenticity. (J. M.)

Senega. The "*Seneca snakeroot*" (*Polygala senega*), from which the Indians, and after them the whites, prepared a remedy for snake bites, etc.; from *Seneca*, the name of one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. The *siniga* of Cherokee is probably the same word. (A. F. C.)

Senestun (*Se-nĕs'-tŭn*). A band or village of the Chastacosta on Rogue r., Oreg.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 234, 1890. 000

Senijextee. A Salish tribe formerly residing on both sides of Columbia r. from Kettle falls to the Canadian boundary; they also occupied the valley of Kettle r., Kootenay r. from its mouth to the first falls, and the region of the Arrow lakes, Brit. Col. In 1909 those in the United States numbered 342, on the Colville res., Wash. 101 161

Lake Indians.—Parker, Journal, 298, 1840. **Savages of the Lake.**—De Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sen-i-jex-tee.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Sinatcheggs.**—Ross, Fur Hunters, II, 172, 190, 1855. **Sinuitskistux.**—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **S-na-a-chikst.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 1891, sec. II, 6, 1892.

Senikave. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on the mainland opposite Sledge id., Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893. 000

Senisos (Span., probably referring either to *ceniza*, 'ashes,' or to *cenizo*, the white goose-foot, a plant). A former tribe in N. E. Mexico, probably Coahuiltecan, which was drawn from Nuevo Leon and in 1698 gathered into mission San Antonio Galindo Moctezuma, N. of Monclova.

Cenizos.—Revillagigedo, Carta, MS., quoted by Bancroft, Nat. Races, I, 611, 1886.

Senktl (*Senxʟ*). A Bellacoola village near the mouth of Bellacoola r., Brit. Col., "about 1 m. above Nuxa'lk·ḷ."

Senqtl.—Boas in 7th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 3, 1891. **Senxʟ.**—Boas in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 49, 1900. **Salhtlimih.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Vocabs. Brit. Col., 122B, 1884 (perhaps refers to Snū't'ele, another town; *mih*='people of').

Sennenes. A Costanoan division or village in California.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 331, 1897.

Senobe. See *Sannup*.

Sentethltun (*Sĕn-tĕtl-tŭn*). A former village of the Tututni on the s. side of Rogue r., Oreg. Schumacher (Bull. Geol. Surv., 31, 1877) placed it at the mouth of Rogue r., making its inhabitants a part of the Tahemetunne.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folklore, III, 236, 1890.

Sepascoot. A former band called Munsee, but probably a part of the Wappinger, on the E. bank of Hudson r., at Rhinebeck, Westchester co., N. Y.—Schoolcraft in Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc., II, 103, 1844.

Sepawi. A pueblo formerly occupied by the Tewa in the valley of El Rito cr., on the heights above the Ojo Caliente of Joseph, and 5 m. from the Mexican settlement of El Rito, N. N. Mex. Bandelier (Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 61, 1890; IV, 51 et seq., 1892) regards its ruin as the largest in New Mexico.

Se-pä-ue.—Bandelier, op. cit., IV, 17, 1892. **Se-pä-ue.**—Ibid., 51. **Sepawi.**—Hewett in Bull. 32, B. A. E., 40, 1906.

Sepawn. See *Supawn*.

Seping. The Painted Eagle clan of the Tewa pueblo of San Juan, N. Mex.

Sepi'-tdóa.—Hodge in Am. Anthr., IX, 350, 1896 (*tdóa*='people').

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Columbia

000 members of which were there at the same time. Cf. *Seneca*. (H. E. B.)

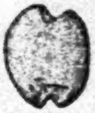
Censoc.—Villero Bautismos, 1739, MS. **Cenasea.**—Ibid. **Senicza.**—Ibid., 1728. **Senizza.**—Ibid., 1728.

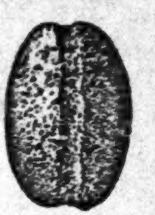
Sinimiut. A Central Eskimo tribe on Pelly bay, Canada. They live on musk-ox and salmon like the tribes of Hudson bay, and have also an abundance of seals. They numbered 45 in 1902.

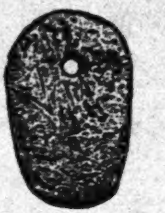
Pelly Bay Eskimo.—Ausland, 653, 1885. **Sinamiut.**—Boas in Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xv, pt. 2, 377, 1907. **Sinimijut.**—Boas in Zeitschr. Ges. f. Erdk., 226, 1883. **Sinimiut.**—Boas in 6th Rep. B. A. E., 451, 1888.

Siningmon. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on Golofnin bay, Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893.

Sinkers. Primitive fishermen everywhere weight their lines and nets with stones. These are usually pebbles or other suitable bits of stone, grooved or notched for attachment by means of cords. Those now in use by the Indian tribes, as well as by the whites, correspond with specimens found in large numbers along the banks of streams and the shores of lakes and other large bodies of water. Larger specimens of the same general shape become anchors (q. v.) on occasion, and the better finished forms pass by imperceptible gradations into the very large group of objects classed as plummets (q. v.), and, in another direction, into the stone clubheads of the Plains tribes (see *Weapons*). Adair states that the Southern Indians, having placed a trap in the bed of the stream, drove the fish toward it by means of a rope made of long grape vines to which were attached stones at proper distances, men placed on opposite sides of the stream dragging the weighted rope along the bottom. The extent to which nets (q. v.) were used by the Indians of the Middle Atlantic states is not known; but the impressions of nets of varying degrees of fineness on pottery show at least that nets were in common use.


SINKER; N. Y. (1-4)


SINKER OF GRANITE; R. I.


SINKER OF STEATITE; N. C. (1-2)

Consult Abbott, Prim. Indust., 1881; Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., 1775; Beauchamp in Bull. N. Y. State Mus., iv, no. 16, 1897; Jones, Antiq. Southern Inds., 1873; Rau, Prehist. Fishing, Smithson. Cont., xxv, 1884. (W. H. H.)

101
622 **[illegible]se.** A former division of Salish, under Chief Moses, living on the E. side of Columbia r. from Ft Okinakane to the neighborhood of Pt Eaton, Wash. Hale classed them as a division of the Pisquowa. Pop. 355 in 1905, 299 in 1908, 540 (with others?) in 1909. 101

Columbias.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. **Isle-de-Peirra.**—Nesmith in Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1858. **Isle-de-peirres.**—Owen, ibid., 268. **Isle-de-Pierre.**—Shaw in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 113, 1857. **Linkinse.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, i, 316, 1874 (misprint). **Moses band.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1904, 610, 1905. **Sinakaiáusish.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., vi, 211, 1846. **Sinkáyus.**—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name). **Sin-ki-use.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. **Snχáyus.**—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name).

Sinklezin (Navaho name). An ancient pueblo ruin situated on the highest point of a peninsula-like mesa jutting into Chaco canyon from the s., about ¾ m. s. of Pueblo Bonito, N. W. N. Mex. It is built of dull-brown sandstone, rectangular in form but very irregular, a semicircular tier of rooms on the s. inclosing a large court. The dimensions of the structure are 135 ft E. and W. by 183 ft N. and S. The E. wing is 50 by 75 ft, the W. 30 by 58 ft. A wing 30 ft wide extends 40 ft to the s. The semicircular tier of rooms was 256 ft long, 9 ft wide, and 2 stories high; 72 ft of this tier is still (1902) standing about 12 ft high. The walls throughout vary from 20 to 30 in. thick. The rooms are long and narrow, 5½ by 21½ ft being a common size. There are 5 circular kivas in the building, varying from 6 to 25 ft in diameter. The masonry is of alternating bands of fine and coarse stone and dressed blocks chinked with fine tablets, the arrangement being very irregular. Portions of the third story remain standing. The original height was probably 4 stories. (E. L. H.) 000

Sinkyone. An Athapascan group formerly living on the lower part of the South fork of Eel r., Humboldt co., Cal., having settlements on Bull and Salmon crs. They also held the country down to the coast at Shelter cove and s. to Usal. This section has been popularly known as the Usal (a Pomo term), that on Bull cr. and South fork as the Lolanko (from the name of a locality). They lived for a time on Smith River res., afterward being transferred to Hoopa res. on Trinity r., from which place a few survivors returned in the early seventies and are now living near their old homes. They lived in conical houses of bark, dressed much as the tribes about them, and made baskets by twining. They burned their dead. They differed but little from the Wailaki in language. (P. E. G.)

Bay-ma-pomas.—Tobin in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 405, 1858.

Sinnonquiresse ('Very long wampum string.'—Hewitt). A Mohawk chief, the speaker at Albany in 1691, 1696, 1700, and 1701, signing the Beaver land treaty in the latter year. He was examined about Dellius in 1699, and was at Albany

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

000 Car., 338, reprint 1860), Kroeber's account of the Arapaho process (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVIII, pt. 1, 1902), and Wissler's for the Siksika (Ontario Archæol. Rep. for 1906). Good descriptions of Eskimo methods are given by Boas, Murdoch, and Nelson in the 6th, 9th, and 18th Reps. respectively of the B. A. E.; of the Nascapee process by Turner in 11th Rep. B. A. E.; of the British Columbia method by Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, pt. 4, 1900; and of that used by the Chukchi of N. E. Siberia by Bogoras in vol. VII, pt. 1, of the same series. Consult also Bushnell in Bull. 48, B. A. E., 1909; Mason in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1889, 552, 1891; N. Dak. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 455, 1906; Shufeldt in Proc. Nat. Mus. 1888, XI, 1889; Spinden in Mem. Am. Anthr. Asso., II, pt. 3, 1908. (J. M.)

Skingenes (*Sk·iñgĕ'nes*). A Songish band living on Discovery id., s. end of Vancouver id. Pop. 26 in 1909.

Discovery Island (Indians).—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. 2, 66, 1902. Sk·iñgĕ'nes.—Boas in 6th Rep N. W. Tribes Can., 17, 1890.

Skinpah (Tenino: *skin*, 'cradle'; *pă*, locative: 'cradle place'). A small Shahaptian tribe speaking the Tenino dialect and formerly living on the N. bank of Columbia r. opposite the mouth of the Des Chutes, in Klickitat co., Wash. They were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855 and placed on the reservation of that name. Their number is unknown.

Saw-paw.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 186, 1855. Skeen.—Kane, Wand. in N. A., 263, 1859. Skien.—Robie in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 352, 1858. Skin.—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 410, 1855. Skin'pă.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 740, 1896. Skin-pah.—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951, 1863. Tskin.—Lee and Frost, Oregon, 176, 1844 (misprint).

Skistlainai-hadai (*Skī'tsLa-i na-i xadā'-i*, 'people of the house where they always have plenty of food'). A subdivision of the Yaku-lanas, a Haida family of the Raven clan; probably named from a house.—Swanton, Cont. Haida, 271, 1905.

101 **Skitswish**. A Salish tribe on a river and lake of the same name in N. Idaho. The name Cœur d'Alène (French 'Awl-heart'), by which they are popularly known, was originally a nickname used by some chief of the tribe to express the size of a trader's heart. The Skitswish bear a 181 high reputation for industry, self-respect, and good behavior. In 1909 533 were 101 enumerated as belonging to the Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho.

Cœur, and Alenes.—Scouler (1846) in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., I, 233, 1848. Cœur d'Aléne.—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. Cœur d'Eleine.—Stevens in H. R. Doc. 48, 33d Cong., 1st sess., 77, 1854. Cœur d'Eliene.—Ibid. Cœur d'Eline.—Ibid. Cœur d'Helene.—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. Cœurs d'Alaines.—Mayne, Brit. Col., 296, 1862. Cœurs d'aliene.—De Smet, Letters, 170, 1843. Cœurs d'Helene.—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. Cœurs-pointus.—Domenech, Deserts, I, 441, 1860. Cœurd' Helene.—Lane in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 521, 1853. Cœur d'Alienes.—Hart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. Cœur d'Alaine.—Nicolet, Oregon, 143, 1846. Cœur d'Alene.—Cain in Ind. Aff. Rep., 210, 1860. 101 Cœur d'Alines.—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 4, 1848. Cœur De Lion.—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. Les Cœurs d'Aliénes.—Cox, Columbia R., II, 150, 1831. Needle Hearts.—Domenech, Deserts, II, 262, 1860. Painted Heart Indians.—Saxton in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 257, 1855 (misprint). Pointed Hearted Indians.—Wright in Sen. Ex. Doc. 32, 36th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1860. Pointed-hearts.—Cox, Columbia R., II, 131, 1831. Printed Hearts.—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850 (misprint). Q'ma'shpal.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 ('camas people': Yakima name). S'chitsui.—Giorda, Kalispel Dict., I, 494, 1877-79. Sh-chee-tsoo-ee.—A. T. Richardson, inf'n, 1907 (name as pronounced by a Skitswish). Shee-chu-wey.—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. Sheelsumish.—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. Skeetsomish.—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. Skeetsonish.—Cass (1834) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 609, 1853. Sketsomish.—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. Sketsui.—Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 449, 1845. Skit-mish.—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 460, 1854. Skitsaih.—Gallatin quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. Skitsuish.—H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 7, 1848. Skitsámŭq.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Paloos name). Skítswi.—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). Skitsuish.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 209, 1846. Skitswish.—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. Stchitsui.—Gatschet, op. cit. ("Flathead" name). Stiel Shoi.—De Smet, Letters, 215, 1843. Stietshoi.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896.

000 **Skittagetan Family**. The name applied to a linguistic family composed of the Indians usually known as Haida (q. v.). It was taken from *Sqĭ'dagits*, a name of one of the Haida town chiefs, which seems to mean 'son of the chiton' [mollusk]. This was first erroneously applied to the town of Hlgagilda, of which he was head chief, and later, under the form Skittagets (see *Skidegate*), was applied by Gallatin to the people speaking this language, whence it was adopted by Powell.

=Haida.—Tolmie and Dawson, Comp. Vocabs., 15B, 1884. =Haidah.—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc., XI, 224, 1841. >Hai-dai.—Work quoted by Kane, Wand. in N. A., app., 1859. =Hidery.—Deans, Tales from Hidery, passim, 1899. <Kydaha.—Keane in Stanford, Compend., app., 460, 1878. >Kygani.—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., 269, 1869. ×Nootka.—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 564, 1882. ×Northern.—Scouler, op. cit. >Queen Charlotte's Island.—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, 15, 306, 1836. >Skittagete.—Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. >Skittagets.—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 1848. =Skittagetan.—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 118, 1891.

Skittok. A Knaiakhotana village on Kaknu r., Alaska, forming part of the Kenai settlement.

Chkitok.—11th Census, Alaska, 70, 1893. Skittok.—Post route map, 1903.

Skleu (*S'k·lau'*, 'beaver'). A Squawmish village community on the left bank of Squawmisht r., Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Brit. A. A. S., 474, 1900.

Skoachais (*Sk·ōātcai's*, 'deep hole in water'). A Squawmish village community on Burrard inlet, Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. B. A. A. S., 475, 1900.

Skogari. The Tutelo village in 1748; situated on the N. branch of the Susquehanna, in the present Columbia co., Pa. At the date named it was "the only town

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Spokane

000 the Spirit Lake captive of 1857, was rescued by Grayfoot and Sounding Heavens, sons of Spirit Walker. (D. R.)

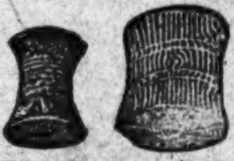
Spitotha. One of the 5 original divisions or bands of the Shawnee (W. H. Shawnee in Gulf States Hist. Mag., I, 415, 1903). Evidently distinct from Kispokotha, but probably the same as Mequachake, q. v.

101 **Spokan.** A name applied to several small bodies of Salish on and near Spokane r., N. E. Wash. According to Gibbs the name was originally employed by the Skitswish to designate a band at the forks of the river, called also Smahoomenaish. By the whites it was extended to cover several nearly allied divisions, which Gibbs enumerates as follows: Sin-slik-hoo-ish, Sintootoolish, Sma-hoo-men-a-ish (Spokenish), Skai-schil-t'nish, Ske-chei-a-mouse, Schu-el-stish, Sin-poil-schne, Sin-shee-lish. The last two were claimed by the Okinagan also. All of them are now held to be separate divisions and not bands of one tribe. The [161] population was estimated by Lewis and Clark in 1805 at 600 in 30 houses, and by Gibbs in 1853 at 450. In 1908 there were 301 "Lower Spokan" and 238 "Upper Spokan" under Colville agency, Wash., and 95 Spokan on Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho; total, 634. In 1909 the entire number of Spokan in Washington was 509, while those in Idaho numbered 104.

Flat Heads.—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851 (so called because their heads were left in the natural state. (See *Flatheads.*) **Lar-li-e-lo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. **Lartielo.**—Ibid., II, 475, 1814. **Lar-ti-e-to's Nation.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ne-com-ap-oe-lox.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Sälst sχástsitlini.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for the Lower Spokan at Little Spokane Falls; ='people with bad heads'). **Sar-lis-lo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855 (the Lar-ti-e-lo of Lewis and Clark). **Sin-ee-guo-men-ah.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870 (applied here to the Upper Spokan). **Sin-ha-ma-mish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 418, 1855. **Sin-hu.**—Morgan, Consang. and Affin., 290, 1871 ('people wearing red paint on their cheeks': own name). **Sinkumanish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 632, 1853. **Sinkoman.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (Kutenai name). **Sinkumana.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pend d'Oreille [Kalispel] name). **Ska-moy-num-acks.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849 (Kutenai name). **Sma-hoo-men-a-ish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (=Spokan proper). **Snχúmina.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for Upper Spokan). **Spogans.**—Meek in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 10, 1848. **Spokains.**—McVickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842 (probably used for Spokan proper). **Spokan.**—Parker, Journal, 292, 1840. **Spokane.**—Ibid., 292. **Spo-kehmish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **Spokehnish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **Spokein.**—Parker, op. cit., 285. **Spokens.**—Robertson, Oregon, 129, 1846. **Spo-kih-nish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 428, 1854. **Spokineish.**—Winans, ibid., 22, 1870. **Spokines.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Spokenish.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896. **Spukă'n.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Klamath and Modoc name). **Tsakaitsitlins.**—Domenech, Deserts, I, 444, 1860. **Tsakaitsitlin.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 569, 1846. **Upper Spokanes.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870 (applies to Spokan proper). **Zingomenes.**—De Smet, Oregon Miss., 108, 1847.

Spookow. A Chumashan village formerly on the beach N. of San Buenaventura mission, Ventura co., Cal.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, May 4, 1860. 000

Spools. Small prehistoric objects somewhat resembling spools, the purpose of which is unknown. They are nearly cylindrical, with incurved sides, perforated lengthwise at the center, and are made in most cases of sandstone, a few specimens being of baked clay. Their length varies from 1 to 2½ in. and their diameter rarely exceeds 2 in. The surface is always covered with incised lines arranged in what is apparently intended for a definite order or design, but no two are alike. They are not numerous, and, with the exception of a few from Ross co., Ohio, all are from counties bordering the Ohio r. between the Big Sandy and the Miami. Consult Fowke, Archeol. Hist. Ohio, 1902; Moorehead, Prehist. Impls., 1900; Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments, 1848; Thruston, Antiq. of Tenn., 1897. (G. F.)


SPOOL-SHAPED STONES; OHIO (FOWKE)

Spoca de Kaury. See *Dekaury*, *Choukeka*.

Spoons and Ladles. Utensils for carrying liquid food or water to the mouth or from one vessel to another were found among all tribes of the United States. They were made of a wide variety of materials, as stone, shell, bone, horn, antler, ivory, wood, gourd, bark, basketry, and pottery were employed. In size they exceeded European utensils of this class. Beverley (Hist. Va., 154, 1722) thus refers to them: "The spoons which they eat with, do generally hold half a pint; and they laugh at the English for using small ones, which they must be forced to carry so often to their mouths, that their arms are in danger of being tired, before their Belly."

The animals supplying the most materials for spoons, dippers, and ladles were the mountain sheep and mountain goat. All the tribes living in the habitat of these animals utilized their horns for this purpose, and the manufactured products were distributed widely in trade among neighboring tribes. Specimens have been gathered among the Pueblos, Havasupai, Ute, Cheyenne, and Sioux, the Salishan and northern Algonquian tribes, and the N. W. Coast and Athapascan tribes. Among the southern Rocky Mountain Indians these utensils were rude, but the northern tribes made them works of art, softening the horn and bending and shaping it over forms by means of heat.

1: Hodge E-5 (no date)1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Wenatchi

000 guage in any native American language, excepting for a few words of recent introduction which have had no effect whatever on the general structure or vocabulary.

Consult Catlin, N. Am. Inds., for Mandan theory; Bowen, Am. Discovered by the Welsh, 1876; Burder, Welsh Inds., 1797; Durrett in Filson Club Pub., no. 23, 1908; Lewis in Trans. Oneida Hist. Soc., 1894; Mooney, Growth of a Myth, in Am. Anthr., Oct. 1891, and numerous authorities noted in Winsor, Narr. Crit. Hist. Am., I, notes 109–111, 1889.

The early stories of a tribe of "White Indians" (q. v.), or "White, Bearded Indians," somewhere in the unknown interior, refer sometimes to this mythic Welsh tribe, but more often appear to arise from misinterpreted Indian accounts of other distant European colonies or visitations, or of some tribe of complexion lighter than usual. See *Lost Ten Tribes of Israel*, *Popular Fallacies*. (J. M.)

Madawgwys.—Bowen, Am. Discov. by the Welsh, 93, 1876 (also Madogian and Madogiaint; so called by various authors). **Madocian Inds.**—Ibid. 62 (term used with reference to the Indians of Prince Madoc). **Madogians.**—Janson, Stranger in Am., 270, 1807. **Madogiant.**—Bowen, op. cit., 93. **[illegible].**—Ker quoted by Drake, Bk. Inds., bk. I, 38, 1848. **Welsh.**—Drake, ibid., xii. **Welsh Bearded Indians.**—Bowen, op. cit., 129. **Welsh Indians.**—Croghan (1759) in Rupp, West. Pa., 146, 1846 (misprint).

Welunungsi (*We-lun-ung-si*, 'little turtle'). A subclan of the Delawares.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 172, 1877.

Welwashkeni (*Welwashχē'ni*, 'place of the large spring'). A former Modoc settlement on the S. E. side of Tule lake, at Miller's farm, N. E. Cal.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. I, xxxii, 1890.

Wenamese. See *Winamac*.

101 **Wenatchi** (Yakima: *winátshi*, 'river issuing from a canyon,' referring to Wenatchee r.). A Salish division, probably a band of the Pisquows, formerly on Wenatchee r., a tributary of the Columbia in Washington. In 1850 there were said to have been 50 on Yakima res., but 66 were enumerated in the Report on Indian Affairs for 1910 as under the Colville agency. It is uncertain whether these bodies belonged to one original band. [161]

Lower Chehalis.—Common name. **Waneelchie.**—Ford in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 341, 1858. **Waratcha.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1861. **Waratka.**—Ibid., 1864, 499, 1865. **Waratkaas.**—Ibid. 1863, 512, 1864. **Wenatcha.**—Lansdale, ibid., 1859, 412, 1860. **Wenatchi.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 704, 1901. **Wenatshapam.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951. **Wenatshapan.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 266, 1857. **Wenatshepam.**—Ibid., 110, 1874. **Winā'tshipūm.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (given as a synonym of Pisquows). **Wynoochee.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 428, 1855. **Wy-nact-che.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1870.

000 **Wendigo.** See *Windigo*.

Wendjimadub ('whence he sits'; that is, supposing he was sitting in one spot, he moves from it and sits in another). A Chippewa chief and orator, with a strain of French blood, born at La Pointe, Wis., about 1838. He married a Mississippi Chippewa, and since 1868 has lived at White Earth, where he is at the head of a band of about 40. Wendjimadub is noted for his independence. When, about 1878, a half-breed trader induced all the other chiefs to join him in opposing a worthy Indian agent, Lewis Stowe, in order that an agent might be appointed who would further his schemes, Wendjimadub was the only one who had the courage to stand up openly in the council before prominent Americans, and take the agent's part, declaring his innocence and showing why the warfare was waged against him. Although uneducated, Wendjimadub is by far the best speaker among the Chippewa. He served in a Minnesota regiment throughout the Civil War. He farms to some extent, but is in sufficiently affluent circumstances to live without working. He has been converted to Christianity. (J. A. G.)

Wenimesset (*wenomissit*, 'at the grapevine.'—Gerard). A Nipmuc village in 1676, at the present New Braintree, Worcester co., Mass.

Wenimesset.—Rowlandson quoted by Drake, Trag. Wild., 26, 1841. **Wenimisset.**—Kinnicutt, Ind. Names Worcester Co., 56, 1905. **Winnimissett.**—Ibid.

Wenona. A small snake (*Charina bottæ*) found in California and Mexico. From *winona* (q. v.) in the Santee Sioux language, signifying 'first-born child' [if a daughter]. The word is also a place name. (A. F. C.)

Wenrohronon (*Awĕñro'roñ'noⁿ'*, probably from a combination of the noun *awĕñ'rā'*, the Huron form of the common Iroquoian vocable denoting 'scum,' 'moss,' 'lather,' with the verb stem *-o'*, 'to float,' 'to be immersed or contained in liquid or in the earth,' 'to be in solution,' 'to be contained in,' with the tribal appellative suffix *-roñnoⁿ'*. *Awĕñ'ro'* (*ouenro* in the Jesuit Relations), the base of the term, signifies, as a geographic name, 'where scum floats on the water'; hence *Awenrohronon* means 'the people or tribe of the place of floating scum.' The suggested meaning of the name would seem to indicate that the Wenrohronon may have lived in the vicinity of the famous oil spring of the town of Cuba, Allegany co., N. Y., described as a filthy, stagnant pool, about 20 ft in diameter, without an outlet. A yellowish-brown oil collects on its surface, and this was the source of the famous "Seneca oil," formerly a popular local remedy for various ailments. The spring was so highly regarded by the Seneca that they always reserved it in their land-sale treaties). One of the tribes, which, according to the Jesuit Relation for 1639, had been associated with the Neutral Nation and which had

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Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington

by

VERNE F. RAY

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Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington

115

Bob Covington

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PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, 101
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. 648
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach- 131
ments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reser- 175
vation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Depart- 122
ment of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the 114
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native mes- 117
sianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been in- 121
cluded here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more sum- 122
marily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount 127
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encourage-
ment and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identify- 132
ing botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcrip-* 194
tion of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

[1+2 blank]

114 194 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: snəqaie'tkʷ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); snəkā'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and sťske'təmixʷ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

Bob Covington was a sober, intelligent half-breed, well respected by his people. For many years he served as Indian policeman and interpreter for his people in dealings with the government. He was a willing worker and exceedingly obliging and hospitable. He interpreted for John Tom, and furnished much information himself. Covington died in July, 1930, at the age of about sixty-five.

William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

VERNE F. RAY

Seattle, 1932

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Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui´luxʷ) of /01 the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other /31 early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpuell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi´lam), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1] Any such assumption is definitely in error.

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group [551] name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix.

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (snəqaie´tkʷ) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the snəqaie´tkʷ groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (sxoie´lpʷ).

The two names (Nespelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were separated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Perry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other /31 Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them /97 except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common.

---

[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

131
177 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lxtcɛn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcɛn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil	nsi'lxtcɛn	Kittitas	naiya'kutcɛn
Nespelem		Yakima	
Okanogan		Palus	
snaqaie'tkʷ		Umatilla	
Lakes		Cayuse	
snakā'lt		Walula	
Colville			
Columbia	nɛ'xwa'mux'tcɛn	Chewelah	npoke'nixtcɛn
Chelan		Kalispel	
Methow		Spokane	
Wenatchi			
stake'tamixʷ			

105
177 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

101
171 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the snaqaie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

---

[3] Cf., page 26.

Lower Fraser	t'ləmsiu'x
Thompson	nıqutəmi'xʷ
Shuswap	sixwa·'pmx
Similkameen	smılkami'xʷ
Kettle river group	snx̣wiyatłpi'tkʷ
Lakes	sna'itckstʷ (from a'itckstʷ, a small speckled fish of the upper Columbia river)
Upper Kutenai	skalsi'ulkʷ
Lower Kutenai	sloq̓wala·'qwax
British Columbia tribes collectively	nukutəmi'xʷ
Blackfoot	staqwaixu'nəxux
Sioux	á'nxutusəm
Flathead	sá·'lic
Pend d'Oreilles	snyá'lmənxʷ
Kalispel	qâlıspi·'ləm
Chewelah	sqa·wi'lax
Spokane	spu·ke'nx
snəká'lt (on lower Spokane river)	snqwemi'tqwa'xʷ ("little river")
Colville	sxoie'lpʷ
Columbia	snq̓e'us
Moses' Columbia band	squwa·'xtcımux
Okanogan	soqınaki'n
Chelan	stcli'nx, or spat'lınulumxamux ("bitter-root people")
Methow	sme·'tx̣aux
Wenatchi	snpəqwe''usx
Wenatchi group six miles downriver from present town	sískı'tımixʷ
Kittitas (pcwa'nwapam)	yiá'qıma
Yakima	á'tánım
Klikitat	i'sunxia''uixʷ
Palus	sí'qamtci'nəx ("slough grass people")
Nez Perce	sa'a·'ptınx
Nez Perce, Lapwai group	sná'pəwaxʷ
Walula (Walla Walla) and Cayuse	skeiu'sx
Umatilla	i'syumıtálax
Snake	snáski·'nqumx ("rattlesnake people")
Wasco	swasq̓o·'paxʷ
Chinook	tcınu'k
Willamette (probably Clackamas)	swayɛ'mpɛmx
Puyallup	spuyá'lıpxʷ
People beyond Mt. Rainier collectively	sıkuti'kənx

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 137 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.

[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The 137
most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush
(*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus*
nauseosus), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort
(*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas.
The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called
the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow
pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance
north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[5]

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by 101
the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, 131
the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This 133
has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary 101
points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the 131
territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the 361
latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root
gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the
Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[6] Approximately 85 miles of the course
of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except
for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

---

[5] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[6] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

102
131
361

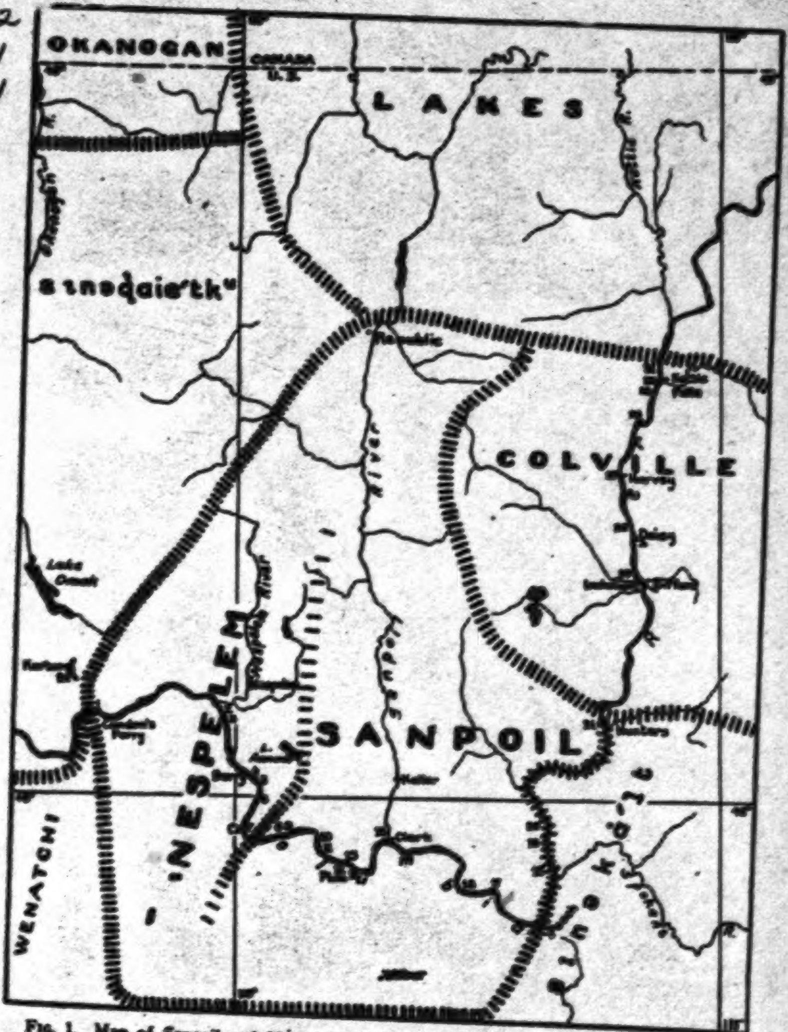
OKANOGAN
CANADA
U.S.
LAKES
Republic
COLVILLE
Lake Omak
NESPELEM
SANPOIL
WENATCHI
River

Fig. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lx^a) as obtained from John Tom, Bob 101
Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 166
but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, 173
most of the information is first hand.

361
At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tk^a and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nakukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snakukt'ci'ptənux^a, located at the 361
site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This 221
was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population 221
   was made up of members of the snəqaie'tk^a group usually residing 361
   during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, 177
   occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'lux^a (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from [161]
   100 to 150.

2. nəspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^a. 361
This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

---

[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

162
221
361
592

of a mile. It[1] was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. xaimi·'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'luxᵘ. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'lau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to sk!əmtcı'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'xᵘ, home of the ski'xᵘ. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwi'ł (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. məsməsa'lımxᵘ, home of the sməsməsa'lımxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'xᵘ (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. sk!əm'tcı'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'lau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

SANPOIL VILLAGES

8. nlaxo'i'tqᵘ ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxᵘ. About half way between sk!ə'mtcı'n (7) and na'a'qᵘ (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

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[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [nspi'lam -- Analyst]

9. wał'wałá'skən ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wałá'skəxʷ, situated a half mile up the river from nłxxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11] 162 221 361 592

10. t'sakt'si'kskən ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wałá'skən (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. xaxsula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sxaxsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kałpuspu'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kałpuspu'stənaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mlkʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kałpuspu'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts [226]

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

162 of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington
221 estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon
season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due
361 to the extremes of temperature at this location.

592 Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own
[622] name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'sxənən ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qətsəltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qətəpkunu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qəqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tləm ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A).

G. skəxwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. ənhuqá'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at nχoχoγu'sʷ (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved to npui·'luxʷ (15) with the approach of summer. 162 221 361 592

17. nχoχoγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstʷ. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16).

18. snukɛ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɛ'iltkʷ. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snukɛ'iltkʷ travelled to npui·'luxʷ (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snukɛ'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[13]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[13]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxʷ. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'luxʷ (15).

snəqaie'tkʷ VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[13] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

COLVILLE VILLAGES

162 25. ntcali·′"əm ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia
361 at this point), home of the sntcali′"x·. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.

26. nqua'si′əm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si′x·. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.

27. qəqəla′pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqəqəla′piax·. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.

28. nilami′n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami′nax·. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qəqəla′pia (27).

29. ntcumu′tastum, home of the sntcumu′tast·, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami′n (28), near Kettle Falls.

30. qɪluma′"ax· ("level land"), home of the sqɪluma′"ax·. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu′tastum (29).

31. smɪtcunu′lau, home of the smɪtcunu′laux·, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

221
361 From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the resi- [551] dents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying prefix and suffix. Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came.

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui·′lux· and proceeds northward up the river.

1. snluxu′la'x· ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi′kast ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. âqla·′iyuk ("place where a·′iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi′kast (2).
4. snxlos′pate·′n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

5. ṗu·'pastən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller. 221
6. ẗmxo·'yäm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller. 361
7. nxwi'i'pəm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.
8. sə'ä'ä'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.
9. ätcxuläki'pästəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.
10. nloqloqəlkue'lixtəa ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cash creek. Hunting base.
11. nxət'ltcəni'tkʷ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cash creek. Hunting camp.
12. sntxulu'stən ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cash creek. Served as a hunting base.
13. nlu·'piəm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stən (12), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.
14. släkumu'ləmxʷ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piəm (13). Hunting base and root gathering camp.
15. nxləkatci'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.
16. mə'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.
17. luxluxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxu'm (17) may or may not have been used as camp sites. Burke was not certain.

18. aqlqəpuxwi'lpʷ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.
19. tᶊwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.
20. ˛kli'i'puä ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

POPULATION

It is exceedingly difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of individuals constituting the Sanpoil prior to the nineteenth century. In 1782 began a series of epidemics which greatly depleted the population throughout the area. Smallpox made the most serious inroads, but measles and influenza caused considerable losses as well. 175

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population. It was followed by epidemics of the same disease in 1846 and 1852-53, introduced in both cases by the white people.[14] In one of these instances, probably the latter, a party of Sanpoil traders had travelled to Portland and there contracted the disease. Despite their illness they attempted to return home. Only one of their number survived the journey; it was through this individual

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[14] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations of America*, pages 13-14.

175 that the Sanpoil were exposed. Although all of his family fled to the mountains when they learned of his illness, it was too late to check the spread of the disease and soon it had been carried throughout the Sanpoil and neighboring groups. When one member of a family contracted smallpox it often resulted in the extermination of the entire household, due to failure to isolate the afflicted person.

A scourge of measles took a heavy toll in 1847[14] but its effects were not as devastating as any one of the smallpox epidemics.

The old men of the group emphasize the degrading effect that liquor has had upon the constitution of the native and attribute many fatalities indirectly to its excessive use, through a breakdown in the ability to withstand disease. Any dependable information as to the actual part that liquor has played in increasing the death rate is difficult to obtain; further study might reveal sufficient data to justify an evaluation. The presence of venereal diseases in the group is indicated by the knowledge of treatments for them.[15]

All factors such as these must be considered in making any estimate of the aboriginal population. Mooney's calculation that in the year 1780 the Sanpoil (with which he includes the Nespelem) numbered 800.[16]

We may arrive at an approximation of the population for the period *circa* 1860 by adding the estimates given for each village by native informants. In these calculations it will, of course, be necessary to keep separate the figures for those villages occupied only in summer and those only in winter.

VILLAGES	SUMMER POPULATION	WINTER POPULATION
1. nəkukt'ci'ptın[17]	100–150	....
2. nspi·'ləm	200	200
3. xaimi·'saxun	100	....
4. salqua'xuwił	60–70[18]	150[19]
5. sḱi'xʷ	....	40–50
6. mxmxsa'lmxʷ	....	40–50
7. sḱlɐm'tcı'n	40–60	....
8. nlxxo'i'tqʷ	....	20–30
9. wɐlwɐlá'skın	....	20–30
10. t'sɐkt'si'lkskın	....	10–15
11. na'a'qʷ	40–50	40–50
12. xɐxsula'uxʷ	....	20
13. kɐlpuspu'stən	....	40–50
14. sa'a·'mlkʷ	100	100
15. npui·'luxʷ	400	75–100
16. xula'lst	50	300
17. nxoxoyu's	50	....
18. smukɛ'ilt	80	80
19. xwat'sa'm'	....	25–30
20. npc'xs'tian	....	25–30
21. tkukua'lkuxun	....	150
Totals	1220–1310	1335–1435

In comparing the totals (summer, 1220-1310; winter 1335-1435), obtained in the preceding calculations, certain facts must be borne in mind. First, a portion of those occupying the summer village nəkukt'ci'ptɩn belonged to the sɩnəq̓aic'tkʷ group and returned to their own village, kɩ·γtā·', at the close of the fishing season; therefore they do not appear in the total for the winter habitats. Also, there is undoubtedly some duplication in the summer estimates for the two villages, nspi·'lam and χaimi·'saxun. Although many of the inhabitants of the former settlement remained there throughout the year a certain number removed to the latter place for the summer months. In fact, χaimi·'saxun was given as a summer village of the snspi·'luxʷ.[29] These considerations would subtract perhaps 100 or 150 from the result of the compilation for summer settlements, thereby increasing the discrepancy.

On the other hand, the winter inhabitants of snukɩ'ilt and tkukua'lkuxun did not all remain in Sanpoil territory during the summer. Many of those belonging to the former village spent the summer on the Spokane river. The latter, a populous village, was near the great fishing center at Kettle Falls, resulting in a considerable proportion of the inhabitants removing to the falls (Colville territory) for the summer. Others went to the Spokane river fishing grounds. Moreover, the average number of persons occupying the temporary camps along the Sanpoil river during the summer must have been considerable, but since its fluctuating nature precluded the assignment of any significant estimate, no consideration of this factor was possible in compiling the totals.

The correction necessary in the light of these facts might add a hundred or perhaps two hundred to the summer total. In any event, it would doubtless cancel the figure it first seemed necessary to subtract, and perhaps even add to the original total of 1220-1310. Since the winter total stands at 1335-1435, the correspondence is reasonably close, the discrepancy being between 115 and 125. Inasmuch as these figures are calculated from independent estimates for each village the close agreement of the results representing the total group population for summer and winter, respectively, speaks well for the accuracy of both the individual estimates and the compiled totals.

For the period, then, immediately following the middle of the nineteenth century the population of the Sanpoil ranged around 1300 individuals according to native testimony. This figure may be somewhat high but it at least indicates that the group was considerably more populous that has heretofore been assumed. Mooney's estimate of 800 for the year 1780 is clearly much too low, for the subsequent years were fraught with the many devastating epidemics already mentioned, and the groups could hardly be expected to have held their own in the matter of numbers; it is scarcely possible that an increase occurred. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that 1600 or 1700 would more accurately represent

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[23] See page 222.
[24] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations*, page 15.
[25] The population of this village was mixed Nespelem and Kartaro; this figure represents the total.
[26] John Tom's estimate. See page 16.
[27] Covington's estimate. See page 16.
[28] See page 16.

175 the aboriginal population of the group; this figure would leave a fair margin for the decrease which undoubtedly took place during the years from 1780 to 1860 and yet not necessitate a too literal acceptance of the native estimates for the latter date.

Beginning with the year 1890 the various reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contain estimates of population as rendered by the agent in charge of the reservation. In these reports the Sanpoil and the Nespelem are listed separately. These figures follow:[32]

YEAR	SANPOIL	NESPELEM	TOTAL
1890	300	..	...
1891	...	59	...
1897	239	...	...
1905	324	41	365
1910	189	45	234

The report of the Census Bureau for the year 1910 listed the number of Sanpoil Indians as 240, of which 238 were in the state of Washington; the Nespelem as 46.[33] The Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 1913 contained the results of a survey for that year, which numbered the Sanpoil at 202, the Nespelem at 43, or 245 in all.

Little faith can be placed in the earlier estimates for several reasons. In the first place, all of the Indians had not yet come under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent and judgments were made only with regard to those who in some manner had come into contact with the agency. Secondly, little care was taken in the determination of group affiliations, with the result that the same individual was often listed in one report as belonging to a certain group and in another report was included with an entirely different group. Also, no agent was actually resident on the Colville reservation until 1913; previous to that time the affairs of the reservation were transacted from the agency on the Spokane reservation. Even in the case of the figures for 1910 the discrepancy between the commissioner's report and the census report discredits the value of either estimate.

It appears, nevertheless, that the population has been considerably more stable during the years covered by the reports than in the years immediately preceding. Between 1860 and 1890 the death rate was unquestionably very high. This was due, perhaps, to the introduction of diseases by the white traders and settlers, coupled with the refusal of the natives to receive medical assistance from the agency doctor.[34]

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[32] Quoted in U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Indian Population*, page 93.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Another factor may have been the inability to obtain medical attention at the moment needed in such cases where treatment would have been accepted. Even today there are but two full time doctors and one serving part time, to cover the 1800 or more square miles included in the reservation.

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radicalism, 554
faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years without 626
the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided.
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home 829
elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selection 556
was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

181 226 476 554 556 755 829 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 578 626 681 829 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 554 776 829 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part. This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least one guardian spirit.

181 183 578 626 829 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 181 554 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

178
Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month 621
called skəmɩ'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 758
with those who had had to remain. 888

221 226 462 796 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 462 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 285 796 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'k̓utən, "time that it snows"; kʦ̓a'ʦ̓a'ttə'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'k̓əʦ̓, "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the season. 796 221 The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

221 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and 796 released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones [860] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were [855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to 512 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot 252 rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning 512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

264 house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain
461 up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this
order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen
512 in bed by men who were still up.

515 The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xəxwa'iakənstək): 342
the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house.
These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a
menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally;
no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures
were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end
of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342
has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173
replaced the mat hut for summer use.

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used 177
simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the
only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the
mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years
ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom,
Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young,
but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342
former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river.

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (ẋo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with 332
a flat or conical roof. The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep [322]
pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen
feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the
conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top
of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the
periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope
was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to
the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope.
Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when
such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of
grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of
this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated.
However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354]
this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the
top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke
to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart
upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected
a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not
known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, 332
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 342
easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the [351]
matter of drainage and consequently less used.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

342
The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 352
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 513
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room.

The winter mat house (samaia'iłu, stktəni'lᵉ) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This
332 door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or
342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below
the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway
351 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept
there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid
352 on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house
352 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor
354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces
591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number
of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses
342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and
422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the
768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

342 423 961 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 285 484 The temporary mat hut (sıpı'a'ilᵊ) was utilised during the summer while moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 342 361 571 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat houses, (ṣəntcnuqwı'ltən, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures. These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted 852 342 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (ts·tsa'pax^{a}), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cı'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [330] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

283 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (salɨla'stia), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pà'xpuxilpᵘ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqəlastən); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwəl'qwələməni'lpᵘ, "blue brush").

293 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 [137] Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the root of the western scouring rush. *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwəl'p̓. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It
was called ta''mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 482
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastí'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [53]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [13]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [13]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called quqepui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (slodəlke'n) were utilized extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285
raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313
be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk.
The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314
was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a sec-
tion about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end
and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter
of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body
of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow
were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added
strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder
to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed
to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251
U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log 285
a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about
four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 314
to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the 415
midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather
side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops
were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the
two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made
to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior
to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (ṗi'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as re-
ceptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly
round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approxi-
mately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel
stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using
the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which
a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided
with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large num- 285
bers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314
above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots,
the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrap- 415
ping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and
slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̣a'istən). Indian hemp was [192]
used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were
applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called
stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'ī'aks, and the berry dry-
ing mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft
courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches.
The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [531]
sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

285 314 415 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 177 524 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regarding the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[8] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 415 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot, always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[8] See page 162.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 324 Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[276] [324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (anta·'"min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɛ'ksman) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called sńts'tlam, "little canoe," 322 in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415 canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'man). 321 It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322 a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn 415 spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531] incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint.

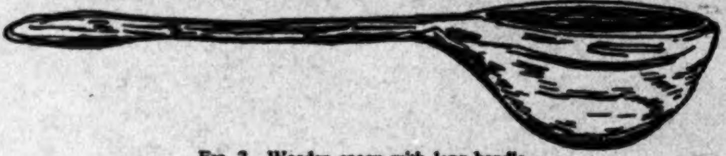

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were substituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285] hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264 was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415 mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322 made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324 stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaxami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large 322
logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden 324
mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the 412
hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk [137]
was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded
horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from
it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length,
served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

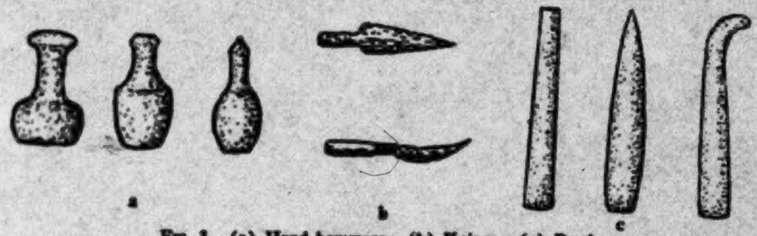

FIG. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372
The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'limən) itself was perma- 412
nent; the seat or hearth (xu'lkopᵃ) was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine
was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly
with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four
inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised
from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in
each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another
made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either
side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope
brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drill-
ing and careful blowing fire (stukᵤ'uk) was produced. Very often two men oper-
ated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while 372
travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly
and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for
two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon 37 or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks.

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321 A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322 with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412 They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281 three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415 were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

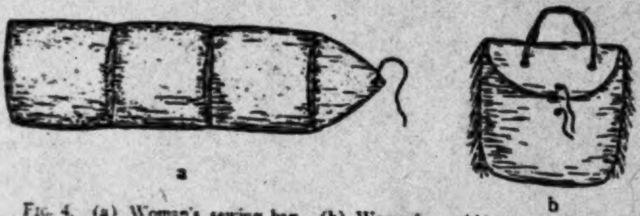

Fig. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283 thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322 basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412 inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281 pages 93-94. 415

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presumably
291 aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while
291 travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[157] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsquə'sqələstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̇ai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[213] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlə̣kwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leggings
291 woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

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Extensive use of buckskin characterized the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kilihwa'kstxantan) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

294
Foot wear in the form of moccasins (apsei'pi'xan) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern. The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the [531] other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

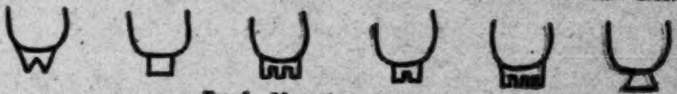

FIG. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

281 Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch
291 grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around
531 the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sqwa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'tskan) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (sknalkwá'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than
281 either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article
291 of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'à'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'ä'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 776 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
531 the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew,
forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers
were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder.
Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and
feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable
prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from
arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The
Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors,
perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result
in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the
penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some orna-
mentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for
its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The
shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoul-
der and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large
whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright.
Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they
were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two
were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

237 292 301 531 Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

[489] 301 Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iaks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

Ear ornaments (snʌ́tsatci'na) were fashioned from shells of the fresh water clam in various shapes, notably round, triangular and rectangular. The edges were provided with holes through which sinew could be threaded for suspending the ornaments from the holes in the ear. The flat pieces of shell were polished by rubbing with sand and ashes. Rings made from sections of bone were also hung from the ears. Dentalia were not used in this manner. Ear ornaments were worn alike by men and women. 301

Labrets and nose ornaments were not known.

Such ornaments and accoutrements as those described in this section were worn during the winter ceremonial season, at assembly meetings, special ceremonies and when visiting.

FACIAL PAINTING

Facial painting was practiced for decorative, ceremonial and practical purposes. All participants in the winter ceremonials painted their faces. Shamans painted before practicing. Individuals painted to escape or avoid illness, to withstand the cold and for a multitude of other reasons. The designs used were almost unlimited, for each person attempted to decorate his face somewhat differently from anyone else. Some designs were dictated by guardian spirits. However, certain designs were more often repeated than others. Some of these are shown in Figure 6. All designs had one feature in common: the eyebrows were always 302 581

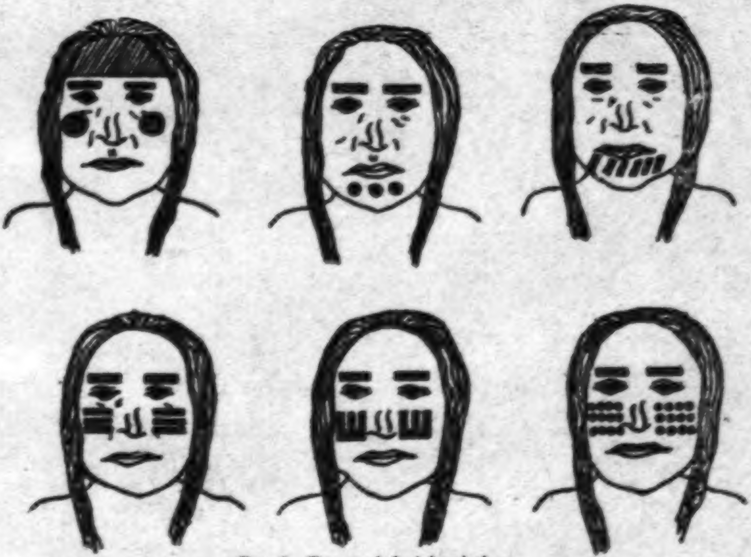

Fig. 6. Types of facial painting.

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nuknu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (sqtu'lkman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease, or applied dry.

[756] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

of otter or weasel skin. The binding strip was wrapped twice around the locks, tied in a bow knot and the hair thrown back. If the strands were short it was customary to gather the ends together, tie them, and suspend a weasel skin from the extremity.

Braids were often covered throughout their length with strips of otter skin sewed together. Strips of buckskin covered with porcupine quills were used likewise. The quills were used in their natural form or flattened after soaking in hot water. Holes for the thread were made with bone awls. The quills were sewed side by side on the buckskin strip, not end to end. Sometimes quills were inserted directly into the braids.

Braids were quite commonly tied together at the ends and weasel or otter skins, or shells attached for ornamentation. The use of feathers has already been described. Braids never were allowed to hang down the back.

Men who had been given power to become good warriors by their guardian spirits caused the short forelocks to their hair to stand in an erect tuft by admixing white clay with the strands. Other individuals occasionally colored the forelocks or the ends of braids with red paint.

Women always wore their hair braided except during mourning, when it was cut short and never combed. There was practically no variation in style. The part was in the middle, as with men, but the forelocks were never left loose or braided separately. Then too the plaiting did not start below the ear but behind it. The braids, which ordinarily fell in front, but occasionally in back, were nearly always tied together at their ends. Often the braids then were raised over the head, the knot allowed to rest on the back of the neck and the braids to fall in two loops, one in front of each shoulder.

Women tied pendants to the ends of braids or wrapped them with otter skin, as did the men. In addition they much more commonly painted the hair. Red or yellow pigment was mixed with a little water in the palm of the hand, then rubbed into the hair to lighten it, then spots of red added by dipping the fingers in paint and touching the tips to the hair.

Both men and women lately painted the scalp where it was exposed by the part, but natives consider this custom a recent innovation.

To add gloss both sexes rubbed salmon oil into the hair. To accomplish this end and at the same time to perfume the hair deer marrow which had been mixed with dried and pulverized hemlock needles was employed. Another method of applying oil to the hair was to rub it with testes of the beaver which had been wrapped in buckskin and allowed to stand until the oil soaked through. Such bags containing testes were worn attached to the clothing to be ready for use when desired. They were rubbed on the clothing and body as well as the hair.

Children's hair was allowed to remain loose until perhaps eight or ten years of age. After that time the hair of a boy was combed and dressed by his mother, that of a girl by herself. Young boys sometimes had the hair cut in bangs. Two styles of plaiting were popular. One consisted of a single braid down the back, the other of three, one in back and one at each side. During puberty girls parted

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and 302
tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened 302
sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an 412
eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended 826
with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The 855
ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of 856
medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kamıtawiya'kı'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered 304
ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round 856
during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle.

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly 302
heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very 515
long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly 856
less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'lp^{a}, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, 515
summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for 751
their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of 515
the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the ennervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's 515
most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial.

The sweat lodge (kwi'l'stən) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in 343
diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent 515
into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing these at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats.

The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water 515
on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squatting or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[1] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses.

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called naχaχuaxa'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of 302
tweezers (laqtcəntcu'tən). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and
women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types 303
were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the

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[1] See page 179.

pincer ends were made broad and thin. In two forms the bases of the bones composing the tweezers were fastened rigidly together, in one case with rivets of bone, (Figure 7, a); in the other with wrappings of sinew (Figure 7, b). In the former the arms were gently curved, in the latter they were angular. The third type (Figure 7, c) consisted of two bone arms pivoted at the base and bound with sinew. The points only were curved. The wooden tweezer (Plate 2, Figure H) was fashioned from a single piece of hardwood. It resembled a slender handled fork with two wide prongs. This was the largest of the types, averaging six inches in length. Tweezers were sometimes painted.

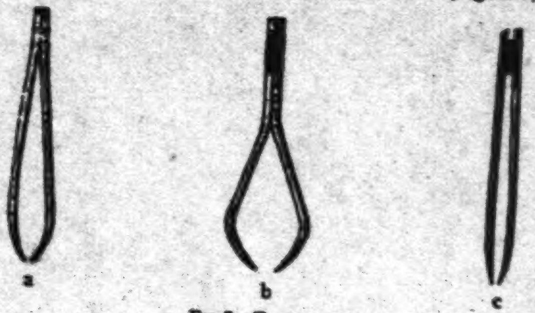

Fig 7. Tweezers.

FISHING

Throughout the year fish was relied upon as the principal article of sustenance by the Sanpoil, as well as other peoples along the Columbia river. Salmon, *Oncorhynchus*, (ənasi'ulkʷ), and steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, (xumi'nα'), were caught in large numbers each summer, a portion to be used as fresh food at the time but the greater percentage to be dried and stored for winter consumption. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia;[1] enormous numbers of these fish ascend the river each year for the purpose of spawning. Of the five species of salmon which frequent the Columbia and its tributaries all but one reach the portion of the river which flows through the Sanpoil country. These are the chinook or king salmon, *O. tschawytscha*, (ənti·'tix), the silver or white salmon, *O. kisutch*, (stsαwı'n), the humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, and the dog or chum salmon, *O. keta*, (ki'suʷ). The fifth species, the sockeye or blueback salmon, *O. nerka*, is seldom found farther upstream than the mouth of the Okanogan river, which is below Sanpoil territory. 226 251 262

Salmon is present in the middle Columbia from May until November. Some are still to be found even later in the winter, but the flesh is hardly edible, due to deterioration after spawning. Steelhead trout run from early March until July.[2] The steelheads found in this area vary from ten to fifteen pounds in weight and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following the steelheads is the summer or chinook run of salmon, occurring during May, June and July.[3] The chinook is the largest of the salmon; those found in the Columbia average twenty-two pounds in weight but occasionally a single fish weighs as much as a hundred pounds.[4] In the fall a double run occurs, bringing the silver and dog salmons. These species appear during the latter part of August or early in September and continue to run through November. The flesh of both remains edible throughout this period. Neither variety is large in size, the average weight for each being about six pounds. The humpback salmon, although found in this region, is present only in negligible quantities.

Varieties of fish other than salmon and steelhead were not overlooked although economically they were of minor importance. Among these were sturgeon, lamprey eel, whitefish, suckers, chub fish, and mountain, speckled and bull trout. Chub fish, *Semotilus* sp. (?), were caught principally during May; they ranged about ten or twelve inches in length. Two varieties of suckers, *Catostomus* sp., were obtained, known as black suckers and yellow suckers. The former were present in the river from April until fall; the latter did not appear until May. After June, however, neither kind was considered edible. Eels were taken during the second half of the year, but were not considered desirable food. Whitefish, *Mylocheilus caurinus*

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[1] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, page 25.

[2] This was the statement of my informants. Cobb says, in speaking of the steelhead, "In the Columbia River the spawning season is from February to May......," (*ibid.*, page 11).

[3] Two other runs of the chinook species enter the Columbia, one preceding the May run, and one following it, but in both cases the fish spawn in the lower tributaries of the river, seldom reaching the middle course (*ibid.*, page 8).

[4] *Ibid.*, page 7.

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[221] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[4] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke′təm). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June. 226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[4] See pages 34-35.

with rocks of white quartz.[4] In the early part of the season the salmon and trout appeared to be green as they passed over these rocks; later on, as the spawning progressed, their actual pigmentation became deeper, causing them to stand out clearly in contrast to the white bottom. It was occasionally necessary to remove the film or scum which soon collected on the quartz. This was accomplished by a diver who held himself down (when the depth of the water necessitated), by grasping a pole placed vertically in the water and held from above.

The sites for the second and third channels, to be used later in the season, were selected and the excavations made while the river was still low, thus eliminating the necessity of working below the surface of the water. The white rocks lining the bottom might be laid at the time the digging was done, or not until utilization began. In the former case the rocks had to be cleaned just prior to the use of the channel, for during the rise of the river discoloration inevitably occurred.

The spearing of fish as they swam up the channel was accomplished from a staging built from the bank to the inshore side of the channel. The platform of this staging was roughly triangular in shape, with one side placed directly above the inner edge of the passage and the opposite point resting on shore. Construction began with the building of two tripods, one for each end of the channel, to support the outer edge of the platform. These were made of stout saplings of pine and tied securely at the apex with withes of willow or the service berry bush. They were assembled on the shore, then raised and placed in position in the river. The bases were oriented as in the case of the platform itself. The apex of each support was left far enough above the surface to allow for the maximum height that the river would attain during the use of that station. The lower ends of the saplings were set in small pits and boulders were piled around to hold them in place. Two long poles, likewise of pine, were used to complete the foundation. One pole extended from the apex of each tripod to the shore, at which point it rested on the ground about two feet from the other. Upon these poles were laid slats or cedar, saplings and branches of various sorts, from the shore to the channel to serve as flooring for the platform. This completed the platform proper. However, the upper transverse pole of the staging was used also as a foundation for a weir to prevent the fish from swimming under the platform rather than through the runway. Small poles, usually of willow, three or four feet long, were extended vertically from this pole to the bed of the river at intervals of approximately a foot. With this as a base, a crude dam or weir was formed by gathering branches of bushes and driftwood and placing them haphazardly against the upright poles. A certain amount of tying was necessary to hold the brush fast, but since the weir formed an acute angle with the shore the current of the river helped to hold the loose material in position. When working from the top of the staging a forked stick was used to force the brush into place. A knowledge of the correct angle at which to place the weir (and hence, the upper horizontal pole of the staging) was essential for successful construction.

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[4] John Tom stated that the quartz was brought from the mountains for this purpose. This seems unlikely, however, for boulders of white quartz are plentiful along the Columbia.

226 Platforms were required only on the Columbia river and at certain points on the Spokane and Okanogan rivers. In smaller streams, such as the Sanpoil and the Nespelem, spearing was accomplished from the bank or by wading into the water. Spear fishing from canoes was practiced in the Columbia during the fall, especially for the white or silver salmon, but at that time of year the river is too low to permit the use of channels and staging.

Blinds were often built on the smaller streams to assist the spearman. A flat thatched roof was erected several feet above the water across a part or all of the stream. The fisherman stationed himself beneath this sun shelter. The moment a fish entered the shaded area it was temporarily unable to see, while the spearman's vision was aided by the shade, and thus he was enabled to spear the fish without difficulty.

Night fishing, both from staging and from canoes, was practiced with the aid of torches (tsi'ʔkusxən) made from pine pitch wood.

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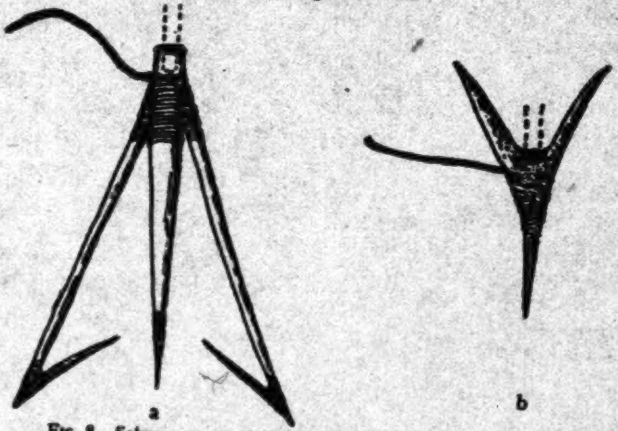

FIG. 8. Salmon spears; (a) three pronged, (b) single pronged.

A fishing station (x̧alu·'sxəm) was the common property of the members of the settlement where it was located. Only one man at a time used the platform. Each man present at the fishing site was entitled to a turn and was privileged to retain the position until he had speared one fish, then the post reverted to another. Ordinarily each man had his own spear, but if a stranger were present and had none he would be supplied and allowed to take his turn with the others. Even though an individual were alone at a station he was seldom able to continue spearing for longer than about a half hour at one time because of the strain on the eyes from the reflection of the sun in the water.

FISH SPEARS

The common fish spear used for the smaller varieties of salmon was the single pronged type of bone and horn, called sxu·'ɬkən, (Figure 8, b). The foreshaft of the spear consisted of a V-shaped piece of horn a few inches in length. A socket for receiving the main shaft was hollowed in the fork. A sharp point of bone was attached to the head of the foreshaft, giving the whole the shape of a Y. The point was made fast to the body by wrapping with cord of Indian hemp and the application of pine pitch. Pieces of bone suitable for use as spear points were obtained by heating in a fire a section of bone, preferably from the leg of a deer, until it splintered. Fragments of approximately the correct size were chosen and shaped with stone scrapers. Shafts were made of fir, selected for straightness and freedom from knots. In some cases poles seem to have been used after merely removing the bark and in other instances the pole was apparently split down the middle and each half scraped and worked until an elliptical cross section was obtained, one pole thus furnishing two shafts. The shaft was detachable from the foreshaft which held the point, but connected to it by a short cord. The end selected for attachment to the foreshaft was rounded and tapered to fit snugly but not tightly into the socket. The connecting cord was an extension of the one binding the foreshaft to the point. Two or three feet of slack was allowed between the point and the shaft. When a fish was speared the shaft left the socket and the fish could be played and drawn in by means of the cord and the shaft. The length of the shaft varied, depending upon the place at which it was to be used, from fifteen to twenty feet or sometimes more. 226 411

A large three-pronged spear (wi·'tcka) (Figure 8, a) was used for large salmon, principally the chinook. Its use was restricted to instances where an approximately vertical thrust could be obtained. It was therefore used extensively in fishing from canoes. The foreshaft consisted of a socket with three prongs; a center prong which was tapered and projected in line with the mainshaft, and two side prongs at angles of about thirty degrees to the center prong. The socket for the main shaft was hollowed in the large end of the middle prong, which was made of hardwood of any variety. The small end was tipped with a point of bone, obtained in the same manner as for the small spear. The two side prongs were of [137] ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* Max., (mutc'mutci'lpʷ) a resilient wood; they were somewhat longer than the center prong, or about fifteen inches. These prongs were pointed and each was fitted with a single barb. The barbs were of bone and bound with cord of Indian hemp. Heavy cord of the same material was used to fasten the side prongs to the center one, and extended, as in the case of the small spear, to be attached to the main shaft. This shaft was similar to that of the small spear, both in shape and length.

TRAP FISHING

By far the most productive mode of taking fish, especially salmon and trout, 226 was by means of traps. Within Sanpoil territory the principal traps were located near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, at npui·'luxʷ, and below the falls on the Nespelem river, at nspi·'ləm. The traps in the smaller streams, however, also produced very considerable quantities of fish. Usually only a single trap was placed in each stream, but in the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers sometimes two or even three traps could be profitably maintained. Kettle Falls, in Colville terri-

226 tory, was probably the most important fishing site on the Columbia river above The Dalles. Due to the proximity of the falls and the friendly attitude of the people, many of the Sanpoil camped there during the fishing season. The large trap constructed by the Spokane Indians near the mouth of the Spokane river was also of importance to the Sanpoil since many whose winter homes were nearby moved to this site for the duration of the summer.[7]

Several types of weirs (stəmu's), funnel traps (xuxuli·'kən), and the basket traps (t'səli'"), and a unique elevated trap (pəpəni'p) were used, the choice of type being determined by the exigencies of the location.

COMMUNAL TRAPS

The weir was really a composite affair, consisting of two weirs (sntapi'us) and one or more traps. The principal forms assumed are described below. A variant, with a single weir, was used for small fish. Weirs were employed where the water was shallow and the stream bed firm. The most common salmon weir-trap (Figure 9) was composed of two parallel weirs extending entirely across the stream at right angles to the bank, and separated from each other by eighty or a hundred feet. In one of the inside corners formed by the downstream weir and the bank was placed a small rectangular trap into which the salmon were driven before they were removed from the enclosed area. Open willow fencing formed the weirs. The fencing was held in place by supports (sqʷuaiaxwa·ə'luk^{u}) built in the form of a tripod and connected to each other by long poles (qəma'nki'lutən). In constructing the upper weir two or three of these tripods, depending upon the width of the stream, were first assembled. The size of the poles used in building the supports was determined by the depth of the water at the site where they were to be used, but averaged ten or twelve feet in length and six to eight inches in diameter. Only poles of cottonwood were used in the construction of the weir foundation.

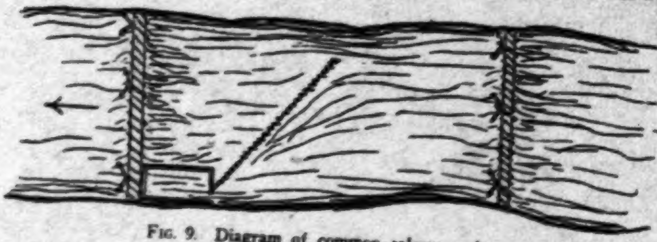

FIG. 9. Diagram of common salmon weir-trap.

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[773]

This restriction, as related in the mythology, was dictated by Coyote when he first introduced salmon into the Sanpoil country.[8] Of the completed supports,

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[7] See page 19.

[8] Cottonwood and willow were practically the only trees growing on the banks of these streams. Moreover, cottonwood was easily felled, and light to handle.

one was placed on the bank at the edge of the water, one on the opposite bank, 226
and if a third was used, it usually was set at approximately the middle of the stream. Skilful workmen were required for this duty, since it often involved working in deep water. The cross poles connecting the supports were raised about two feet above the surface of the water. Sections of saplings were cut the necessary length to reach from the transverse poles to the bed of the stream and placed in this position at intervals of about twelve inches. In the meantime other men were occupied with weaving the fencing. Young branches of the Scouler willow, [187]
Salix Scouleriana Barratt, (si·'lu, "young growth") were used exclusively for this purpose. The withes used for the weft were made flexible by twisting and rolling on the thigh; this task fell to the older men who were unable to take part in the heavier work.

The prepared weft elements were woven with the more rigid warps, by the 226
open twine method, into sections of the required width and a length of approxi- 285
mately twenty feet. These were called q̇laxe". The sections were rolled up, carried to the site of the weir, and unrolled in upright position against the previously laid supports. Workmen, wading and swimming in the stream, securely fastened the fencing to the foundation. Care was taken to leave no open spaces between the bottom of the weir and the bed of the stream. A row of stones was laid along the bottom of the weir on either side, to anchor it in place. All apertures due to irregularities in the stream bed were filled. A weir was never located where the stream bottom was covered with large boulders, for such a situation rendered it impossible to close effectively all the holes below the weir. The fish were certain to find openings between the rocks that would permit escape. Likewise, a weir built upon a sandy stream bed was of no value, for the sands would soon wash out and leave holes beneath.

The lower weir was similar in construction to the main one, but smaller. It was less carefully constructed and extended only slightly above the surface of the water. At several points openings were left of sufficient size to permit a large salmon to enter. The two weirs thus formed a large enclosure in which fish accumulated during the night. In ascending the stream they would find their way through the openings in the lower weir but would be repulsed by the one above. Since all the efforts of the fish were bent upon travelling upstream to spawn, the smaller weir, though low and containing openings, was a sufficient barrier to keep them within the enclosure.

To facilitate removal of the fish from this large area, a basket-like trap (skxmuqu'ał) (Figure 9) was built against the bank at one end of the lower weir. The usual size was three feet wide, six feet long and three feet deep. An aperture was provided in the end of this trap, and from that opening a deflecting barrier extended at an angle upstream until it reached within a few feet of the opposite bank. Thus the opening to the trap was at the point of a V-shaped figure formed by the barrier and the shore. When the large trap was to be emptied several men waded into the water and drove the fish into the small trap, the deflecting weir assisting them by directing them to the opening. Other workers clubbed the fish and threw them onto the bank as fast as they accumulated, thus avoiding piling

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up of the fish and resultant loss from some jumping over the top in the confusion. Salmon billets were merely plain wooden clubs about sixteen inches long and two inches in diameter. It was always difficult to drive the last few fish from the large enclosure into the smaller one. Usually these were taken by spearing.

A second and more elaborate form of the large salmon trap substituted for the straight lower weir a V-shaped barrier (ɛtstəpa'χən, "wings"), with a small elevated trap (pəpəni'p) placed at the point of the V for collecting the fish. Thus the whole lower construction assumed roughly the shape of an hour glass (Figure 10, a). One side of the V was made longer than the other in order that the small trap might be fairly close to the bank, away from the heavy current of the stream. Four tripods were necessary for the construction of such a weir. One was placed near each bank and one at either side of the elevated trap. The weir, moreover, was woven with greater care than in the straight type. Only two small openings (səluxsi·'n) were provided, one in each side of the weir, for the entrance of the fish. These were made by spreading apart the willow elements until an aperture a foot or two in diameter was obtained. A space about one foot wide was left between the two sections of the weir. The small end of the elevated trap opened into this space.

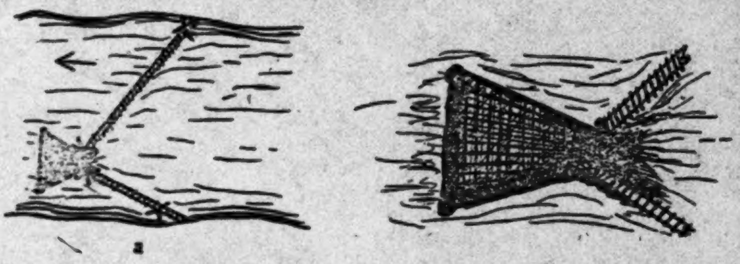

FIG. 10. (a) Diagram of V shaped weir with elevated trap. (b) Elevated trap enlarged.

The elevated trap (Figure 10, b) was a unique arrangement for collecting the fish and keeping them out of the water, so that there was no possibility of escape and no difficulty in removal. The base plan of the trap was triangular. The fish entered at the apex of the triangle, where the only opening in the trap was provided; this opening was made to correspond in size to the opening at the angle of the weir, and placed flush with it. The trap was woven of willow withes in open twining in the form of a basket. The distance from the apex to the base was three or four feet, and the base was of about the same length. Since the top was not closed it was necessary to make the basket deep enough so that the fish could not jump over the sides, usually about three feet. The width of the opening in the basket and in the weir was about twelve inches. The elevated trap was secured in the proper position at the outlet of the weir by four vertical posts, one at each end of the base, and one on either side of the apex. The basket was so fastened

to these supports that the bottom was just above the surface of the water. From the bed of the stream in the enclosure formed by the weir to a point several inches inside the small trap, and about a foot above the trap bottom, extended a stiff, tightly woven mat of willow, forming a sort of runway. This was anchored at the lower end with boulders, and elevated and secured at the upper end by a transverse pole, extending between the supporting poles of the trap. All holes except the narrow opening between the two traps were filled with rocks and gravel. Due to the barrier formed by the weir and the runway, the water rose somewhat in the area just above the weir opening, and poured through with considerable force, then fell through the openwork bottom of the elevated trap.

The upstream weir was made exactly as in the preceding description. The salmon, travelling upstream, passed through the holes in the lower weir, then attempted to swim through or jump over the upper weir. This was impossible but they continued their attempts until exhausted. In this state they were gradually carried back downstream by the current. Due to the shape of the lower weir they gravitated toward the opening leading to the elevated trap, whereupon they were swept through by the force of the water and found themselves upon the bottom of the trap, suspended above the water's surface. Return was impossible, since they were out of water, and because the runway overhung inside the trap. When the regular hour for collecting the fish arrived it was only necessary to lift them from the trap. The few which possibly remained inside the weirs were easily driven into the trap.

Still another type of small trap was a hemispherical basket with the straight side formed by a section of the upper weir. It was called skæmuqua'l'. It was placed on the downstream side of the weir, near one bank. The spherical portion extended two or three feet above the water's surface, but not as high as the weir. The diameter of the basket ranged around six feet. The framework consisted of a small tripod at the midpoint of the arc, and horizontal flexible willow poles bent around this tripod and fastened at either end to the weir. Against this was fastened a large willow mat as in the case of the weir. The salmon that attempted to jump over the weir at the point where the basket was located fell back into it and were unable to escape. Naturally, this trap was much less efficient than the one previously described. It was sometimes used in conjunction with one of the other types.

True basket traps (t'sali") proved valuable in streams and rivers where a waterfall of a few feet or more was available. These were rectangular baskets woven in the open twine technique from flexible willow branches. The top was left open but all sides and the bottom were made tight. In use, such a basket was hung at the base of the falls, a foot or two from its face, but with the bottom touching the water. When a fish made an unsuccessful attempt to jump the falls it would often drop back into the basket from which it could easily be taken. A support for the basket was provided, when the stream was not too wide, by felling a log from bank to bank, near the edge of the falls. From this log the fish basket was suspended by willow rope from each of its upper corners. At the larger falls, especially Kettle Falls, where immense numbers of salmon were taken by this

226 method, much more elaborate apparatus was necessary for swinging the basket. 285 The usual method was to project large poles or logs out over the falls by securing their bases in crevices in the jagged rocks at the top of the falls. Additional support for the poles was added, if necessary, in the form of willow ropes extending from the projecting ends to some point above. Notches were cut at the outer extremities of the poles to receive loops which were provided in the ends of the ropes supporting the basket. In placing the trap in position the ropes from which it was suspended were pushed out on the projecting logs until the loops slipped into the notches. Access to the trap was made possible by a ladder of willow bark rope. In removing the fish from the trap one end of a rope, which was suspended from above, was strung through the gills of several fish and tied. It was then hauled up by helpers at the top, the fish taken off, and the rope let down again. At Kettle Falls it was necessary for some one to be in charge of the trap at all times when it was in use. The volume of water going over the falls varies greatly from time to time during the day, the heavy surges carrying with them large amounts of driftwood. If this had been allowed to fall upon the trap it would soon have demolished it. To overcome this danger a heavy line was attached to the trap and extended to one of the numerous small rock islands. By means of this rope a watchman was able to pull the trap away from the falls when there was a possibility of its being damaged. At night, and at all other times when the trap was not being utilized it was pulled free of the falls and the line made fast.

PRIVATELY OWNED TRAPS

The funnel trap (xuxuli·'kan) was employed princiaplly in the smaller streams in conjunction with a small weir. It was constructed and operated by a single individual. In swift and turbulent water it was placed with mouth downstream and with small barriers extending on either side. Fish inadvertently entered the mouth of the trap in a blind attempt to get past the rough stretch of water. In smooth or shallow water a weir was first erected across the stream and the trap was placed just below this with the mouth facing upstream. The fish, upon finding progress impeded by the weir, eventually turned and swam about, some making their way into the trap. This form of trap was not used below rapids or falls. The mouth of the funnel was built approximately square. Willow poles connected the mouth with another square frame, much smaller in size, forming the opposite end of the funnel. These poles were six to twelve feet long, depending upon the length desired for the trap. The poles were fastened at equal intervals of a few inches around the edge of the square frame. The small end opened into a large basket, also built of willow saplings. The whole trap was anchored in place with heavy rocks.

Another individually owned trap was a diminutive form of the large combination weir-elevated trap (pəpəni'p) described in the previous section, but minus the upper weir (Plate 3, Figure B). It was used principally for the smaller fish, such as trout, whitefish and suckers. The elevated trap was made identically as the one previously described. The mouth in this case, too, faced downstream.

The weir was built in the same shape, but much less carefully. The weir proper extended for only a few feet on each side of the trap. From each end of the weir to the bank a dam was formed of boulders and logs. The weir was made as usual but was twined at only three places. It was not set to stand vertically, but slanted somewhat, forming an obtuse angle down stream. 226 285

The owner of such a trap emptied it each morning and in the evening.

NETTING

Netting was the least important method of fishing practiced by the Sanpoil, but it was better adapted to certain conditions and seasons than either trapping or spearing. Where the water of the Columbia was turbid or rough nets (mu'laman, au'xwian) were used to advantage, for they were not visible to the fish under such conditions. The dip net was useless, however, when the water became shallow. In the fall white salmon and dog salmon were taken in considerable quantities with seines. 226 286

Nets were used from natural ledges over the water or from specially constructed platforms. Sometimes net fishing was done from the regular spearing platform. All fish caught with a net were the property of the individual fisherman.

The common dip net used for salmon and suckers was called kwa'i'xʷ (Figure 11). It consisted of a hoop of willow or maple two or three feet in diameter, from which was suspended a bag-like net. At opposite sides of the hoop were fastened two poles about six feet long. These poles were bound together at the top, forming a handle in the shape of an inverted V. Fastened transversely from handle to handle, about four inches above the hoop, was a strip of netting six inches or more wide. A slack cord extended from the strip of netting to the point where the handles crossed.

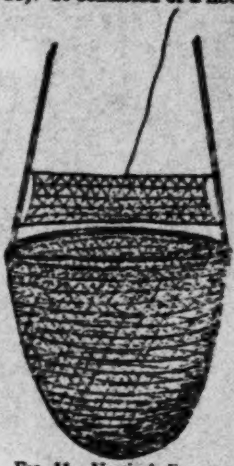

Fig. 11. Vertical dip net.

In use the net was submerged vertically in the water so that the cross net was at right angles to the current and well below the surface. The upper end of the slack cord was looped around the thumb of the fisherman and pulled tight. The net was held in this position until a fish struck the cross net. The fisherman was made aware of the presence of the fish by the increase of tension on the cord. Immediately he pulled the net upward with a sudden motion. The fish was thus ensnared in the bag net, and removed from the water.

The mesh size in the nets for salmon was two or three inches; for smaller fish such as suckers the mesh was usually about one-half inch. The depth of the bag net was about three feet for salmon, but much less for the smaller fish.

Another type of salmon net (Figure 12, b) was provided with a handle in the same plane as the hoop, and was used with a sweeping motion. The hoop

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was of willow about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Across the hoop, but off center, was fastened a small pole of willow. One end of the pole which served as a handle was anchored to this cross piece; the handle was again fastened at the point where it crossed the loop. The handle was made preferably of cedar. The average length was six feet, the average diameter two inches. The net suspended from the hoop was similar to the one previously described. In turbid water this net was swept with a slow motion through the water in downstream direction. When a salmon was netted it was necessary to play it for some time before it could be lifted from the water.

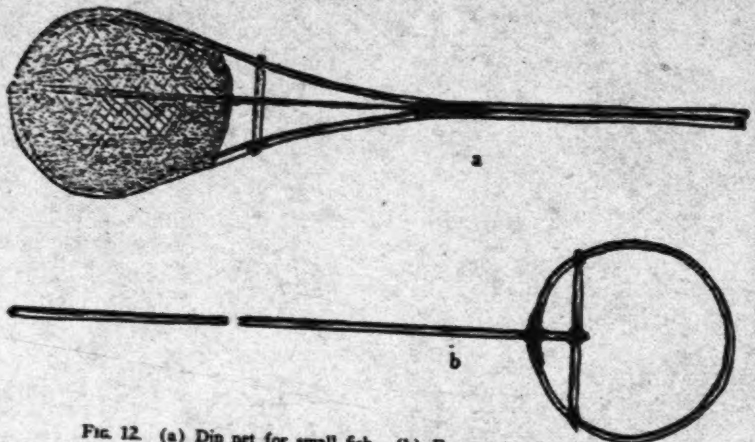

Fig. 12. (a) Dip net for small fish. (b) Frame of salmon dip net.

The third type of net (Figure 12, a) was used especially for eels, but also for small fish. Here again the net was of the same form, but the hoop and handle differed. The opening of the net ranged around two feet in diameter, and the depth averaged twelve inches. The hoop and the handle were formed by a single piece of willow. The withe was bent double and the ends were bound together, forming the handle. About half the distance from the handle to the hoop end a cross piece six or eight inches long was fastened to hold the two sides apart. A cord was attached to the hoop at the point opposite the handle and then stretched tightly and secured to the cross piece. This caused the doubled willow pole to open forming a hoop, and raised the extreme point of the hoop somewhat above the plane of the handle. When this net was used the cross piece was grasped in the left hand, the extending handle in the right, and the net drawn through the water.

The purse type of net was not known.

Indian hemp cord was used for making all types of nets.

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made 226
of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. 286
Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (łt'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone.

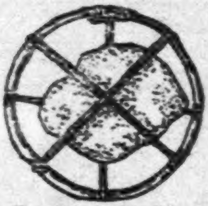

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was
emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch 286
was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. How- 422
ever, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch.

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory accord- 177
ing to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John 226
Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all 226
activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent 624
and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[9]

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[9] See page 174-175.

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and 226
designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and over- 624
saw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of 796
the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well.

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before
the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties
were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distrib- [476]
uted. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening.
These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five [462]
at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally 226
among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, 476
a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to
women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered 624
in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself.

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the 226
women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from 624
the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on,
or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approach- 784
ing nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied 841
to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

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796 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'lәm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

226 Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin
539 of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[18] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth
773 may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony
796 as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amazement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[18] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger than I have ever seen." 226

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be dreaming." 539

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said, "You had better come down and see." 773 796

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salm[illegible] cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the program set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time. 226 624 796

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

226 462 796 While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[30] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

226 624 796 The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[31] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psəm) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon" was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[30] See pages 34-35.

[31] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

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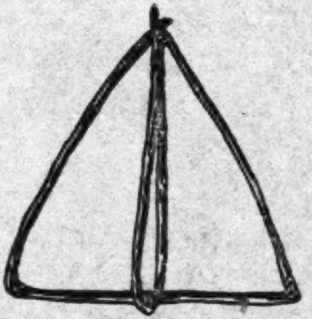

Fig. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npui'luxʷ, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and ~~dried~~ the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

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The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

251 was never made of pine wood, but rather of cottonwood, willow, birch or cedar. If pine had been used soot would have accumulated on the salmon and the flavor would have been undesirably affected.

Not only salmon was dried, but fish of any species and eels were sometimes so preserved. However, no other fish but salmon was ever dried in any considerable quantity.

Each family dried its own fish.

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348 Salmon was stored as soon as it was taken from the drying racks. The heads and flanks were placed in separate storage bags, usually made of tule,[22] which were of a standard size, about twenty by thirty-six inches. Sometimes the bags were lined, and layers of fish separated, with dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus* L.), to keep maggots away. When filled the bags were closed by sewing. The average weight of a well filled bag was approximately a hundred pounds. Salmon roe was wrapped in salmon skins which were then sewed up, and stored on elevated platforms. The roe decayed somewhat with time but in such a state it was considered more desirable food. Salmon oil was not stored in skins.

Both storage houses and elevated storage platforms (stxala'ks) were used. The former were ordinarily situated on islands in the Columbia; the latter were erected at the sites of the winter camps. The houses consisted of four walls made of logs laid horizontally one upon the other and secured in place by vertical posts sunk in the ground. The inside of the enclosure was lined with tule mats. The bags were deposited within the enclosure, then covered over with planks or poles on top of which stones were piled.

Elevated platforms for storage were supported by four posts sunk in the ground, one at each corner. The planks or poles forming the platform itself rested upon transverse poles extending between the supporting posts. The platforms were high enough to walk under. Around each of the four posts, at a height of four or five feet, were tied several prickly pears (*Opuntia polyacatha* Haw.) to keep mice and other small climbing animals from reaching the food. When bags of food were stored on elevated platforms they were covered with large tule mats. The snow which always accumulated added a further protective covering. Not only dried salmon, but other preserved foods such as meat, berries and roots, were stored on the platforms and in the storage houses.

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[22] Or, later, parfleches. For a description of the storage bags and parfleches, see pages 37, 93-94.

HUNTING

221 224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spı·'xəm). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221 224 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. 462 During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in snəkā'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226 262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian 224
spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations
for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the 624
leader exercised control.

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually 224
starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter
before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety 784
only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required [834]
during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.)

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very 224
little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon 484
game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter.

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

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[1] See page 179.

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but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, of the circular or tipi type.[8] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day.

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All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans.

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

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A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illustrates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expeditions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out.

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[8] See page 34.

The leader carried the sni'i'kum; the other hunters carried the stakes. They then 224
started up the hill on one side of the valley where they intended to hunt, con-
tinued around the head of the valley and came down the hill on the opposite side. 624
About every twenty feet along this route, except where a cliff was encountered, 789
the leader took one of the stakes, tied a sni'i'kum to it, and thrust it in the snow
or the ground, thus completely enclosing the valley except at the mouth. No one
but the leader could do this; the others only followed, carrying the stakes. At
the placing of each stake the leader called upon his guardian spirit (usually deer)
reminding it of the promises it had made to him, and beseeching it not to let any
deer pass the row of stakes.

Completion of this task occupied perhaps two days. The evening that the work was finished the leader called his followers together and announced that the hunt would start in the morning. He assured them that he had done all that was possible to make the hunt a success.

The hunters proceeded as usual to drive the deer they discovered to the head of the canyon. If the deer got past the hunters and started backwards, the women rushed out and prevented them from passing the mouth of the valley. If the deer, on the other hand, tried to escape over one of the hills they were confronted by the row of stakes and while yet many feet away, it is said, turned about and ran in the opposite direction. When the upper and narrow end of the "enclosure" was reached, it was a simple matter for the bowmen stationed there to shoot the deer, for they would not run beyond the stakes.

The efficacy of the "enclosure," however, depended entirely upon the power of the leader. If his power were not great enough the deer paid no heed to the stakes, and were lost. At one time a leader substituted a line of small fires for the stakes, but the innovation was a failure. The deer ran between them or jumped over them and fled to the woods beyond.

Deer taken by this method of hunting were handled in much the same manner as those killed by the more common procedure. When the sni'kum resulted in a large kill, which was usually the case, the deer were carried or dragged only part way down the canyon; then the camp was moved up to that point.

I was unable to learn how long this unique manner of hunting had been in 176
existence. Its inception antedated the memory of my oldest informants, but it 224
probably was not many generations old; the nature of the custom credits no as-
sumption of great age. Moreover, the Sanpoil were presumably the only people 624
acquainted with the custom. Although I do not have direct information from
their neighbors,[2] my Sanpoil informants claimed that none of the surrounding 789
peoples used any similar method in their hunting.

In this case I feel that we undoubtedly have an example of a clean cut innovation, completely formulated by its originator, and carried along by the momentum given it as a result of his eminence as a hunter and his power as a leader. There was nothing fundamentally new about the procedure; the details—the

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[2] Other than the Lakes, who were ignorant of the practice.

preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the 176
time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as 224
particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he 624
had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[*]

There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was 789
handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals 224
into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned.

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulá'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

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[*] Cf., the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

224 In the absence of the leaf, some hunters could imitate the call fairly well with the throat alone.

Deer were awaited by bowmen at watering places, or along the paths leading to them, and at "salt licks." The hunter always made certain that he was concealed. At watering holes it was usually possible to hide behind trees or in the brush, but at the "salt licks" a lean-to shelter was usually built, or a hole dug in the bank for concealment.

True deer fences were not used, nor were pitfall traps. Sometimes deer were taken with a snare made of Indian hemp or willow bark rope.[8] Disguises of bear or deer skins were used by some hunters.

Elk were hunted in the same manner as deer. They were much more scarce and it is doubtful that expeditions for the specific purpose of hunting elk were often organized. Deer hunters took full advantage of any opportunity to secure elk; the quest for deer was forsaken when these larger animals were sighted.

Antelope were hunted only during the summer and fall. They roamed in considerable numbers about the prairies south of the Columbia river, especially in the vicinity of the Grand Coulee.[9] Still hunting was the usual method employed for antelope. The hunter almost invariably searched for his game alone; never more than two men hunted together.

Antelope, less timid than deer, were hunted more successfully than the latter by the individual with the aid of only a bow and arrows. Water was scarce in the Coulee country, and it was near "pot holes" filled with water that antelope were most often found. The hunter, upon sighting one or more, carefully approached by the most protected route available. When within range he shot his arrows in quick succession, and occasionally succeeded in bringing down two of the animals. Unlike the case with deer, a hunter's chances were not completely lost even though he failed in his first attempt. Antelope characteristically fled for only a short distance. This made it possible for the hunter often to reach the herd a second time. It was not unusual for a clever huntsman to kill two or three antelope in a single day.

BEAR HUNTING

Two varieties of bear were found in Sanpoil territory. They were the black (cinnamon or brown) bear, and the grizzly bear. Bears were sought both for their flesh and hides. Although bear meat was considered "strong" in flavor, it was readily eaten. The skins were tanned without removing the fur, and used as robes and bedding.

The black bear was hunted by individual hunters, principally along the streams and rivers where berries abounded, and at the season that the berries were ripe. The animals could be taken unawares while feeding upon the berries and killed with the bow and arrow. Bears were most certain to be found during the berry season on the banks of the Columbia river, where berries were invariably

plentiful. Occasionally late frosts killed all of the berries in the mountains, in which case many bears congregated along the upper course of the Columbia. 224

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[8] See page 86.

[9] These animals did not frequent the bed of the Coulee, but rather the plateaus above.

Another method of taking bears was to smoke them out of their places of hibernation. The locations of dens customarily used by these animals during the winter were well known to hunters. Other places of hibernation were identified by the characteristic pile of pine needles used to cover the openings of the dens. The hunter built a fire of rotten pine wood at the opening of the hole, then waited with his bow and arrow ready for the bear to come out.

Grizzly bears were seldom hunted by the average man. In fact the grizzly 224 bear was so greatly feared that it was much more common for a hunter to run 825 than to attack one of the animals. On the other hand, those hunters who had for their guardian spirits the grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel or gopher, (these latter were "friends" of the grizzly), were able to successfully seek this formidable creature. Although not immune from injury, hunters with such spirits were certain to recover, no matter how seriously hurt.

The following tale, told by Bob Covington, illustrates the beliefs surrounding 224 the grizzly bear: 825

An old man spent nearly all his time hunting grizzly bears. In those days there were lots 539 of grizzlies in the mountains. He had become a big grizzly bear hunter.

One day he said to his wife, "Now, wife, some day I may get killed when I am out hunting. But whatever happens don't go to look for me. No matter how badly I am hurt, I have a good chance to get well. So you just stay away, at least until two days have passed."

Later on they were camping on the Sanpoil river near Keller. It was late in the afternoon, but the old man told his wife that he was going up in the hills for a while. He said he would be back before long.

Night came but he did not return. His wife wondered what had happened but she didn't go out. During the night she heard many noises in the hills. All kinds of animals seemed to be there. She heard coyotes and wolves and crows and all the rest of the birds and animals. Then she was sure she knew what had happened.

When morning came she started out. She could still hear the cries of the animals and she followed them. They became louder and soon she was nearly there. She crossed a little hill and then looked down into a small meadow below. All the noises had disappeared but she saw her husband sitting there in the center of the clearing. She rushed up to him but he didn't turn around. She went around in front of him but he turned so that his back was again toward her. Then he said, "Why didn't you stay at home as I told you? I'm hurt, but I'm all right just the same. Now you go on away."

His wife went away but she didn't go home. She stayed just on the other side of the hill. As soon as she was out of sight of her husband she heard the cries of the animals again. She stood it as long as she could then rushed back. When she reached the open place again the noises were gone once more and her husband was still sitting in the same place.

He was angry this time, and didn't turn his face away from her. "It's funny you couldn't stay away a little bit longer," he said. She saw that he had two deep gashes cut in his face as if he had been clawed by a grizzly bear. He went home with her this time.

After reaching home his wife saw that he had scars all over his body which looked like the claw marks of a grizzly. But they were all healed. Only the cuts on his face were still open.

His wife asked what the meaning of it all was. He said, "I told you once. I was in a fight with a grizzly bear." Then she told him that she wanted to know about all the animals she had heard.

Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 539 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawáyi··· xawa··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi··· 224
(meaningless) 539

sqəpəntcu'əmstᵘ ɛsnuqłtsəxe'ł ni'xulqwa·
You cause the other animals to do as you have done. 825

à·nui' ki'qwəłtuqumətsut' itsəpəntcu'təmstxᵘ
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuqumətsu'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwəłtuqumətsut,
You have given up to me;

sqəpəntcu'təmstxᵘ i·'s winu·'mtxᵘ i·'t kəłami'luxᵘ msətstuqumantsu'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224. 825.

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the 224
branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and preda- 264
tory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of 825
course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14]

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before 177
the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very 224
rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home.

The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These 224
included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path.

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the trap. A heavy weight, usually a stone, was suspended over the pit from one end of a pole, the middle of which rested in the fork of a stick secured in the ground in a vertical position. On the opposite end of the pole was fastened a cord attached to the bait and a trigger. Any movement of the bait released the trigger and allowed the weight to drop.

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[13] See page 92.

[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

A bait with a strong and characteristic odor was essential to the success of these traps. Salmon gills and rotting meat were commonly used. Crawfish or shell fish were utilized as a bait specifically for otter. Deer meat was most successful in attracting marten and fisher; mink was usually enticed by scraps of fish.

Coyote, lynx, wildcat and rarely deer were caught by means of a snare. The device consisted of a strong, flexible pole, from which was suspended a carefully made willow bark rope looped to form a noose. The base of the pole was securely anchored and so placed that the noose fell directly over a path frequented by the animals sought. The noose was adjusted to the correct height and bait placed on the path in such a position that the animal could secure it only after putting its head through the loop. Brush was piled in a half circle around the trap, with the open end on the side of the noose opposite the bait. Another snare, used especially for coyote, was a hanging device. A noose was tied on one end of a rope, which was then passed over the limb of a tree or a rock dyke, and made secure to a very large stone balanced in an unstable, elevated position. When the coyote put its head through the noose to obtain the bait the tension on the rope caused the rock to fall, the loop to tighten, and the coyote to be jerked from the ground and strangled.

The ropes used in making snares were always rubbed with a strong smelling grass to conceal the human odors, which the animals would otherwise detect and avoid.

Wolf fur was desirable for use as robes and blankets but the animals were seldom hunted, due to their ferociousness, especially when with young. Sometimes they were taken in deadfall traps, but often they stole the bait and sprung the trap without being killed.

Muskrats were taken in winter by lying in wait with bow and arrows at their holes. Before the ground became covered with snow each winter the locations of muskrat tunnels were marked with stakes placed in the ground. It was then possible later in the season to locate the nests, arouse the rats by means of a long pole, and kill them with arrows as they emerged.

For the woodchuck or ground hog a specially designed arrow was used. It was not provided with a stone point, but the shaft itself was sharpened. A triangular wooden piece, notched to fit against the shaft, and bound to it with deer sinew cord, served the purpose of a barb; sometimes two were used (Figure 15, b). Such a device was necessary, for though the arrow passed completely through the body of the animal, it usually managed to reach its hole and partially re-enter, making it possible for the hunter to retrieve his game only by grasping the butt of the arrow and pulling. If an ordinary arrow had been used it would have pulled out without bringing the animal with it.

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[140]

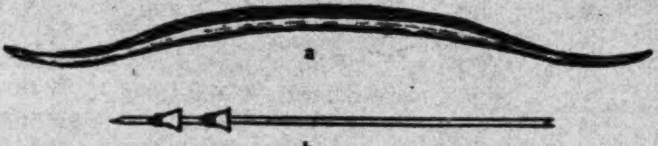

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[15]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237
322
411 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkᵊ) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wux̣wa'xailpᵊ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵊ), was used in the manufacture of

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[15] See page 89.

287 822 411 the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was
[32] wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (pukłmi'łpᵘ), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluqᵘ tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish.

The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow. 237 322 411

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[18] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lpˣ) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'qˣ on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (puspusani'ultan, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden [182] points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course.

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

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[18] Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

411 Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence.

411 224 Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary.

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

411 779 Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water.

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

262 825 Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food.

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 266 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [840] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut
281 off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of
251 willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and
[825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the
888 wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps
251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently,
415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.

[19] See page 117.

Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes varying from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, pənpənaˑˀks, means "folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16.

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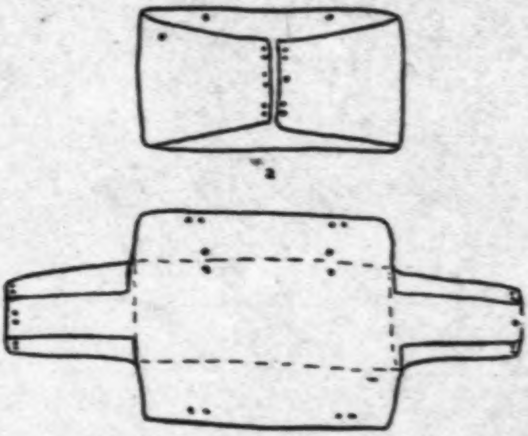

Fig. 16. Parfleche patterns: (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

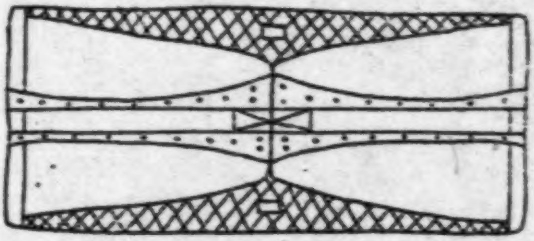

Fig. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, 177
Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, 281
definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, 415
whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens 531
and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[illegible]

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. 251
These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs.

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called snlauqu", "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the 281
hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement.

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

[illegible] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration*, *passim*.

The skin was then ready to be stretched upon the scraping frame (Plate 5, Figure A). 281 This frame was formed by two poles set vertically in the ground about five feet apart, with two transverse poles lashed to them, one near the ground and the other about five feet above. Holes were pierced at intervals of about six inches around the entire edge of the skin. The hide was first fastened to the top pole and allowed to dry for a time, then the bottom was lashed tight to the lower pole. Next the sides were fastened to the upright posts. The lashing consisted of a buckskin thong tied to the post, passed through one hole in the skin, around the pole, through the next hole, etc. As the skin was scraped it stretched, necessitating occasional tightening of the lashings.

Upon the scraping and rubbing depended the pliability and thickness of the skin. A thick skin could be greatly enlarged in size by long working. To hasten drying during the working a fire was built on the ground on either side of the frame except on very hot days. The fires required careful attention, for too much heat dried the skin too fast, necessitating re-soaking. Scrapers (Plate 2, Figure F), were made of granite schist which was fractured by heating. Fragments two [324] to four inches across were used. The working edge was rounded and sharpened. A wooden handle about two feet long and an inch or two in diameter was provided.

The scraping process occupied considerable time, sometimes several hours. Occasionally skins, especially small ones, were tanned without the use of a frame. The worker wrapped one end of the skin around her righ knee, pressed it against the ground, and pulled it taut with her left hand. In the right hand she used an unhafted stone scraper. At intervals she held the skin near the fire to hasten drying. A third method was to fasten the hafted scraper in a rigid position by thrusting it in the ground or fastening it to a tree. The skin was then moved over the scraper. This method was less popular than the preceding two. Finally, the simplest manner of tanning was by rubbing the skin between the hands for several hours. This was most practical for very small hides.

If a light colored hide was desired the tanning was completed with the scrapin[illegible] rubbing. Ordinarily, however, smoking was added to enable the skin to better withstand dampness and wetting. Buckskin intended for moccasins was invariably smoked. For this purpose a small pit was dug in the ground over which a tripod was erected (Plate 5, Figure C). The skin was sewed loosely together so that it might be slipped over the poles of the tripod. In the pit, which was a foot in diameter and half again as deep, a slow fire of rotten pine or cedar was built. Occasionally other woods were used. Both sides of a skin were smoke treated. The time required depended entirely upon the texture of the skin, but averaged perhaps four hours. Some skins, especially those to be used for moccasins, were twice smoked. That is, after the smoking of the two sides had been completed in the usual fashion, the process was repeated, but for a shorter period of time.

Finally, the outside edge of the skin, where the holes had been punched, was trimmed off, for it always became badly torn during the rubbing; and any other holes that had appeared during the tanning were patched with pieces of buckskin sewed on with sinew.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

281 Pelts tanned without removing the hair were never immersed in water. The tissue remaining on the skin was scraped away while it was green, with the use of the same log and bone scraper previously described. The tanning agent was applied by sprinkling. After this had thoroughtly soaked in the hide was scraped and rubbed until dry and pliable. The frame was not used except for very large pelts.

462 Skin dressing was exclusively woman's work.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement 222
to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods 262
supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk
necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots 796
most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable
stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1]

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcɩnəm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the
harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service [925]
berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble.

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their ter- 221
ritory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This 222
vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent
camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roam- 621
ing from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered 481
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624
gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412
of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of trans- 482
porting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

222 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually
251 required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places,
not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds
482 sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black
222 outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white.
251 It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest
and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom
252 steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method.
262 For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'lps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. *Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat* different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'ẋukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'tẋwa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tłəm). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwıla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkā'lpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (ṗuli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smıtsunā'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potato, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̓waq̓wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'ıukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

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16. txaia'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa·'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (słake'łpᵘ). The berries (sḱukasa'łaq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'łpᵘ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'łpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣la'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqʷ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun. 137 222 251

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (saá'ṗt'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly. 252 262

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (təqe'm-təqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sədγsi'lpʷ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpulakəni'lmɪxʷ, "wide leaved plant"; pá'lpulakən, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mɪtca'kʷ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la·'lə'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stukətcuxwi'lpʷ, the tree; sti'ktcʷ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saqasilkeimɪ'lxʷ, "good bush"; saṗa'slukʷ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yəγkəi'lpʷ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (spu·'sam, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (anti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

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35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takən). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'ná, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annuus* L., (wuγwaγká' pˣ, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Petasites speciosa*, (xoxti'lpˣ, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus poderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpˣ). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

42. Chokecherry. ***Prunus virginiana*** **L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxlowi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[2] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor.** 137 222 251 252 262

43. swi'a' (unidentified). **This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they** were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44. Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵘ). **Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.**

45. Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (qe'puxwa'), **the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.**

46. Common Sunflower. ***Helianthus annus*** **L., (wuɣwaɣka'lpᵘ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.**

47. Pine Lichen (sqwal'i'p). **This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.**

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48. Mushroom. **Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.**

49. **Wooly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti"wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking.** [272]

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[2] medicinal use see page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástəm, "spear wip- 137
ing plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in [272]
the same manner as the preceding one. 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the 251
stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[8] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[8] See page 76

FOOD PREPARATION

To the notes on the preparation of food products for consumption included with the preceding descriptions, certain other details and some generalizations may be added. Cooking methods included boiling, pit roasting, ordinary roasting, steaming and parching. Meat and fish were prepared either by boiling or by roasting before an open fire. The former method was by far the more common. Dried salmon or meat was boiled to restore the lost moisture, even though it were to be roasted later. Pit roasting was reserved for the preparation of fresh vegetable products or vegetables mixed with fruits, and possibly for bear meat. If food cooked in the pit were to be used immediately no further treatment was necessary; if first dried it could not then be used until boiled. Another method of cooking fresh vegetables for immediate use was steaming, already described.[1] Seeds alone were parched, and since there was only one seed of importance used, that of the sunflower, this was the least important of cookery methods.

Cedar root coiled baskets of elliptical shape (xlakət'cı'n)[2] were used for boiling food. Stone vessels or pottery were never so utilized. The water in which the food was to be placed was caused to boil by adding stones heated in the camp fire. Water-worn round boulders were used for this purpose. They were removed from the fire to the water with wooden tongs. Most boiled foods were of the consistency of a stew, or often as thin as soup. Macerated berries or roots were often added to dried fish which was being boiled. Dried vegetable cakes were immersed in broth of meat or salmon until softened.

Pit roasting was a method of "fireless" cooking. A pit about three feet in diameter and two or three feet deep was excavated. In the bottom were placed heated rocks. These were covered with a layer of bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn, var. *pubescens* Underw., (tsuqtsuqma·'lpᵘ, "cedar plant"), which had been immersed in water. Next the food was placed in the pit and covered with another layer of wet bracken. Then the removed earth was piled over the pit and sometimes a fire was built on top. The food was allowed to remain in the earth oven for one to three days before being removed. Water was never poured into the pit. Often two or three women cooked in the same oven, in which case each wrapped her food separately in ferns. Camas which had been cooked in the earth oven was prepared for storage by mashing in a wooden mortar, forming into cakes or balls and drying.

Salmon and fresh meat were often roasted by holding over the open fire on long sticks. The sticks were sometimes stuck in the ground at an angle. Pine lichen was moistened and covered with hot ashes to cook it quickly. Turtles were also cooked in the coals of the camp fire, being placed there on their backs, alive.

Pemmican was made in various fashions, some of which have been already mentioned. Pounded service berries, pounded dried venison and deer tallow were kneaded together to make one of the popular varieties. Pulverized dried salmon

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[1] Page 99.
[2] See pages 35-3

252 262 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 271 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultra- 261
montana* Wats., (skukuwi'lpᵃ), which were present in abundance, and which could be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise.

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indi- 173
rectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall 261
of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early
part of the nineteenth century.[3] The second was a severe earthquake which came 731
in November, 1873.[4] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows:

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called 159
> it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches 173
> deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the
> whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except 261
> in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many
> people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And 731
> the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more.
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[3] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[4] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE POLITICAL UNIT AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The Sanpoil[1] political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "xᵉ," or both.[2] No term existed or any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division.[3] The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect but each maintained complete independence. The matters of government of each village were entirely in the hands of the chief (ilɑmi'xum), his sub-chief (i'ilɑmi'xum) and the assembly (skwa·'kwa'ɛ'l). 619 621

The Sanpoil realized that many of their neighbors, not far distant, lived under an entirely different type of political organization in which many villages were closely knit into a single group which recognized a single head. Informants used these tribes for contrast to make it entirely clear that the only bonds between the Sanpoil villages were of an utterly different nature. These bonds were social, linguistic, common interests and customs—not political.

Though theoretically every village, large or small, was autonomous, there was some modification of the principle in practice. A very small village, especially one of only two or three houses, often affiliated with the nearest large settlement to the extent of attending the assemblies and soliciting the advice of the chief of the latter. This was a volitional procedure, however, for the sake of convenience. The small village in such a case did not recognize a chief but named a head man to represent it at the political meetings of the large community. But even under such an arrangement the acts of the large village were never binding upon the other. Decisions which were thought wise were respected, others were ignored.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.

Mere residence constituted citizenship in a village. Since village population was constantly shifting the enfranchised members of a community always included many newcomers. The political rights of these newcomers were identical with those of lifelong residents. They were entitled to participate in all community ventures, [illegible] vote in assemblies, and were even eligible to hold office.

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[1] The derivation of the term Sanpoil and the manner in which it is here used is explained in the Introduction, page 9.

[2] See pages 9. 15-20.

[3] See page 10.

The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period 591
of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the 619
time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognize
them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but 621
at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born.

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying 423
grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property.
No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter 621
of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight.

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession 622
was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord.

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] Cf. pages 27-28.

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562 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship,
622 as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control
over men!" (Covington)

565 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other
622 prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and
were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of
626 his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked
after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility
692 within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes
peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keep-
[551] ing peace in his village. A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkan, was said to have
settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks
624 to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief
sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief
[202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce
meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more 622
truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[*]

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in 623
the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to 624
speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections.

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period 276
of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal 623
smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order.

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open 622
hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the 692
crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect.
After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to 695
make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were

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[*] See pages 60-71.

622 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and
681 the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a ver-
dict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of
692 goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment
695 administered by an official lasher.

The lasher (suqlt'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served
693 concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the
injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agree-
681 ment that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought
before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter
682 immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use. 551/776

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim'tʼiʼkan, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, səyau'xnukan, in memory of his [illegible] and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved. 72/ [773]

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 18/721

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[13] See pages 192-94.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 138.

181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[55] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These
721 were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on
personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the
tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap,
Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied
men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite
time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and
children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but
were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however,
were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village,
killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along
with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[19]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation
might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange
for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeop-
ardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt,
too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material
gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the
maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from
the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that
might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snaka'?t adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages
at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their
homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trad-
ing center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil
frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls
(Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snqaie'tkᵘ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[19] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distribution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, snəkáˀlt, sqasiˀlni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəq̣aie'tkʷ, Methow, Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəq̣aie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots. 226 366 439 476

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return. 366 439

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip, from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries. [525]

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals, fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect importance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps. 366 439 484

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was additional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal procedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke. 177 224 484 579

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

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484 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

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492 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

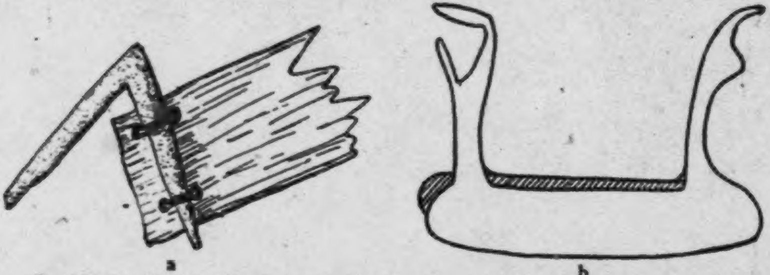

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

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Pack saddles (wusuwa'sxukan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied [231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

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Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

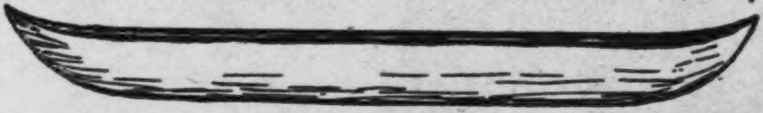

Fig. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

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Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'lam) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (sanuxui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

was made invariably of yellow pine. When pine was used the canoe was built where the log was found, then transported to the river. Cedar logs were obtainable only on the river as driftwood, for large cedar did not grow in Sanpoil territory. Logs were selected which would provide canoes twelve to sixteen feet in length by two and a half to three and a half feet in width. The shovel nose type was very shallow (twelve to sixteen inches deep at the center), the sharp nose was somewhat deeper (eighteen inches). Both canoes were reversible, being linearly symmetrical.

In building a canoe the log first was roughly burned out. The fire was concentrated and intensified with pitchy pine shavings. Great care was taken in the procedure to avoid burning through and to insure evenness. The second process was chipping with a wedge and hammer. The inside was smoothed and the outside shaped by this method. The final finish was given by abrading with coarse granite. The walls of the completed canoe were about one and one-half inches thick, the ends two inches.

The general form of the shovel nose canoe is described by its name. It differed from the usual type in that the prow and stern extended out horizontally at the level of the gunwales for about twenty inches. At the extremity the width was approximately fourteen inches.

The sharp nose type was a more satisfactory canoe than the shovel nose, but it required considerably more effort to build. The ends required tedious shaping which involved increased chipping. They were raised somewhat above the gunwales but separate pieces were never added. The ends were only relatively sharp. From the points they were cut under in an arc with a radius of approximately half the length of the canoe. The bottom was straight. In both this and the preceding type the gunwales were sometimes made thicker than the walls. Pine pitch was heated and run into cracks, or plugged into knot holes. Struts were not used.

Considerable skill was required in the building of a good canoe and the services of men adept at the craft were in demand. At best, however, the products were crude because the available materials, pine and drift logs of cedar, were poorly adapted to canoe construction. Thin walls in a canoe of pine were entirely impractical for cracking immediately would have rendered the vessel useless. Canoes were never painted.

Paddlers knelt or squatted in the canoe. The paddler in the stern guided the craft. Two or three men could carry a twelve foot cedar canoe and four or five a sixteen foot canoe of the same material, but seven or eight men were necessary to carry a canoe of the latter size made of pine. In portaging the canoe was upturned and poles slipped underneath for carrying. Canoes were used only on rivers. Rafts were made for use on lakes. Canoes were bailed with paddles or the hands.

Paddles (u'tc'ltau) were always of cedar. They were shaped very much like a modern canoe paddle. The length varied from four to six feet. The greatest width of the blade was about five inches, the thickness about two inches. The length of the blade was approximately one-third the total paddle length.

SNOWSHOES

481 Snowshoes were indispensable to winter travel and hunting. Several distinct types were made, but the varieties were not designed for special snow conditions. The general term for snowshoe was siyi'waxən. A small-meshed shoe used for sliding purposes was called i'tctu. All men possessed snowshoes. Only a portion of the women used them. The ski was unknown.

The most common snowshoe (tsnanana'pulən, "magpie's tail") (Figure 20, d) was made of spukumi'lpᵘ, a light strong wood. The frame was made of green wood to permit shaping without cracking. The pole was bent into circular form and the ends fastened together in a long splice wrapped with rawhide. The frame was drawn into its final shape by tying temporary cords from one side to the other. The front portion was permitted to remain semi-circular in shape; the back was drawn together until the sides were almost parallel. The splice was at the extreme rear. These cords were not removed until the wood was entirely dry, after which it would retain its shape.

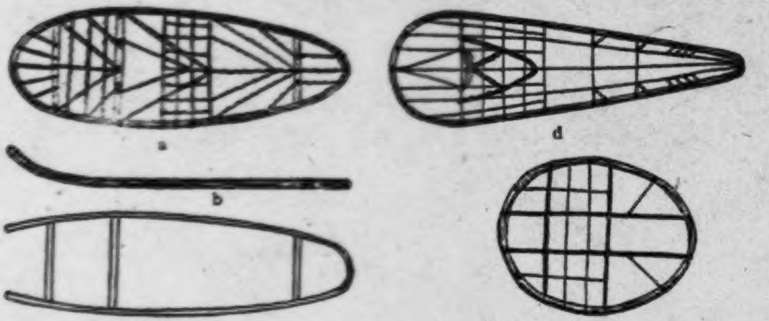

FIG. 20. Snowshoes. (a) Sliding type; (b) side view. (c) Frame of open end type. (d) Common type with foot harness. (e) Oval type.

The frame was strung with two strands of rawhide twisted together. Parallel lengthwise stringing was used in the forward portion of the shoe, and cross stringing in the central part where the harness was attached. In the rear section two heavy wide-spaced cross strings and two lengthwise cords, approximately parallel to the sides, constituted the main strut work. The cross cords to which the harness was attached was four strands thick. The stringing was fastened to the framework by carrying it around, twisting it once on the inside and wrapping it around a second time. The front of the shoe was raised somewhat. The cords were held from slipping by notching the frame and by knotting the string on the inside.

The harness consisted of one wide strap across the toe, fastened to the main cross cord, and a heel and ankle string. The latter was a single cord. One end was fastened to the cross cord on one side a few inches from the frame. From there it was carried through a hole in the center of the toe strap but not drawn tight.

It was next twisted back on itself for half its length, carried around the heel, and fastened to the cross cord on the opposite side. It was then similarly twisted back and the end attached to the toe strap.

This shoe averaged three feet or more in length, twelve inches in width at the front, much less at the back.

The second type of snowshoe was ovoid in shape (Figure 20, e). It was called nıγıγo'pa from iıγ, "round." This was a less satisfactory shoe than the preceding one, but it was more easily made and required less rawhide. In stringing and harness it was similar to the long one.

The sliding snowshoe, i'tctu (Figure 20, a, b, c), was the most complex of all forms. The frame was made of syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh., (wux̣wa'xailpᵘ). This shoe was adapted to use as an ordinary snowshoe or for sliding where the snow was crusted. In the latter case a pole was sometimes used as an aid. This pole, called t̓aki'kstən, was of fir, even in diameter and about six feet long. The shoe was made in two varieties. The significant difference was in the form of the frame. One was continuous, an elongated oval (Figure 20, a); the other was closed at the back only and had almost parallel sides turned up at the front (Figure 20, c). Each was made of two pieces of green wood, spliced together either at both ends or (in the second variant) at the back only. These pieces were not left in the round, but worked to a rectangular cross-section, about one-half inch by one and one-half inches. They were arranged to rest on the narrow edges. At the front, which was raised about six inches, the thickness was lessened considerably. During the shaping process the frame was occasionally held over the fire to increase its flexibility. The splices were bound with rawhide. Temporary cords were used here, too, to hold the frame in shape until it dried.

When dry three cross pieces of wood were added, one near the front, one somewhat forward from the middle and one near the back. These were shouldered and fitted into holes bored in the frame at the sides. They were rectangular in section, similar in size to the frame. The forward piece rested on its edge, the other two on their sides. The stringing was of two strand rawhide as in the common showshoe. The forward and back sections were longitudinally strutted. The two central portions were strung in a complex pattern consisting of lengthwise, transverse and diagonal cording. The diagonal cords were fastened to holes bored in the frame and to the center string. Other cords were looped around the frame at the place of attachment but the frame was notched at the bottom so that the cords would not project beyond the running surface.

The harness was fastened to the middle cross piece of wood. It consisted of two cords, one looped around the toe and the other wrapped around the ankle and fastened to the toe loop at the center.

The overall length of this snowshoe varied between two and three feet. The widths at the three wooden cross pieces, from front to back, were respectively five, nine, and four inches. This shoe was used most extensively while hunting.

Toboggans were made from raw deer or bear hide. The hide was held in front of the feet with the hands. Sometimes pine branches were used on crusted snow.

PACKSTRAP

492 While travelling, burdens were usually carried with the aid of a packstrap or tumpline (łki'kan). The central portion of such a strap was made of buckskin or bear hide. To soften the latter it was pounded between rocks. To this central part, which was about a foot long and two and a half inches wide, were sewed long cords of buckskin so that the whole length became eight feet or more. Packstraps woven of Indian hemp were sometimes used. The straps were never decorated.

Men, women and children used straps of the same type. The line was usually passed over the forehead, but sometimes around the chest. There was no sex difference in the matter. Women did not wear basketry caps with tumplines, but often used a bit of padding, such as a piece of fur, under the strap. Men occasionally wore fur caps to protect the forehead.

Travelling packs, such as those carried when journeying south of the Columbia river for the root digging season, consisted of essentials such as fire drills, cooking baskets, digging sticks, horn wedges and dried food. Small bundles were made of these articles, which in turn were wrapped with robes and tule mats, making a long roll. The ends of the packstrap were tied around such a bundle about twelve inches on either side of the middle. The pack rested low on the back. Men's and women's packs were of about the same size. Men sometimes carried deer with the tumpline.

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SIGN LANGUAGE

Sign language was but weakly developed. It was used to a certain extent as a means of communication between persons speaking unintelligible dialects. Persons who were within sight but out of hearing of each other utilized signs. It also served when it was not desirable to make any sound. A few of the signs are described here:

1. "Yes": nodding the head.
2. "No": shaking the head.
3. "Come": pointing at one's self or motion toward one's self with right hand.
4. "Don't come": motion away from one with right hand.
5. "You": pointing at one.
6. "Look": head turned, eyebrows raised.
7. "Stop": right arm extended forward, palm outward, hand moved from side to side.
8. "Let us meet": two forefingers held vertically together.
9. "Let us go together": right arm stretched upward, index and middle fingers projected and held together.
10. "Sit down": right hand cupped, palm upward, arm lowered.
11. "I can't hear": both arms flexed, palms upward, fingers pointing to sides.

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12. "I don't believe": fore and middle fingers of right hand spread apart, held to mouth, moved to left.
13. "Let us be friends": locking two hands together and shaking them.
14. "I am surprised": right hand held over mouth.
15. "Riding a horse": fore and middle fingers of right hand straddling fingers of left hand, middle finger on palm side, motion up and down.
16. "Table": hands spread horizontally, right above left, against chest, then moved outward.
17. "Eat": hands moved as in eating.
18. "Go out (of house)": eyes turned toward door.

2; Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 **Southeast Salish**
Sanpoil

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sətsəntukui'ltxʷ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival.

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of un- 152
happiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly 861
cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus
were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was re- 843
quired to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted prin-
cipally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback
riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was
not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen
the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come.

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insult- 262
ing another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict mal- [578]
fortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during preg-
nancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and 843
delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her
husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child
would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it
were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything
killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have
cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then
have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preced-
ing childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was
not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be
foolish.

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant 784
woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she 843
did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was
not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

784 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both 843 the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was 843 pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only 842 done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltx^{u}) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other. 844

The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untux̣siˈltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care. 844 846

A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to. 847

A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3] 755 845

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately. 843

Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew." 846

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[2] See page 102.

[3] See page 204 f.

159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sχoʒomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'uxten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 521
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible."
(Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so
desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a
large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually
successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen.
Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child
if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball
and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same
place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous
and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were
washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines 854
were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but
weaker.[5] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with
a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the
medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's
mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some
of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the
cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or
thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune
to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally
some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the
interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn
skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used
exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was
made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied
from ten days to a month.

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[5] See pages 215 f.

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The cradle bag or night bag (klu'x̣tsa) was made in two forms. The first was fashioned from two pieces of buckskin, one ovoid forming the back, the other a narrow band equal in length to the perimeter of the back. The ends of the band were sewed together and one edge of it sewed to the periphery of the ovoid piece, with the seam at the bottom (narrow end). Thin strips of buckskin were used for sewing. Loops were provided along the lower portions of each free side of the front piece so that a buckskin thong could be passed alternately through them to draw the bag together. The other bag was made of a single piece of buckskin roughly triangular in form. It resembled somewhat a center seam moccasin, except that the actual seam extended for only a short distance and the remainder was looped for lacing. The top was left open. Neither bag was provided with carrying straps. Skin other than that of the deer was sometimes used for these bags, such as coyote skin. The child was kept in the bag at night until about a year of age.

The cradle board (mox̣wa'l') (Plate 1, Figure B) was the same for either a girl or a boy. It was used until the child was able to walk. Subsequent to that time it was used only while travelling or when the child wished to sleep in the daytime. During the early months of life the infant was removed from the cradle only to be bathed, changed, and at night. Except in rare instances a board was used for only one child. When no longer in use it was usually buried. If an infant died while still using its cradle it was sometimes, though not always, buried with it.

Cradle boards were usually made of cedar. Poorer ones were of pine. The body of the board was sometimes trapezoidal with the longer parallel side at the top, but more often roughly oval with the narrower part at the bottom. A knob or handle usually projected from the middle of the board at the top, and sometimes two legs from the bottom. The handle was carved in various shapes, but most commonly was triangular or circular. In some cradles there was no projecting handle but an oblong hole in the top of the board. Sometimes the whole board was covered with buckskin but often only the bag was of that material. Holes were bored to take the stay strings of the hoop and for attaching the bag. A large hoop of willow or service berry limb was hinged with buckskin to each side of the board at a point where it would rise above the baby's head. Two buckskin thongs extending from the hoop to the foot and to the handle of the board held the hoop in position. These could be untied at the foot and the hoop lowered when the child was to be removed. Buckskin carrying straps were fastened to the back of the board. The bag or pouch was always made of buckskin. It was not a true bag in that its back was formed by the board itself. A long narrow rectangular strip of buckskin was sewed together at the ends and fastened to the board by placing it on edge in the shape desired and securing it to the board through the holes previously drilled. Sometimes the pouch was made double thickness. Holes were pierced along the edge of the opening and a strip of buckskin inserted to provide loops so that the bag might be laced tight. A triangular wooden piece was fitted inside the bag at the head, with the base at right angles to the board. It was fastened here with two thongs through holes in the board and one or two extending from the apex to the head of the board. It was more or less adjustable

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but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the 304
head of the bag open. 854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the 854 legs. Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kali's, malmaktki'n, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used.

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its 524 skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. In addition many 854 other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the shell exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck.

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place 854 to place. Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline.

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the 524
violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them 755
were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the
older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks 855
into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not 861
to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but 593
the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the 855
threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw [527]
water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, 515
summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run 856
to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath
they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost 868
importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain 462
duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and 857
accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

"Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləixo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden. 881

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, 787 guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting 881 a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during 262 each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutan) in a small hut of tule mats 841 somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A 881 virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating 784 woman (sku·'kautcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues 841

784 841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ep'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 832 836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a··yayawawintu··'
(meaningless?)

wai··kwənxaminaka··(etc., repeated)
I love you

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[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

533
832

wa'i' kwuŋami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'x^{w} wumi'x^{w}
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pitx^{w} i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 584 832

> A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lıx was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an extremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty 834 she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed.

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[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 90.

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[12] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. 582 Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon.

Infant betrothals (sntu'x̣samtcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons holding places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. [584] They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable.

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more

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[12] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

582 desirable than marriage at home. Unions between persons speaking unintelligible dialects seldom occurred for very few persons were bi-lingual. John Tom estimated that in seven out of ten marriages both parties were Sanpoil, whereas in the remaining thirty per cent either the man or the woman might be foreign. He suggested that the bulk of the intermarriage was with the Columbia. Examination of specific information incidentally obtained for a few cases reveals a slight tendency in the opposite direction. Intermarriage occurred in eleven out of the twenty-one cases. These data, however, are for relatively recent times when intercourse had been artificially stimulated by the presence of whites, and includes two marriages of Sanpoil women to whites. For pre-white times Tom's estimate is probably fairly accurate. Of the twenty-one cases recorded three of the unions were between Sanpoil and Columbia but no other outside native group appears more than once. This despite the fact that the Columbia dialect was more unlike Sanpoil than any of the other adjoining dialects. If these cases are representative, Sanpoil men marry foreign women more often than the reverse. In two instances only, Sanpoil women married natives of the other groups. The data follow:

	SANPOIL MALES	MARRIED TO	
1.	William Burke, ťuqwʌnmɩnstá'skət, (son of 20) (first marriage)	qwepi·'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
2.	do (second marriage)	si'qampi·,	(Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel)
3.	Jim James, wułɩui·'tsa, (son of 4)	ski·ya'lks,	(Sanpoil)
4.	q̓wɩlxalq̓a'ya	qaχpi·'tsa,	(sɩnəq̓aie'tkʷ)
5.	Cultus Charley, kałxwe'tckɩn	(?)	(Wenatchi)
6.	wəłskuma'utckən, (son of 5)	kwɩstəpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
7.	Bob Covington, kwɩl'a'χən	ki'kaimi'tsa,	(Columbia)
8.	Bear, skɩmxi·'st, (first marriage)	su'kutá'lks,	(Sanpoil)
9.	do (second marriage)	qwɩkwimá'lks,	(Columbia and Nespelem)
10.	do (third marriage)	Nancy,	(Sanpoil)
11.	tau·tau·ku'sum	swimťi'tkʷ,	(Sanpoil)
12.	kwikwita'skat	qwɩnxa'tsa,	(Columbia)
13.	John Tom, xwi'wi'lxʷ[13] (2nd marriage)	spukula'lks,	(Sanpoil)
14.	do (3rd marriage)	(?)	(Columbia)
15.	aχ'ntaku'səm, (son of 13)	wɩləmɩ·'tkʷ,	(Sanpoil)
16.	Joe Monahan	qwənłpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
17.	wəłwəłstu'lxʷ, (son of 18)	q̓a·smá'lks,	(Sanpoil)

	SANPOIL FEMALES	MARRIED TO	
18.	sq̓aɩmt·a·'lqs	su·γi'mpt,	(Similkameen)
19.	qwənxupi'tsa	kwɩlt'ni'nak,	(Columbia)
20.	Mary Susan, taxli·'t'	Burke,	(white)
21.	si'nəmťkʷ	?	(white)

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[13] Other names of John Tom are given on page 114.

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles. There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achievement to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desirable marriage possible for a son or daughter. This meant that moral character, 581 ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration. 584 However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage complex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the 835 parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after 585
the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were 867
accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He than addressed the pair. He admonished them to realize the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother.

Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly 585
married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and 591
remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained.

To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with 585
the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called sta'ʔəm. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but

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[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term ənri'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast. 587

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[15] 585

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended. 583

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time. 581 595

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in separate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognized as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry 595

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[15] See page 198.

595 another and live with her for a time. Whenever he desired he could return to his former wife. The concept of "supporting" a wife did not exist and therefore the question of providing for the various wives with whom a man was not living did not arise. An able bodied woman was quite as capable of taking care of all of her personal needs as she was of attending to a part of the requirements of both herself and her husband. She could always trade her roots and berries for salmon or venison. Moreover she was always welcome at the home of her parents or relatives. Nevertheless it was desirable to have a husband in attendance and there was considerable enmity and quarreling between the wives of a man. One or another felt that she had more "right" to the man's presence, or that she was being unduly neglected. Burke said that the reason a man changed from one wife to another was that he soon became tired of one woman and then another seemed more attractive, or quarreled with one and left her for another.

A man resented another's paying attentions to a wife of his even though he were not living with her. Co-habitation was adultery of as serious a nature as though the husband were present. Many quarrels resulted. Even though a man were not particularly interested in one of his wives it was a blow to his vanity to have her accept the attentions of another.

586 A woman was never privileged to leave her husband. However, if her husband stayed away from her for a long period of time, living with another wife, she might refuse to accept him upon his return. If he could not prevail upon her to live with him again, and if the sympathies of the community were with the woman, she became in effect a single woman once more. After a reasonable period of time she might remarry.

In recent times these limited rights of women seem to have been expanded, or perhaps the above formulation was not always enforced in practice. In any event, the first wife of Jim James, qwʌn'xwa'pi'tsa, left him and returned to her parents because he repeatedly visited another woman, staying away for several days at a time. About a year later she married again. One of the wives of wuq̇api'tkʷ of Roger's Bar left him permanently as the result of a petty quarrel. She gave herself more food at meals than she gave her husband. He called her q̇ami·'la, "greedy, glutton," whereupon she left his house.

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684 If a husband obviously deserted a wife who had borne him children he was sought out and considerable pressure was brought to bear by the chief and others, to get him to return. If a man deserted his wife and was not found his wife was considered free and allowed to remarry after about a year. If her former husband returned at a later time with another woman, that marriage was recognized. If a married woman disappeared with another man a strong effort was made to find them. If the hunt ended successfully the two were returned, the man lashed and the woman sent back to her husband. The latter could accept her or refuse to live with her longer, as he pleased. If he gave her up she was allowed to marry again.

The prevalence of separation and subsequent remarriage even in recent times is indicated by the fact that Burke, who was very widely acquainted, could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime.

The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law. 587 768

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

> There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now. 587 834

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

593 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the man was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

599 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection
684 have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable
836 promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away. Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning. When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The
684 punishment meted out was lashing. Young persons were not the only ones guilty of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such
837 extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful eyes of others.

684 Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club.

684 848 When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others.

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lǝwɪt, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[10] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

835 684 The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow:

> There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing: "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.
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> One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing,

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[10] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

leaving the lodge after the others had gone to sleep. The next morning his mother had to wake him again. He wouldn't answer. He kept his face covered up. His mother went over and uncovered his face. She saw on his face some of the paint that she put on the girl each day. She thought, "He must be staying with his sister. She is the only girl outside of the camp." She told the chief, her husband, what she thought. He laughed at her, saying, "The boy wouldn't do that. He knows better." But his wife was sure so the chief told her to watch their son.

That night the parents went to bed; they started to snore. The boy got up and left. A little while later the boy's mother got up. She went to the girl's hut and listened outside. She heard the two inside, laughing. The girl said, "Yes, I love you; I didn't see anyone else who was good looking enough for me. I'd just as soon marry you." Her brother answered, "I felt the same way about it." The woman went back and called her husband. He went back with her and listened. He found out that she was right. When they got back to camp the chief asked his wife what they should do. "That's up to you," she answered. "You are the chief. I like my children, but it's up to you to decide." After a while he said, "All right, I know what I'll do. I'm going to kill my son. The people would laugh if they heard about it." "All right," his wife answered, "it's up to you.... "

At daylight they held the burial.... Later the young girl was sent to her older sister with some food... Her sister grabbed her and made her tell her what had happened by telling her that she would kill her if she didn't. Then she told her to tell their mother to send her good buckskin dress, her best robe, and her belt, because she wanted to bathe and return to camp. The young girl told her mother who took the clothes up herself. They were returning from bathing. After they had passed the girl's hut she said that she wanted to go back and leave her old dress. Her mother let her go and went back to camp.

Instead of going to the hut the girl ran toward her brother's grave. When her mother got back the chief asked where their daughter was. "She went back to leave her old dress," his wife said. "No, she didn't," the chief answered. He was feeling uneasy already. He went outside and saw his daughter running, already half way to the grave. He called, "Everyone chase her. Whoever catches her can have her. I want to save my daughter." All the fastest runners, Fox, Coyote, Wolf, ran after her. She got to the cliff and sat down at the top. Just then Fox grabbed her robe. But she untied it where it was fastened at the neck and jumped over. She fell right on top of her brother. Then they both laughed. "We said we'd get together," they said; "now we have, for good. In times to come other brothers and sisters will sometimes do the same thing...."

Another myth, wherein Coyote marries his daughter, ends as follows:

The girl was very much ashamed. She jumped into the river.. . Coyote turned to the people and said, "This is not the only time this will happen. Every once in a while, in times to come, men will try to live with their own daughters."

In actuality the punishment of incest was seldom death. Rather, lashing was resorted to, and each of the parties to the incestuous relationship received many blows. Subsequently the persons were not ill-treated, but were often subjected to ridicule. In cases of brother-sister incest, interestingly, the parents were as much in disgrace as the children. One who had been guilty of incest found it difficult to marry for a time, "but people soon forgot." (Burke) It was believed that children born of incestuous unions would be deformed. The children themselves were treated normally.

684 Burke related the story of two Okanogans, A—— and his sister who were convicted of incest. About 1917 when A—— was perhaps thirty and his sister twenty or twenty-five, they ran away together. They had "fallen in love with each other" but were continually kept apart at home. For a whole summer they camped about the hills, finding what they could to eat and occasionally breaking into an isolated house to obtain food. At the end of the summer they were caught and the man was sentenced to state's penitentiary at Walla Walla for one year. The girl was released and stayed in the Okanogan country. She did not bear a child. After being released from prison her brother did not return but married a Coeur d'Alene girl and remained in that country.

An account of father-daughter incest, which occurred about 1912, was also given by Burke. L—, of Roger's Bar took his twelve year old daughter to school each day on horseback. He was aged about fifty years and his wife, still living, was approximately the same age. The distance to the girl's school was about a mile and a half. He would not allow her to walk, nor would he permit anyone else to take her. The trail led through brush and timber nearly all the way. For a year he continued to accompany her, before she became pregnant. During that time he had kept her silent by threats. His wife was aware of what was happening but she, too, was afraid to say anything from fear of her husband. When the girl became pregnant her father forced her to name a certain young man as being responsible. But to her mother and some relatives she told the truth. The government officials learned of the affair and action was taken against the girl's father but there was no one who would testify against him and the case was dismissed. The man was in disgrace for a time. People laughed at him, but he paid little attention to their jeers and slights. He continued to live with his wife. Their daughter, too, remained with them. The child, a boy, was born. About a year later the girl married a Coeur d'Alene named J——. The two reared the child, who was not abnormal, but was never healthy. In 1930 he was still living. Later the couple had a child of their own.

838 Male homosexuality was called snlhspsiwi'xʷ; female, sntá'χlau'wam. Burke knew of no examples among mature individuals. He had known of homosexual tendencies among young men and women. The punishment for such indulgences was whipping.

839 Male masturbation was termed stkspatχant'su'ta; female, stams'sumt'suta. Boys who were known to masturbate were teased about it but never punished. The schoolmates of a girl, w——, knew that she masturbated. They nicknamed her and chided her.

None of my informants were acquainted with any case of hermaphroditism or transvestitism among the Sanpoil. Burke told of a Coeur d'Alene named G——, who was obviously a true hermaphrodite (stá'mia). This person, whose characteristics were preponderantly female, had much hair on her upper lip and chin. She assumed male dress, however, and associated more with men than women but stayed alone a great part of the time. She was slow in speech, staring at a person for some time before speaking, and talked very obscenely. She did not marry, but lived alone most of the time.

839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a tumpline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named tuqpa'tlxt was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

763 783 775 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

763 783 775 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity after his death.

764 A corpse was never allowed to remain indoors for a moment. Immediately upon determining that death had come the body was wrapped in deer hide and taken to the woods or a nearby thicket where it was deposited in the limbs of a tree or in the brush where it was safe from molestation by animals. If it were left in the house the lonesome spirit or spirits of the man might enter some person present and make him ill. If it were necessary to keep the body overnight before burying it someone stayed up all night in the house to keep the spirits and ghost (disembodied soul) from entering the dwelling.

Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

756 764 Friends and relatives followed the pallbearers. In the company was always at least one shaman. His presence was not solicited—he went of his own accord—but his attendance was necessary to a proper burial. It was one of the unshirkable duties of every shaman to officiate at funerals—and one for which he received no compensation. Upon reaching the burial grounds the body was placed near the open grave. If the digging had not been completed that was done before the ceremony started. The grave diggers remained for the rite.

756 The interment ceremony was in the hands of some old man, probably a relative. He first called upon some one present to "say a few words." The person
764 designated stepped to the side of the grave and solemnly spoke of the inevitability
776 of death and eulogized the deceased. When he finished he stepped back and the man in charge called for the shaman to perform his part of the ceremony. This consisted of ridding the grave of the presence of spirits. The shaman had brought with him branches of rosebush. With these he swept out the hole and brushed off the corpse. This act was called snəke'xulaxum. Branches of the rosebush were used rather than some other brush because the thorns were thought to prick the invading spirits and thereby be more effective in driving them away. While the shaman was discharging this duty he spoke to the assemblage, saying that though he was not omnipotent he nevertheless hoped that his actions would eliminate any spirits which might have lodged themselves in the grave to later torture the ghost. "These precautions should always be taken," he said. "If some stranger were in the vicinity his spirit would be certain to see the grave and jump into it. We don't want that to happen." The shaman never touched the corpse with his hands. As soon as he had finished he threw aside the rose branches (it was not necessary to destroy them for they were only instrumental; the spirits did not lodge in them), and stepped aside for the pallbearers who placed the corpse in the grave (in a sitting position) as quickly as possible.

764 With the body were deposited the person's keepsakes, fetishes, and ornaments of dress such as feathers, quills and strips of fur, but no clothing or other objects.
776 No time was then lost in covering the body for every moment that elapsed gave further opportunity for spirits to enter. Flat rocks were laid on the corpse, then smaller rocks, gravel or sand. Sometimes the grave was covered with brush. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks erected in the rocks. Canoes or carvings were never placed over graves.

Occasionally a short speech of consolation to the bereaved followed the interment. It was delivered by someone who had not previously talked. Upon its conclusion the mourners returned to the village.

It is felt nowadays, with the use of deep graves and caskets, spirits are almost certain to remain with the body even though great care is taken to eliminate them. Their presence is attested by the noises heard when the casket is lowered into the grave. On one occasion John Tom was assisting in digging such a grave. As he was finishing the excavation, at a depth of about five feet, he suddenly felt as if something had grabbed him around the chest from the back. He was clutched so tightly that he soon fell over unconscious. He had not been able to cry out. A short time later his companions, who had been a little distance away, came and investigated for they had expected Tom to join them soon. They found him lying in the bottom of the grave, motionless. They called to him but he did not answer. Then they prodded him with a shovel. Slowly he gained consciousness. He got out of the hole and was soon normal again. The spirit had evidently disappeared.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast 768
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

765 783 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

765 784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Burke) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness, ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a
dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less
than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to
three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the
principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three
or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons
standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to
so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not
remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what
constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The 302
clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped 765
off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore
another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide)
buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not removed until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the
length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient
food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food
that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some 765
time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work
very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been
a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar
formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was 587
customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time 765
had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and
remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted
to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary
period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new
spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking
the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling
resulted.

For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. 551
Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," tәmtәmәni'. A woman whose husband has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as
sku·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The
objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause
words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lʌ'lukʷ; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

opposite side called for additional bets from his followers, or attempted to get others to join his side and make their bets. The new contributions to the pool might more than equal the difference; then it became necessary for the other side once more to call for stakes. 525

The game was played with two pairs of bones, one of each pair being marked, and the other unmarked, and twenty sticks used as counters. The bones were made usually of the tibia of the deer. They were two and a half or three inches long and an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. The marked bone had a narrow painted or incised band around the middle, or was encircled with a buckskin thong. The counters were simply pointed splints a foot long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. 321 525

The essential point of the game was to guess in which hands the players with the bones held the unmarked ones. The game proceeded as follows: The players of each side knelt or squatted in two parallel rows facing each other, a distance of about five feet separating them. Anyone who had placed a bet was privileged to play, but not required to do so. Before each row was placed a long log, elevated two or three inches from the ground on small sticks. Between the two groups were fires if the playing took place at night. During the winter when the playing was done inside the long house the rows formed on either side of the fireplaces. The leaders took their positions at the middle of their respective sides. Each player was given a stick with which he beat on the log before him. These were twelve or fifteen inches long, an inch or two in diameter; when not in use they were kept in a buckskin bag or wrapped in buckskin. Every prominent gambler owned a set of these sticks. 525

The leaders each took ten counters and one pair of bones. To determine which side was to have the first play, the leaders matched the bones after having rolled them in their hands, shifted or pretended to shift them under cover of a blanket, garment, hat, or behind the back. The arms were outstretched and the hands opened revealing the bones. The leader winning the match took both pairs of bones and won one of the opponents' counters. The players on the side gaining the bones proceeded to beat in time on the log before them at a tempo of about 240 per minute, and started singing a gambling song such as the following, which was started by its owner: 525 533

a··xa··i··axau··ana··xauiu···, etc.[1]
(Meaningless syllables; gradually fading out toward the end)

Or: oi···ʼxɛnaxawiu··o··ai··oxɛnaʼawi···
xɛʼnənə··o··xɛnəʼɛwiyi···ʼ
xɛnəʼɛwiyi···, etc.[2]
(Meaningless syllables)

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[1] John Tom's song.
[2] Bear's song.

525 538 Arbitrary words were sometimes inserted, such as the following:

o·'ya'ta' ti·'s naqsá'luq
I pity my lone counter.

525 After a moment's hesitation the leader picked up the bones which had been thrown in front of him, examined them carefully, then rolled them in his hands, swung his arms from side to side in time to the music, went through various other fantastic movements, then threw the bones, one pair at a time, to two players of his selection, one at his right and one at his left. The players selected were usually at opposite extremities of the line, but not invariably so. They went through a procedure similar to that of the leader, hesitating before taking the bones, waving the arms, hiding the bones and shifting them, sometimes many times. All of the motions of the players holding the bones were intently watched by the leader on the opposite side; he did the guessing. After a few moments the players brought their arms forward and crossed them in front of their chests, often with the hands in the opposite arm pits.

The guesser then held out the left hand with the palm outstretched and made various motions as of guessing with his right hand, in order to confuse the players or to gain from them some inadvertant indication of the position of the bones. If a player believed that the guesser knew in which hand he held the plain bone he might shift them again, or go through false motions under cover. The guesser continued with his gestures. Other players on the side of the guesser also were permitted to go through the motions of guessing in order to confuse their opponents. The difference between a true and a final guess, and a false or preliminary one, was a subtle nod of the head, or a dropping of the arms to the sides. Since a player immediately surrendered the bones as the result of a correct final guess, the preliminary gestures, if carefully conducted by the guesser, were very apt to cause the player to make a minimal movement of surrender if correct or to gain an indication of security if incorrect. If such indications were made by either or both players, it was a simple matter to indicate a final decision and win the bones. Both final and tentative guesses were made by indicating the position of the bones with a conventionalized gesture of the right hand and at the same time clapping
201 the left hand on the right shoulder. The signals were as follows (M indicates the
525 marked, U the unmarked bone):

U M — M U	Thumb and index finger extended, others flexed.
M U — U M	A gesture downward and straight ahead with the right hand; index finger extended.
U M — U M	Gesture to the left with the index finger extended.
M U — M U	Gesture to the right with the index finger extended.

That is, if the guesser judged the player at his left to have the unmarked bone in his right hand and the player at the right to be holding the plain one in his left hand, he indicated his guess [illegible] the first manner above, etc.

525 If the judgment was correct the bones were thrown to the other side. Of course, the guess may have been correct for only one player, in which case the

other continued to hold the bones, and play was resumed with only the one pair. 525 The guesser indicated his judgments by a simple gesture to the left or right when 538 only one player was hiding the bones. As soon as he had correctly guessed the hand in which the plain bone was held his side took the bones. Meanwhile he had lost one counter for every incorrect guess where one player was involved, and two counters where neither of two players was guessed aright. Conversely, he won for his side a counter for each correct guess.

When a wrong guess was made the player slowly extended his arms, palms outstretched, and displayed the bones, then often threw the bones in the air and caught them again, uttering exclamations of satisfaction. The other players on his side jeered at their opponents, in song. Throughout the play the beating on the log and the singing continued.

When the opposing side took the bones they began to beat on their log and to sing, and those who had lost them became quiescent. Thus the play proceeded with the bones passing back and forth, until one side had won all of the counters. Occasionally the game ended within an hour or two, but more often it lasted several hours or all night.

At successive periods of play the leader threw the bones to those nearer and 525 nearer him in his line, until all had had an opportunity to play. However, if one person were having particularly good luck the bones might be returned to him several times in succession; if a poor player were present he might be passed up. On the other hand, if a player were having a run of luck which he feared might not last, he was privileged to return the bones to the leader, who went through the original motions with them, then threw them back, either to the same or another player, at his discretion. Even when originally presented with the bones a player might refuse to take them if he feared ill-fortune.

The leader seldom, if ever, kept the bones himself. If all the players had had a turn, and the game still continued, the bones were usually returned again to the players at the ends of the line. The leader sometimes called upon another to guess for him, especially if he had been consistently wrong for a time.

The counters, as well as the bones, were handled in a formal manner. When the leader first received the ten splints he thrust them in the ground before him. Upon losing one he pulled it up, rolled it between his palms to remove the dirt adhering to the point, then threw it to the other side. The counters won were not touched until the bones changed hands, whereupon they were forced into the ground at an angle or laid across each other on the ground. In surrendering counters those of the original stock were all used before any subtractions were made from those which had been won. In order to win the game, it was necessary for a side to hold its own counters as well as those of the opponent, twenty in all. In other words, all those counters originally thrust in the ground had to be removed and placed with those won before the game was over.

Occasionally, in games where only a small number of players were involved, only one set of bones was used.

525 The side winning the game took the pool collected by its opponents. Division of the goods was made in accordance with the value of the bet placed by each player. Winning players received back their own bets also, of course.

Women played the same game, except that smaller bones were used, and singing was the only audible accompaniment. Instead of beating on a log the women swung their arms in opposite directions, from side to side, elbows flexed.

Women are considered by the natives, at least at the present day, to be better gamblers than men—that is, they bet more freely. In pre-white times women undoubtedly played the stick game much less, however, than at present.

WOMEN'S DICE GAME

The dice game (muqmuqami'n, "dice") was the most popular woman's gambling game. It was played at any time during the year when participants were available. Men, as well, sometimes played the dice game.

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525
531 Four dice were used, made either of beaver teeth or deer ribs (Figure 21, a). Beaver teeth were used in their natural shape. When deer ribs were used pieces three or four inches long were cut, then steamed and straightened, polished and pointed at the ends. One side of each of the bones or teeth was incised with four concentric-circle or dot and circle designs (sq̇aia'i'), the other side with one to three groups of stripes (nxlapı'qən, "skunk," from the lines on the skunk's back). The incisions were filled with red or black pigment. The dots and circles were made by twirling a stone fragment with two points, one acting as a pivot. The dice were made by the women, and great pride was taken in their appearance.

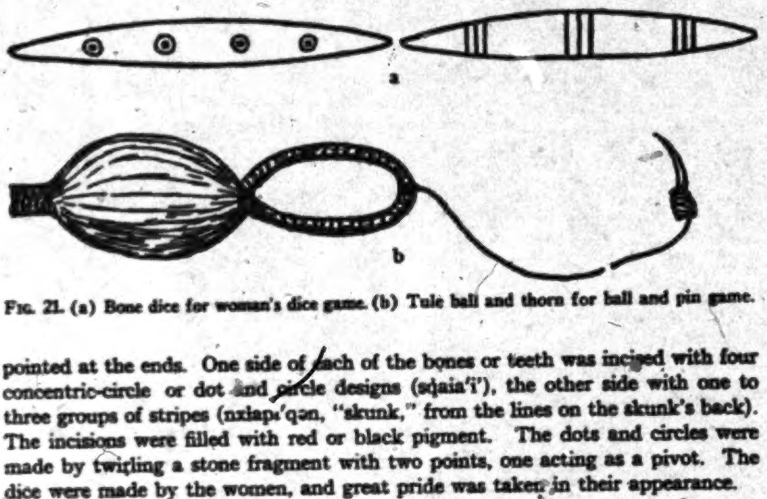

FIG. 21. (a) Bone dice for woman's dice game. (b) Tule ball and thorn for ball and pin game.

525 The game involved shaking the dice in the cupped hands, then throwing them with a sidewise motion from the left side of the body onto a robe of buckskin. When deer rib dice were used they were thrown forward. Several women played at one time. Each was entitled to a turn, in order, during which she continued to throw the dice until they fell with all circles down, an arrangement which transferred the dice to the next person. Approximately fifty counters were used, form-

ing a "pot" from which payment was made to players as [redacted] Points were calculated as follows:

Four circles paid two counters.
Three circles paid one counter.
Two circles paid no counters.
One circle cost one counter.
No circles cost two counters.

All of the counters in the "pot" had to be first removed by payment to the various players, then one player was required to win all of her opponents' counters before the game was over and she became the winner. After the "pot" was depleted, payment was made at the end of each woman's turn by an equal contribution from all others in the game. If the number of points won could not be divided equally among the others, someone would pay the difference and indicate the fact by laying aside that number of chips; the discrepancy would be made up to her later in the game. When any player lost all of her counters she was eliminated from the game. Betting seems to have been carried on independently of the counters. A pool was probably formed prior to the game, all of which went to the winning contestant.

OTHER WOMEN'S GAMES

A staring game was played by women during the winter. Sides were chosen; these sat in parallel lines facing each other. Each side selected from its number a representative. These two individuals sat in front of their respective sides and stared at each other until one of the pair smiled. Each team taunted and jeered the woman on the opposite side in an effort to make her smile and bring success to their side. Bets were placed between individual members of either team, and when the representative of one side lost, all on the other side collected their bets.

An endurance game called sqa·ni'kstam was played by women. A group formed sides of equal numbers and placed bets. Each side formed a row facing the other, with about four feet between. They all squatted on their heels and began to sing the song characteristic of this game. At the same time they started to hop up and down a distance of three or four inches above the ground, and to clap their hands, all the while retaining the squatting position. One by one the women tired out, and fell down, laughing. The side which had one or more contestants remaining after all their opponents had dropped out was the winner.

Women also played a game involving holding the breath for as long a time as possible. A spiral two or three feet in diameter was traced on a level sandy spot. The players, taking turns, sat before the figure and, while holding the breath, started at the center of the spiral and touched successive spots about a half inch apart with the tip of the index finger, moving around as many turns as possible before taking a breath. The player was carefully watched by a judge. If she skipped too far between points she was checked, and the instant that she took a breath she was stopped and the point she had reached was marked. The woman reaching the outermost spot on the spiral won. Betting accompanied the playing.

GAMES OF DEXTERITY

The ball and pin game was played indoors, usually in the winter, by either sex. The ball used was a composite ball and ring made of the small variety of tule (Figure 21, b). A piece of tule was folded back and forth upon itself to form a ball about an inch long. One end was looped around to form a ring, and sinew was used to wrap the point between the ball and the ring and the end of the ball. A sinew or hemp string about eighteen inches long connected the ball with a thorn used as a pin. The long thorns from the Columbia hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell (stamo'q'), were picked while green and dried by the fire. Sometimes four colored bands were wrapped around the ring at various points. The wrapped end of the ball opposite the ring was called the "nose".

In play the ball was first placed in the mouth; this served to steady it, and to keep it damp so that the pin would not crack the tule. It was dropped from the mouth while the pin was held in the right hand, and an attempt was made to catch it with the pin. Each time the ball was dropped the player exclaimed "stslaqo'p," ("stick"). Each time that he was successful he called the name of a month, in sequence. This custom was termed "shortening the year."

The method of counting was determined arbitrarily before the game. The relative values were usually about as follows, counting twenty points to the game:

Any point on the ball credited one point.
"Nose" of the ball credited two to three points.
On the ring credited three to five points.
Inside the ring credited ten to fifteen points.
On a colored band on the ring (when used) credited twenty points, or game.

This game was very popular; it served to while away many of the long winter hours.

Several games of the general hoop and pole variety were played by the Sanpoil. The most common one was played in a shallow, levelled depression formed in the ground, about six feet wide, sixteen feet long and eight or ten inches deep. At each end a log four or five inches in diameter was placed and held in position by stakes. The hoop was a wooden ring four to six inches in diameter (Figure 22, a). It was carefully wrapped with buckskin and crossed with two buckskin thongs. On these thongs were strung pierced pieces of shell of various colors. They were secured against movement along the thong and separated from each other by wrappings of buckskin. Four other pieces of shell projected from the inside of the ring, also fastened with buckskin. The pole used was three or four feet long, and a half inch in diameter, made of hardwood and tipped with bone. The pole was wrapped at intervals of a few inches with bands of buckskin.

Only two players could participate in the game at one time. Sometimes teams were formed and the players alternated. The spectators decided by lot which of the players should first roll the hoop. Then the two stood together at one end of the plot and the one selected rolled the hoop toward the other end with an

524 underhand swing of considerable force. Immediately both players made ready with their poles which they grasped in the right hand. Occasionally the thrower used his left hand to avoid changing over. The players followed the ring as it rolled down the plot. As soon as it hit the log at the end and started to roll back the contestants threw their poles along the ground, each attempting to place his

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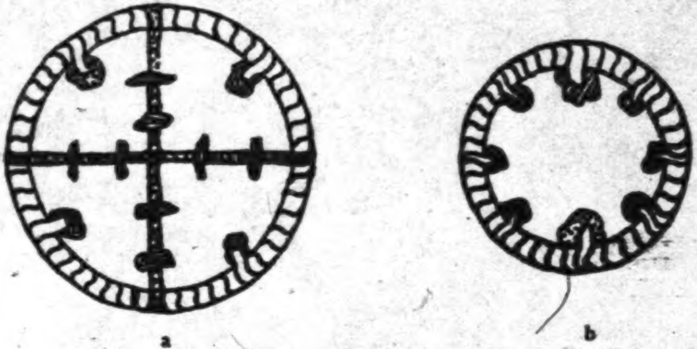

Fig. 22. Rings used in hoop and pole games.

524 in a position so that the ring would topple over the top of it. If the ring fell free of the poles it counted no score for either player. If it fell against one of the poles the score was computed by the position of the shell markers on the ring and the buckskin bands on the pole. The pendant markers on the ring counted more than the stationary ones on the cross strings, and the bands near the ends of the pole counted higher than those near the middle. Certain unusual combinations netted the player a very high score. For instance, if two of the markers on the circumference happened to rest on a band at the extremity of the pole the game was practically won. At times a single game lasted only a few minutes. In other cases it lasted an hour or more.

Players alternated in rolling the ring. The score made by each was kept with small wooden counters. Spectators acted as judges; my informant stated that their decisions were never questioned, although judgments were often difficult to make. It was sometimes necessary to blow the dust away from the ring before a decision could be made.

The players placed bets with each other on the outcome of the games. The spectators, as well, placed bets on their favorite players.

This game was played only in the summer, and exclusively by men.

A variant of the hoop and pole game described above, played in the same manner but with a different type of ring, was called suluq̓ula′uxəm. This ring was smaller, about two inches in diameter (Figure 22, b). The core was made of clay rather than wood. It was desirable to have a ring as heavy as possible for its size, hence clay was superior to wood.[3] The clay core was either moulded from wet clay or cut from a block of dry clay. Around it was wrapped several layers of rawhide to provide strength. First a thin narrow band of green hide was wrapped around the core. On this had been strung eight beads of various colors, arranged so that they would fall at points equidistant on the inside of the ring. Beads were pieces of shell, pierced to take the cord, and colored. On top of this first wrapping others were placed, of heavier, wider rawhide. The beads, of course, were allowed to project between the windings. The hide was wet when wound so that it would be tight and stiff when dry.

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[3] Since the advent of the whites, iron rings have been used.

The colors of the beads followed a definite sequence. Two of them, separated by three others, were larger than the rest. These may be called numbers one and five, in which case the colors were as follows:

1. pa'ïk
2. q̇wa'i
3. qwa'i
4. kuγa'i
5. ṗu·'m
6. qwi'n
7. kwı'l
8. xɛ'n[4]

No cross-strings were provided on this ring. The pole used was the same one previously described. If the pole went through the ring no score was made. If the ring fell on a portion of the pole where there was no band the score was computed from the value of the beads alone. An additional score was won if any bead touched a band; this score was figured according to an arbitrary, pre-determined standard. It was necessary that a bead actually touch the pole before it was counted. No point on the ring which was not beadedwas of scoring value. If more than one bead touched the pole, their respective values were added in determining the score. The relative values of the beads, on a basis of 150 points for a game, were as follows:

1. 50
2. 10
3. 25
4. 20
5. 50
6. 10
7. 25
8. 20

Another hoop and pole game of quite a different nature was called ləla'usəm. A hoop about ten inches in diameter was formed by splitting a maple limb while green, bending it into a circle with the flat side turned inward, and splicing the ends together with deer sinew. The poles were made of willow, about four feet long and not over an inch in diameter. A limb was selected with a fork on one end which was left intact, forming the butt of the pole, or one end of a straight limb was split and forced apart. Several poles were required for each player.

Two or more players participated. Any level plot of ground served as a playing field. A player rolled the ring down the field and threw a pole after it. The object was to pierce the ring and cause it to fall at a point as far distant as possible. If one player failed another attempted. When one succeeded in piercing and felling the ring he twisted his foot on the ground to mark the point where he stood. An opponent then stood in the same place and attempted to pierce the

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[4] Sanpoil color terms are described on page 224.

524 ring as it lay, raised from the ground only by the thickness of the pole. He threw his poles one by one, losing a point for each failure, until he succeeded, or lost all of his counters, which numbered twenty or twenty-five. A successful throw entitled him to roll the hoop. The game continued until one side or one individual won all of the counters.

This game was played by both men and boys, in the summer time.

In a game called lala'mi'nəm the same poles were used as in the preceding game, lala'usəm, and a similar field was required. A target on the ground was used in this case. Any object, such as a piece of tule, served as a target. Any number of players participated. Each, in his turn, stood on the same spot about thirty feet from the target and threw one pole as close to it as possible. After all had thrown, the one whose pole was nearest the target (that is, any part of the pole, unless the point was previously specified), won one counter. The first contestant to win ten counters was victor.

This was a man's game, and accompanied by betting.

A variant of the preceding game, called by the same name (lala'mi'nəm) was played by children as well as adults. The same pole was used, but the point was sharpened. The poles were thrown so that they would stick in the ground. The first participant set the mark with his pole. Others attempted to come as near to the first one as possible. If a pole fell to the ground it became the property of the first player, and its former owner was eliminated from that game.

A bow and arrow game was played by both boys and men.

Slings were used by men and boys in a game, the object of which I am uncertain, but distance or the hitting of a target was probably involved. The sling was made of buckskin and Indian hemp cord. The buckskin piece had one hole for holding the pebble and two small ones in each side through which the string was tied. When it was desired to let the stone fly the cord attached to one side was let loose, the other held. Another device for throwing stones, serving to increase the effective length of the arm, was a thin paddle like stick of willow. The length was about eighteen inches. The end against which the pebble was placed was shaved very thin.

A limited number of sleight of hand tricks was performed. A string, wrapped around the fingers, wrist or arm was so looped that in pulling it free it apparently passed through the limb encircled.

Cat's cradles were made as a pastime by adults, and for the amusement of children. Tipi, owl and rabbit were some of the designs.

ATHLETIC GAMES

526 Shinny was usually played only by boys, but occasionally adults, both men and women, participated. A level field of considerable length, at least 200 feet, was required. The goals were marked by robes laid at either end of the field, or holes were dug in the ground. The ball was made of buckskin stuffed with grass; it was the size of the ordinary baseball or smaller. At the beginning of play the ball was placed in the middle of the field, either on the ground or elevated some-

what on a mound of earth. One member of each team stood opposite the other, with the ball between them. The stick used was simply a tree branch of any kind with a crook at the bottom. Each of the two players struck at the ball when the signal was given, and started it in motion. The ten to thirty players forming each side attempted to drive the ball past the opponents' goal. No player was allowed to touch the ball with either hand or foot. Skilful players were stationed near the outside of the field; poorer ones near the center. When one team drove the ball past the opponents' goal two out of three times they won the game. The victors customarily challenged the bystanders to produce a team that could defeat them.

Shinny was played only during the spring, at which time it was very popular. Double ball shinny was not known.

Marathon races for distances of twelve to sixteen miles were run by teams composed of two or three men. The man who finished first brought victory to other members of his team as well, though they may have fallen out long before (which was usually the case; ordinarily only one man from each team finished). Bets were placed by the participants and others prior to the race.

Races to the tops of nearby mountains were also common. Each individual vied with every other one; teams were not formed. The race did not include the return; the one first to reach the top was winner.

Races between two picked runners to a point about a mile and a half distant, and return, were popular and were accompanied by liberal betting. The halfway point was marked by a pole or a tree, around which the contestants were required to run before starting the return lap. At this point betters gathered to encourage their runners as they passed. Well known runners were often challenged by members of other villages. Sometimes women ran in such races.

Jumping contests included the running broad jump, standing broad jump and the high jump.

A gymnastic trick involving jumping was performed by grasping the ends of a stick about two feet long, holding it downward at arm's length, and attempting to jump over it. Another trick consisted of holding a similar stick tight against the back of the ankles while a jump of as great distance as possible was made.

Another gymnastic trick, comparable to "skinning the cat," was executed by grasping one end of a stout pole about five feet long, placing the other end firmly on the ground with the pole slanting, rigidly extending the body to form a ninety degree angle with the pole, and retaining this position while completely rotating the body.

Weight lifting and weight putting were among the oft repeated tests of strength. Stones of various sizes served as weights.

In another game of strength two contestants sat opposite each other on the ground with the soles of their feet touching. Both then grasped a short stick, one individual placing his hands next to each other in the middle while the other's were on the outside. Each pulled with all his strength, with the object of raising the other from his position. This contest was occasionally accompanied by betting.

526 Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[5] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognized. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[6]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

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557 Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

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[5] See page 136.
[6] See page 54.

524 857 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu'ɛ, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'χum, "chief"
Queen	tuqɫumi'luxʷ, "feet"
Flush	sq̇aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Pull house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	χaxtɫtu', "straight"
Straight flush	χaxtɫtusq̇aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kaɫɫi'ɫɫ, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'sɛs, "four alike," etc.
Pair	k̇ali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asɫu·'laxʷ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kɛmumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sɛm, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stχuχt'a'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	sɛmɫmɫuqua'ṗulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	siȧ'nɛm, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksɛχɛntcɪ'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imɛntcɪ'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (sma'uxʷ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

276 517 ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gathered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular (suto'χmᵋlxaks) and elbow (snme'nxuxtən) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

515 517 782 The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gathering place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

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[7] See page 54-55.

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a
775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that
which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body
without causing death. The native term for this concept was suuxapi'uts. When
the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land
of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was
that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as
existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena.
It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests.
Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could
not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as
one's sumi'xᵊ. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation
from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken
by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a
secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final
category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons,
evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus
was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with
the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
753 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
787 but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Unconsciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not incon-
828 sistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness
was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà·'t,
"dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total oblivion. Souls never returned from there, nor could they be visited. They were not thought of as continuing an active existence in that land, nor yet as being non-existent. This nirvana-like state was desirable. Every dying person hoped that his soul might make a speedy trip and not remain on the earth as a ghost.

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[1] See pages 149 f.

The forms taken by ghosts were numerous. They varied from invisibility to total visibility. Most often they appeared shadowy, film-like. They were usually clothed, but the clothing was not always opaque. Sometimes the form was not complete; headless ghosts were not uncommon. Ghosts with red and blue flames in place of intestines were reputed to exist. Ghosts appeared not only at night, but also in the daytime. They never appeared to more than one person at a time. They always avoided crowds. The faces of ghosts were seldom seen for they always attempted to keep their heads turned away from human beings. Ghosts never walked but always ran with the same trotting gait, moving very rapidly. They were thought not to travel except along regular trails. If one heard a ghost coming he could step off of the trail and it would pass him by unknowingly. Ghosts never ate or drank. When not abroad in the daytime they stayed in graves. Even at night they were seen near burial grounds more often than at other places. They called and whistled to passers-by and sometimes threw rocks at them but never hit them.

A ghost was not more visible to a shaman than to a layman. As soon as seen by anyone a ghost almost immediately disappeared. A ghost frequented the vicinity in which it had existed as a soul in the body of a man. Such a locality was preferred because the country was better known and the graveyard was near. Moreover, if the person before death had hidden something but had not made its whereabouts known before dying the ghost was drawn there to watch over the object. Or a bit of hair or nail parings of the deceased, if still undestroyed, would have kept the ghost about. If the ghost remained for such a reason a relative of the dead person sometimes saw in a dream the object which was holding the ghost, and the location, whereupon it was removed and destroyed and the ghost disappeared.

A ghost suffered torment as long as it remained on earth. The uncontrollable roamings of which such existence consisted were agonizing. Spirits buried with the corpse were usually responsible for these sufferings. The moans and queer noises made by ghosts were often heard at night. The lengths of time that ghosts remained on earth varied a great deal. Some disappeared to the land of the dead in a short time. These were the ones that had been held for such a reason as that described in the preceding paragraph, or because some slight misdeed had not been confessed before death. Others had to stay longer because more had been untold or a spirit had been buried with the corpse and could not be thrown off. Some ghosts never reached the land of the dead but roamed the earth for eternity. When a man failed to confess at all before death this was apt to happen.

The characteristics and peregrinations of ghosts are illustrated in the following anecdotes:

While passing a certain grave a horseman heard someone calling. The call was repeated several times. Then the man heard someone coming behind him. His horse became frightened and started to run. The noise sounded as if something were rattling in a basket. The man fell off his horse. He ran and hid in the brush. The ghost came and passed but the man did not see it. He determined to see what it looked like. He left his hiding place, picked up a large rock, and stood squarely in the trail. Soon the ghost returned. It looked like an erect shadow. It approached the man as if he were not seen. The man crashed the rock on its head. It sounded as though something had cracked. The man then ran away. The next morning he returned and found a broken bone under the rock. (Burke)

An old man was searching for horses in the plains south of the Columbia river. He found them and started home. On the way he took a trail which was strange to him. At dusk, just as he emerged from a canyon, he heard noises which he interpreted as ghosts. Beyond a grove of trees nearby he thought he saw a fire. Then he assumed that someone was camping there. He approached with his horses and discovered a huge fire burning. But he saw no camps or horses or signs of habitation. Suddenly on the opposite side of the fire he observed a woman with long, unbraided hair, wearing no clothes. The horses reared and bounded away in the direction from which they had come. They did not stop until they were two or three miles away.

The ghost was that of an old woman who had lost her mind during the earthquake.[8] The place the old man had seen her ghost was an old deserted camp of the Spokane Indians. (Bob Covington)

A dying woman was jealous of her husband. Her husband assured her that he would not marry again after her death. The woman died. Contrary to his word, her husband married again immediately. Some time later while the new wife was sitting in her lodge someone called through the door to her. "Get ready tomorrow morning before daylight to go berry picking with me," the voice commanded. It was the voice of the dead woman's ghost. "All right," the wife answered although she did not know who it was. The following morning she prepared to leave. The ghost came and spoke through the door as previously. "Are you ready?" it asked. The woman answered that she was ready, and opened the door. The ghost was wrapped in a huge robe covering her head and tied under her chin. It led the way and travelled so fast that the woman could not overtake it. Upon reaching the berry grounds both started to pick. The ghost kept its face away from the woman, who soon became suspicious. She suddenly ran around the ghost and saw its face. What she saw was a skull. In great fright she started running back toward camp. The ghost followed in pursuit. As they approached camp the ghost called out, "It's all right; you won't live now." The woman died of fright. (Burke)

Burke was staying in a log house with several other persons. One night as soon as the light was extinguished he heard moccasined footsteps descending the trail back of the house. The footsteps continued around the house. The front door opened, then the kitchen door. The ghost banged pans and utensils in the kitchen. As soon as any member of the household made a noise the sound stopped, but only for a short time. In the silence the ghost was heard breathing heavily just outside the door. The disturbance continued all night, but no one investigated. Burke left early the next morning. (Burke)

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[8] See page 108.

539 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door 775 opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a 985 spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed [823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had [821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case 776 its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

776 possess. Powerful spirits did not always bestow the maximum of their powers upon all to whom they became guardians. The true efficacy of a spirit as a guardian depended entirely upon the message conveyed to the individual at the time of the quest in which certain specific promises and abilities were usually given. The place at which a spirit was seen had some effect upon its strength. In the high mountains animal spirits had the combined powers of their natural selves and the mountains beneath them.

Some spirits were conceived as representative of the genera to which they belonged, whereas others were representative of individual animals or things. In the former case many persons might possess the same spirit as guardian; in the latter only one might. Spirits of the general type were more common. As specific spirits, even dead animals or parts of animals served. For instance, one of the guardian spirits of a man named Bear was a certain dead horse which he had seen on the shore of a lake.

Although spirits were never human beings in concept, upon appearing to human beings they always assumed human form. They retained that form until departure, whereupon their true forms were resumed. An attempt was usually made by the spirit to conceal this transformation by disappearing behind the person's back. In any conversation between a human being and a spirit the true identity of the latter was usually revealed. Spirits were not often seen. During quests, in dreams, at the winter dances and at times of trouble they sometimes appeared but seldom at any other times.

753 The loss of one's spirit always resulted in serious illness and eventually death.
If a lost spirit could be found and brought back its owner immediately became
776 as well as ever. It was within the power of a shaman to steal the spirit of anyone less powerful than he, either for himself or for someone else. It was in this manner that spirits were most commonly "lost." A spirit could be brought back only by a shaman more powerful than the one who had stolen it. A man usually lost his spirit or spirits when he became old and decrepit. Spirits were attracted by good looks and a strong body; they deserted one when he lost these qualities. Another manner in which a spirit might be lost was by being buried with a corpse. Spirits, as mentioned above, were strongly attracted to graves. A buried spirit was lost to its owner, who soon died, but followed and tormented the ghost of the person with whose corpse it had been interred.[9]

776 It may appear that in the foregoing discussion of spirits a subjective element—the guardian aspect—has been included unnecessarily in an objective description. It should be said in this connection that spirits were only considered by the native in their function as guardians. It was granted that every animal and thing potentially possessed a spirit. But of those spirits that never became patrons of human beings nothing was known, nothing was said. They were never seen and never caused any of the happenings in the universe. As merely potential beings they were of no interest to the Sanpoil.

The spirit-ghost appears, at least to our present knowledge, to have been a somewhat unique concept. The guardian spirit of the Sanpoil was not a detached

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[9] See page 151.

761 776 entity with which occasional communion was held and which at other times led a separate existence. Rather it was an intimately associated part of one's ego which could not be lost without disastrous results and which, though seldom seen, was ever present. It is thus understandable that the fate of one's spirit after the death of the body was as great a concern as the fate of the soul. The belief was that the soul and spirit departed simultaneously from the fleshy body as soon as death came. The spirit became a ghost in form very similar to the ghost of the soul, but in character very different. It is interesting that the after-death form of the spirit was anthropomorphic whereas it was derived from an animal or inanimate object. It is true, of course, that spirits often assumed human form, but they always retained, as spirits, their true natures. The spirit-ghost, on the other hand, was almost completely void of its original characteristics (except for its powers) and used not its original generic name but referred to itself by the term for spirit-ghost or a relationship term applied to the dead person who had possessed it.[4]

776 Spirit-ghosts and soul ghosts were not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There was undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote was a soul ghost or spirit-ghost. A spirit-ghost was easily killed; an arrow shot at one never missed. At the spot where one had been killed there was always found a human scapula.[5] Indeed, the native term for spirit-ghost, papa'iut, meant scapula. The following tale accounts for the name:

539 Three men were going along the Sanpoil river near the Columbia one time. They were on a narrow trail between a cliff and the river. The trail led to an open meadow a little farther along. Just at this place, whenever a traveller came along, ghosts of spirits would chase him. It was about sunset and the men were half way from the cliff to the flat. They began to hear footsteps behind them. They got louder and louder. The second man looked back but could see nothing. The noise got louder and they could hear the hard breathing of the ghost. They began to run and soon were away from the place.

But the third man said that he was going to go back and shoot the thing. He picked out his poorest arrow, and went back, just at dusk. When he reached the place he heard the footsteps again. This time he didn't run. He looked around and saw a shadow coming toward him. He stood still and waited until it was right up to him. Then he drew his bow and shot. He heard it hit something with a thud. Then he turned and went back to camp and told them that he had killed the ghost down by the river.

The next morning the men from camp went down to the place where he had shot. On the ground they found a piece of a man's shoulder blade with the arrow straight through it. They took the bone, broke it in two and buried the pieces and the arrow on the hill.

Since that time ghosts of spirits have been called "scapula." (Bob Covington)

776 The spirit-ghost functioned as a secondary power or guardian in the same manner as an ordinary spirit. But its acquisition was a very different and dangerous procedure. Such power was never voluntarily sought and was available

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[4] See page 169.

[5] But cf. the anecdote on page 171.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 756 776 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 431 753 776 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance, might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

431 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the
753 dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those
776 goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterized as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those in-
778 habiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called
778 specifically tsa'a·'tiamxᵃ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wandered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognized none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment. 776 778

Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (snaq̣aie'tkᵘ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself." 539 773

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6] This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7] Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

539 773 Beings in mythological times resembled the spirits of the subsequent period in that they had the physical and psychological characteristics of animals, but for the most part existed in the form of men. Mythological beings did not seek spirit power; they had it inherently. They could change from their man-like forms to their animal forms as freely as spirits themselves. Indeed, "when people came on earth" the mythological beings *became* the spirits.

Like other Plateau peoples, the central figure in Sanpoil mythology was Coyote, the trickster-transformer. Bob Covington explained in narrative style the place and characteristics of Coyote in the mythology:

> In the beginning, a long time ago, Coyote was a man. He went about helping the people. He was interested in their fortunes and he did a great deal to make life better on earth. It is hard to tell what a miserable place the world would be now if Coyote hadn't changed things as he did.
>
> Fox was Coyote's friend and adviser. Whenever Coyote was in trouble he called on Fox to help him, and usually he did. Coyote nearly always took the credit though. He would say, "Oh, yes, I knew that all the time."
>
> Coyote was sometimes tricky and sometimes foolish. Most of what he did was for the best, though. He made several trips up the Columbia river, usually starting from Astoria. Many things happened on these trips and there are lots of stories about them. On the last trip, when he reached Kettle Falls, he was just an ordinary animal coyote.

Raven, the trickster-transformer of the Northwest Coast appeared in a few myths. But he retained only a faint suggestion of the character that enshrouded him on the coast. He was a great chief and shaman but not a culture-hero.

Certain mythological beings consistently possessed shamanistic powers. The principal ones so endowed were: Badger, Skunk, Ground Hog, Otter, Bull Frog, Sucker, Grizzly Bear, Wolf, Wildcat, Lynx, Raven, Eagle, Owl and Chicken Hawk. It will be noted that this group coincides at many points with that of the most powerful spirits.

Many of the geographical and geological features of the country were determined in mythological times. Coyote was usually responsible. He made Kettle Falls, the rapids throughout the length of the river, and changed the course of the river from the Grand Coulee to its present channel. Two beings fighting over a girl turned to mountains, Mt. Chopaka and the adjoining one.

The presence of death without possible reanimation in the world of human beings was the outcome of a struggle between a great chief and Raven. Each wanted his own children to come to life again after dying, but neither would give in to the other.

After a council among the mythological beings it was decided that a sun and moon should be made. Many beings offered to serve, but none was satisfactory until two boys, one made of a stone chip and the other of roots, were tried. They were selected.

Grizzly Bear, Ice, Blizzard and Steelhead Trout (female) were dangerous beings in mythological times. Coyote subdued each one by trickery and changed their characteristics to those they now possess.

DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[a] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstən, and as grandfather, ɫopi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

776 xananana' n···ana, etc.
(meaningless)

539 ɫopi'a sxe'ləms kwi'lstən mətsələq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xá'n i·'mát.	yaya't i·'s stsaki'nxʷ	isətxano'mtxʷ kα'm'
I am your grandson.	Everyone who is ill,	who may be injured or

i'saus kei'łt	uḣwimi''stamans	u'ł	xali'txtems	i't	ixtsxa'sts
sick,	they go to you	and	ask you	for	relief

u'ł	xwi't'salt	ixtsli'mtc.
and	you give	happiness.

yaya't	istí'm	ku'lantəm	e'ł	təmxu·'łʌ	u'łku·'lənst
Everything	was	created	in	this world	and created

á·nui'	u'ł	u'mənst	ʌkskwi'st	kwi'lstən	ku'kiən
you (were)	and	called	named	Sweat Lodge,	to

xastá'ns	iske'lux	xa·'ltamxulau'
help	people	in this world.

776 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were
782 expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

778 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was
782 not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

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[a] See the origin myth, page 177.

778 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we
782 shall eat," was uttered. This is reminiscent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting
food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pa'tax, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776 Dreams (ske'is, skaastsu't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but
787 they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenom-
enon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from
the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.

[10] See page 84.

[11] See page 136.

[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

Spokane Rose, a Spokane woman, had married a Sanpoil and gone to his
776 home to live. She was a great gambler. Her power was Wolf (ənt'si'tcən). She
787 beat many Sanpoil men, then played with kapu's, also a great gambler. She won
everything that he owned but one horse. Then one night one of the guardian spirits of kapu's, (ant, yellow jacket), came to him in a dream and told him that he could win everything back. It told him what she would do and when she would come. It was the middle of the night but kapu's got up, singing. He called some friends and told them of his dream. They sang with him. The woman came as predicted, to try to win his last horse, but he beat her. The others played with her and won also. At sunset she had nothing left.

Shamans often had dreams revealing the causes of illnesses of patients and means to cure them. Shamans also dreamed of impending dangers of a vague
776 sort. After such a dream, described as "bad" (probably a nightmare) the shaman
778 ordered all the members of his household to paint their faces, to keep on guard,
787 and to warn others. Especial care was to be taken while traveling in the hills.

was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had 787
been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep
warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night
was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who
were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in
the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions
but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not
expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear,
than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of
these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common.
The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp
he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who
had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful.
A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions
and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after 787
a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued 881
until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of
vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his
desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realized more and more
the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological
changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits
were found near the time of puberty.

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it *was* a dream experienced *in* sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he 159
was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He 787
wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome
young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on 776
similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative. 787
No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in
this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young
man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary.
Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain
a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on
the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory [562]
life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however,
thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited
opportunities for achievement.

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most 787
often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the
time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary 861
to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was
to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even 787
in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance
was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker

answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen 159 to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. 787 I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by the women. You will be sharp-eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat.

Bear, when a boy, was seeking a spirit. He saw someone sitting on the top of a mound of earth. It was Cricket. Cricket said, "You see, I am sitting on top of a mountain. With one leap I'll jump down to the valley below. Then I'll spit blood. You will do the same thing." Cricket jumped down and continued, "Now whenever you get hurt, you can let out blood also, and it will cure you."

Another boy met Eel. Eel said, "When you grow up you will be able to swim long distances under water. You can dive down on one side of a lake and come up on the other."

At another time Bear was seeking a spirit on the shore of a lake. He came upon a dead horse. The Horse said to him, "You see, all of the trails lead to this lake. All of the animals come here to feed upon me. The birds do the same. See all of the feathers they have dropped around me. All of that is my property. When you are a man you will have the same luck."

A lad on a quest met Magpie who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same with you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said; "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time.

A boy sent to play the stick game usually received gambling power if he were 787 successful in his quest. After playing a while, the rocks which represented the other players assumed human forms and, after asking what he was doing, proceeded to play with him. Later one spoke, gave the boy power and a song, and once more became rock.

The lad who properly carried out the instructions for diving was supposed to find a large house far below the surface. This is suggestive of the coast belief in spirits that lived like men in houses under the water. But what happened after the house was discovered I could not learn for none of my informants had had such an experience or knew of anyone who had. It was simply one of the traditional forms. There may have been others of similar nature but they were not common.

It was not always necessary to go in search of a spirit in order that one might be obtained. They often appeared when least expected. The case of a crippled girl is illustrative. She had never been out of sight of her house, so difficult it was for her to get around. Once while she was alone there appeared a handsome young man with a green hat. It was Mallard Duck. He told the girl that she would be

787 able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them.

756 787 Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song.

159 756 787 John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird.

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lxʷ, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, ṭaptcani'tkʷ, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

767 A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance,

for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was 787
it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xʷ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (papa'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1]

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. 776
This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any
definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected 787
more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa''kntan, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3]

The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the 776
vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted
strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any 885
details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life.

The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kuts- 753
ke'lamsásumixʷ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the
early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A 756
shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient 776
usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion.

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[1] See pages 173 f.

[2] Cf. page 175.

[3] See page 176.

753 756 776 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'q̓aman. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 776 778 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance. It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (t̓aki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of wax̣wa'xa·'łp*. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named iɫ'x̣ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4] Described on pages 189 f.

These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit 152
songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome." 778

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke 754
said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. Also, the commands given 787
by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit.

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. The fact that a person had 787
obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat.

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulȧ) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

771
776 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

787 Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[4]

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787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsatsa[illegible]ə'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[5] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (stəxka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[4] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[5] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

Dances were sponsored either by a shaman, an initiate or one who had been 796
commanded by his guardian to do so. The frequency of sponsorship was in the 881
order named. There was no difference in the performance in the three cases except
that the novice was initiated as a part of the ceremonies if the dance were given 756
for that purpose. However, at dances of shamanistic sponsorship novices were 796
initiated also if seized by their spirits during the performances. Shamans never
banded together to give a joint dance. Since each dance ordinarily lasted but two
or three nights it was necessary that many be given to fill the ceremonial period.
An attempt was made to avoid giving dances, within a considerable radius, that
conflicted in time. Every prominent shaman was expected to sponsor at least one
dance each winter. Prestige depended greatly upon observing this rule. John Tom
often gave two dances during one period. He continued to give at least one until
about five years before his death.

Dances were held in any large mat house or in structures built especially for 796
that purpose. Residences were sometimes temporarily enlarged to accommodate
unusual numbers. Invitations were never given. News of the occurrence of a
dance was spread from one to another and all except children were entitled to
attend. It was customary for an entire group to travel from one dance to another
throughout the season.

Only shamans or initiates were permitted to give dances without the approval of the chief. Before agreeing to a performnace by another, the chief satisfied himself that the applicant had actually been directed by his spirit to give a dance. He also made clear to the sponsor that he would be held personally responsible for any violence that might be committed. The chief then set the date and the dance was given. Dances sponsored by novices were in charge of a shaman.

In preparation for a dance the place where it was to be given was cleared of everything movable except the mats where the spectators were to sit. Assistants cut a small fir tree, one slightly shorter than the height of the dance building. The limbs and bark were removed for a distance of about eight feet from the base. Above that the limbs were permitted to remain. The base was sharpened. Thus prepared the tree was left outside the door of the dance house. It was to become the center pole. Inside the building poles were suspended about seven feet above the floor, running the length of the house, unless the framework of the building was such as to provide similar poles. These were for holding the presents. Fireplaces were cleaned and quantities of wood gathered, cut and piled near at hand.

The spectators and participants gathered shortly after sunset. The sponsor, shamans, chiefs and other important persons occupied the end of the room farthest from the entrance door. (Only one entrance was used, the other door being kept closed throughout the dance.) Other participants were scattered throughout the audience. Men occupied the side of the room to the right of the entrance; women the left. All not active half reclined on the mats.

The shaman in charge addressed the audience through a spokesman. The latter repeated in a loud voice and with appropriate emphasis that which the shaman spoke in a low, almost whispering, monotone. Several sentences were transmitted to the spokesman before he repeated them.

776 796 When the crowd had gathered the shaman addressed them: "Now I shall proceed just as my spirit has commanded me. I shall do everything in the proper manner." Then taking a broom or brush he swept all around the center of the room, while saying, "I am doing this for my children (that is, everyone present). I hope you may never have sore feet. I hope that you will always be fleet of foot, and that dust may never get in your eyes." After this he sent an assistant outside to bring in the tree which had been made ready. Upon receiving it he erected it in the center of the room, thrusting the base in the ground as well as possible. To hold it upright he removed his belt and with it he tied the tree to the central cross beam of the roof. During the operation he said: "Now I am putting up my helper, one of my spirits, and on the top I will have Owl sit. He will be my eyes. He will look out for us, all around the country."

624 796 But the spirit guard was not the only one used to supervise the dances and ascertain that none of the rules of conduct were broken. Persons with Owl or Bluejay power regularly impersonated their guardian spirits and guarded the dance and protected the dancers. The same persons served at place after place during the dance season. Before the first dance they removed all their clothing except the breechclout, and blackened the feet, hands and face. These qwa'skei (Bluejays) and xa'sxas (Owls) did not participate in the dances or stand about as guards. They sat in the rafters of the dance building and patrolled the grounds outside. One of the principal rules which it was their duty to enforce was that prohibiting eating of any sort during the dance. Anyone attempting to eat during a dance, no matter how cautious he was, would be seen by one of these sentries who would "fly down and recover the food from the person's throat," and eat it himself. Not only was eating in the dance house prohibited but no cooking or eating in the whole settlement was allowed. If one not attending the dance began to eat the sentries immediately became aware, "flew out," and very soon returned with the food "still hot from the fire." It was displayed and the place where it had been found told, then it was thrown away. These sentries also knew when anyone was approaching the dance house and who it was but it was seldom necessary to notify the shaman of such facts for he, too, could "see" them.

796 Many other formal rules of conduct were enforced by the sentries. No one was allowed to leave the building without the permission of the leader, and then not more than one person at a time. There was an exception to this: at midnight everyone was permitted to go outside for fifteen or twenty minutes, but was required to return. Water was provided but no one was permitted to drink until after the leader, or someone designated by him, had taken a sip. The water would otherwise cause the person to choke and become ill. Smoking was prohibited while singing and dancing were in progress but not at other times.

That sentries sometimes failed to detect infractions is indicated in the following account.

A man once went out from a dance at midnight but failed to return. Instead he went to a nearby house and ate some dried venison. In a little while he became very ill. The next morning the shaman who was the dance leader visited

796 him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient vomited the food enveloped in blood.

776 796 Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over."

756 796 881 The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place.

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow. 756 796 881

The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit.

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater. 754 756 796

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian 776
spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. 796
Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of
his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the cor- 881
rect guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian 796
spirit songs (snkwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents.

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced
with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each 181
dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night. 796
Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act.

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. 533
After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly to- 796
ward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew

his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu·xiqwe'lamx"," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa·yump', axo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardized the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow: 533 796

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na···xaxa···xaxana···' aiai···xaxanai···xaixainai··· a···xuaxa···
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na···	u'yata'	tanitsi'lux.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

xaxawaiyewi···xaxawiyu···xo···ai···ai···ai··· it'latcumu'q".
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'Istitca'qi'n	it'likiltmentca't	i·kalukalkawa'lax"	kilaka-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit

ke'lax	ui	a'takasto	imal'ki'a.[8]
	and	let out	blood.

a···xaxai···xana···xu···xaxa···uxuiyu···axana···
(meaningless)

tiaxna'nuk'sax",	ilkus'paulux	kaspala'p	tla'tcku·yukami'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it

kaspala'p	latcatcaca'lux	alstuqtuqaniu'lax".[9]
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).

When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping 535 796

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[7] George Scrimpt's song.
[8] Bear's Cricket power song.
[9] Song of Cultus Charley.

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. [534]
Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only 535
about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxłkwe'lam) or rest period of equal
length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the 796
center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed
after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short
periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two.

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents 431
for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center 796
pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them
on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later.

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the 756
dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent.

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great 796
deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (akluwila'm). All of
the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances
were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part
of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. 756
The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision 787
had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else
the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that 796
was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others.

These visions followed a definite form. The guardian spirit of some outsider 756
would appear to the shaman. He would perceive very clearly the location of the 787
spirit and of its owner and the actions and intentions of both. Whenever a spirit
was seen in such a manner it was possible to "steal" it from its owner and appro- 796
priate it for the shaman himself or anyone else at the dance, providing the powers of the shamans engaged in the procedure were strong enough. The following account, given by John Tom, illustrates well the nature of the shamanistic performance:

A dance was being held at Whitestone about 1890. Both John Tom and Bob Covington were present. For two nights they danced without anything happening. On the third night ku'lamtxanii, the shaman in charge saw the spirit of a hunchbacked gambler. He didn't say anything that night. But on the fourth night he asked the other shamans if they had seen anything. They all answered that they hadn't. "Well, maybe it was only clouds that I saw," the leader said. "Dance again and we'll see. They danced, all of the shamans joining in. After a while they conferred again. "It wasn't clouds you saw," the others said, "it was something all right." Then they prepared a little mat woven of willow twigs. It was about two feet square. They covered it with red feathers from the redheaded woodpecker (kulquila'qan). The fires were all put out. Then the mat with the feathers was held out of the door. The leader held one side. Another shaman, si'pasu, held the other side. With their free hands they motioned with eagle feathers for the spirit to come in. After a while the shamans had the fires rebuilt. "We have the spirit," they announced. The mat was folded up and put away. The following night the leader spoke. "We have the spirit of a hunchback gambler. He is from Colville. He has never been here before, but next summer he will come down during the fishing season in June. He is a great gambler but when he comes here he will lose everything he has. He will come with a gray horse, a gray saddle blanket, a black saddle, gray clothes and a big white cowboy hat. You, Covington, take his saddle, but don't take anything more. You, Tom, take his horse, but just that. (Etc.)" He gave each thing to a different person. Then he said, "We'll let him live, but we'll send him back naked." Then the dance continued.

The following summer the gambler came to Keller. But he refused to gamble. One of his own people who had been at the dance had forewarned him. He went back home after only staying one day. But a short time later he lost all that he owned to a man at home although the latter was a very poor gambler.

The particular type of performance described above was called sklu·γa'γu, "to build a fire on a mat to bring a spirit." It was the most popular way of enticing a spirit into the dance house. The feathers "whispered, stood up and drew it in." Feathers other than those from the head of the woodpecker were sometimes used. The tail feathers of the same bird were also effective. Eagle feathers were used in the motioning because spirits liked them and came after them. Other means of drawing in a spirit were also commonly used. The particular method selected depended upon the character of the spirit and its owner. A gambling spirit was attracted by stick game bones or markers. Pretty young women were "offered" to spirits that were difficult to get. Recently brightly colored shawls often have been used.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power
to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after 756
depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared 787
and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with
the man who received it and inevitably married him.[18] It was possible to cause 796
the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so.
The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans.

A winter dance was in progesss at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman
with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman 753
was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of
the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness 756
and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were 796
cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance.
When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life.

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power
sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily 756
push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance 796
floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out.
After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over
to it and pull it out with ease.

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kolɛ'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[18] See page 142.

A special feature of some of the dances was a performance to bring the Chinook wind and warmer weather. It was called skwatsà'mu'xam. The dance itself did not differ; only the motivation of the dancers was changed. The leader during such a period of the dance was one with weather power. Such power was not directly given by the elements. It was conferred by the spirit of something typical of the prairie country south of the Columbia river (from which direction the Chinook winds came). Thus a particular bird, only found south of the river, was often the donor of the "Chinook" power. 787 796

Sometimes during a protracted period of severe weather in late winter a special dance was called, with the approval of the chief, for the specific purpose of bringing warmer weather. Here again the actual procedure at the dance did not differ from the regular pattern, but a person with weather power was the active leader. The real excuse for the dance was to provide an opportunity for him to sing and dance and tell of the powers he possessed and promises he had been given.

At a certain dance all those with weather power had sung and danced, but to no avail, and were ready to give up. Finally a young crippled woman announced that she would bring the Chinook wind. Everyone laughed at her but she sang nevertheless. She told how she had been visited many years before by a handsome young man who was actually Mallard Duck. He had given her power to bring the warm winds. She told further that he had appeared to her again the preceding night and said that if she sang the wind would come in two days. Her singing was successful. Two days later the winds came.

All dances lasted until dawn each morning. The days were devoted mainly to sleeping. 796

But the women sometimes spent the morning in a dance called t'ai'ɛk. A few women gathered together baskets of food and began to dance from house to house. They sang their guardian spirit songs as they danced. In each house they stayed about a half hour, dancing and giving handfuls of food to all present. Other women joined them as they proceeded.

On the morning following the last night of the dance the presents were distributed. All the people gathered at the dance house and seated themselves around the room. The shaman in charge began to sing. Then his helpers, usually two or three young men, removed the presents from the poles and piled them in the middle of the room. The shaman picked up one article at a time, mentioned someone's name to the spokesman and handed him the present. The spokesman called out the name and gave the article to one of the helpers to carry to the person. All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive gifts. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced. During the entire procedure the shaman continued to sing. After the last gift had been disposed of the group danced for about five minutes, then broke up. 481 796

At this time individuals sometimes gave presents independently. It was common for a person to appear dressed in two or three shirts or dresses, covered

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were in- 431
vited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was 796
left only with a breechclout.

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed
in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will 756
be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in
exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power.
Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful.
Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was 554
a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner
was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves 622
to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent 756
bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The
fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions
of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had 756
certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power 756
was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal.
Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, 776
or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with
that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's 756
howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement 776
were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was t̓əpɛ·''lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[12]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests some- 578
times arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause 756
another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the
injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his 776
spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited.

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of func- 756
tion. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth.

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic 753
specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing pro- 757
cedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[13] A shaman was called to administer in an

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[12] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[13] See pages 215 f.

753 ailment of this class only if its persistent nature (barring tuberculosis) suggested
757 that complications of an unnatural sort were present.

The second major class, the unnatural illnesses, were those resulting from the volitional acts of men or spirits. They may for convenience be divided into five sub-classes, as follows: (1) injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men; (2) diffuse internal illnesses; (3) afflictions of the mind; (4) spirit illness; and (5) magical "poisoning."

In the first sub-class, injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men, were the serious wounds resulting directly from encounters with such beings as bears, wolves and snakes, but caused indirectly by the spirits of those beings. The ultimate causes lay still further away; they might be non-observance of the dictates of one's guardian spirit, the jealousy of one with the same spirit or mere carelessness.

The diffuse internal illnesses forming the second group included fevers and all the contagious diseases. The immediate cause was intrusion into the body of foreign matter, and its expulsion was necessary to recovery. The presence of the irritating matter might come about in a number of ways such as the breaking of tabus (menstrual, hunting, burial, etc.) or through the action of an unfriendly shaman. A shaman could bring about such illness by pulling a hair from his head or taking a piece of horse hair or sinew, rolling it between his hands and blowing it away in the direction of the person he wished to afflict.

The third type of illness, afflictions of the mind, came about through shamanistic action to which may be applied the common term bewitching. It was essentially a projection into the victim's body of one of the shaman's spirits. Its abnormal presence resulted in a loss of consciousness, delirium, raving and the various insanities. In delirium the person possessed often talked like the shaman to whom the spirit belonged or even claimed to be that shaman. The spirit could be removed only by another and stronger shaman. When the victim was a layman the illness was called sq̇oq̇oanæwi'xʷ; when another shaman, sq̇e'um.

In the fourth class fell guardian spirit illness which resulted in one of two ways. The first was the desire of the spirit to return either upon the initial occasion or during subsequent winters. This has been described in the preceding sections of this chapter. The second causation was loss of one's spirit. This came about by the spirit being buried with a corpse or being stolen by a shaman.[14] In the former event its return was impossible, in the latter it could be brought back by a stronger shaman.

Magical "poisoning," the fifth category, was a practice of lay women only. Not all women knew the formula, but all knew those who did and whose services could be bought. The procedure necessitated obtaining first a piece of the proposed victim's clothing, a lock of his hair, some of his nail parings or a like object. To this was added a certain dried and pulverized root, red paint and sometimes the dried body of a bat or a bit of bone from a corpse. The mixture was ground together in a mortar and at the same time the name of the victim was muttered with a few words as what should happen to him. Afterwards the concoction was

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[14] See pages 151, 197.

753 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of 757 virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

753 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine 756 the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inaugural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

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[15] See page 169.

[16] See page 211.

[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

756 be taken as the rule, however. The average shaman attempted to gain as great a return for his services as possible.[18] Moreover, very small offers probably were never made to a shaman with the prestige of John Tom.

Upon the arrival of the shaman and the messenger the former made ready for practice while the latter whispered to the patient the attitude that had been taken by the shaman. If he had been hesitant about coming the patient usually made him further offers to assure that he would use his full powers. If the messenger came back alone he was never returned nor a second messenger sent. In such a rare case a new shaman was sought. Close relatives of a doctor often dispensed with the offer of presents but something was given, nevertheless, if a cure was effected.

Neighbors always gathered [illegible] a patient's house when a shaman arrived to practice. Children were permitted to remain but were not allowed to talk or annoy the doctor or walk behind his back. This was simply an extension of the solemnity required of elders. The shaman never punished an annoysome child by making him ill.

The invariable first act of the shaman in the curing procedure was to sit down and smoke for a few moments. Every shaman possessed a pipe but he did not necessarily use his own. If one were borrowed the owner lit it and took the first few puffs. John Tom explained his reason for smoking: "It builds me up strong for my hard work to come." From among those present the shaman chose a spokesman through whom he gave orders and spoke to the audience for the remainder of the procedure. In addition he selected one or more assistants. The spokesman might be anyone present but the assistants were necessarily strong bodied men familiar with the duties. Covington assisted John Tom whenever he was present. Some shamans removed all of their garments except moccasins and breechcloths while practicing. No particular dress was worn to the patient's home but the shaman always brought with him his spirit objects (feathers, claws, power stick, etc.). Face painting at this time was a trait of some doctors.

The shaman seated himself beside his patient and asked his assistant to bring a basket of water. When this was received he washed his hands and the water was thrown out. The basket was taken away, rinsed, refilled and returned to the shaman's side. The shaman placed either one or both hands on various parts of the patient's body, holding them at each spot for a moment or two. This was the manner or diagnosis. At the same time he sang his doctoring songs. The audience joined in the singing and beat time on the floor or a plank with sticks held vertically. In addition, seated persons sometimes beat on a log with short sticks.
539 Examples of the songs follow:
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uyu··xa···'uyu··xa···enuiuxa'uyu··xa···ɛ···'ɛ···
(meaningless)

tɛn'umu's	kɛntxu'tumsk	e'lux;	nu''kɛnlu'tam
I'll just try	to go towards	(the) sickness;	if I fail

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[18] Cf. page 208.

539 756

uinutcu'hman	wa'i'lut	uikunamu'tat
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)	and sit down
uinoqalske'lux	tukma'ks	tià·kwi'lux.[19]
and you can call	another	doctor.

a···xa'i'inki'lux,	axuxu'xup,	xali·xi·"
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why

qàtsku'lamstan	inki'lux	kanxiàtspu'xam	xa'xana···'waiexa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

753 756 If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction.

755 The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued.

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

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[19] One of John Tom's songs.

755 In sucking to obtain the spirit or object the shaman never touched his mouth to the patient's body. A tube was not used but sometimes a sort of tube was made by holding one fist above the other, each slightly opened. Usually the sucking was done an inch or two from the body and simply consisted in deep and vigorous inhalation. In addition, biting movements were sometimes made with the jaws. Sucking was done at the spot where the object had been located. Places commonly selected were the temples, nose and throat.

The sucking procedure was an especially dramatic one. The assistant first fastened a rope or strap around the shaman's body at the waist, then the latter bent over the patient with outstretched arms, being held from falling by the assistant who stood behind him holding the strap. The shaman sucked while the others beat time and sang. From time to time he called for the water basket and released into it the blood that he had sucked from the patient's body.[illegible] When he finally drew the substance into his mouth he lost control of his actions. The assistant sometimes had to call for help in holding him. After a while he was able to again direct his actions and began beating his sides with his fists, proceeding from his waist to his shoulders, to eject the substance from himself. After driving it to his mouth he blew hard into his hands, thus expelling and capturing it. His assistant helped him carry it to the water as before.

An eliminated object was often disposed of by merely blowing it away. As the shaman took it from the water he rubbed his hands vigorously together "to
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755 roll it all together," stretched out his arms and blew into his opened palms. The patient cried out in relief. But if the presence of the object had been caused by the action of some shaman the manner of disposal was left to the patient and the audience. They discussed what should be done, with the usual result that the object, and with it the sickness, were blown back to the shaman in retaliation. Or instead it might be blown into the fire or water in which case the malignant shaman was injured by burning or fell into the water and perhaps drowned.

A young Palus boy had married a Spokane girl. He was hunting in the Sanpoil mountains. On the way home with his heavy load of meat he passed an old shaman. The shaman hoped the young man would stop and give him meat and fat. But the hunter didn't; he kept on going. The shaman was angry. He said to himself, "All right, let him keep all of his meat; but when the snow melts on the south slopes next spring he will die."

During the winter the young man became sick. Eight doctors were called in, including one woman, but none could help him. Finally an almost unknown doctor said he knew what the trouble was. He explained what had happened. Then they doctored the boy and cured him. The new doctor took the point of an iron digging stick out of his head. The old doctor had sent it there.

The doctor asked the boy's parents if they wanted him to send it back to the old doctor. The boy's mother said, "Yes." So he had his helper open a hole in the fire and he blew it in. The fire made a little explosion. "Now," he said, "before the summer is over that doctor will go crazy and fall in the fire and burn to death."

[illegible] Covington declared that he often had seen Tom redden the water in the basket with blood that he sucked out even though his mouth never touched the sick person. Cf. page 211.

During the summer the old man started to act queerly, fell into the fire and rolled over in it. The next morning he died. (Covington) 754 755

The nature of the object recovered in the anecdote above is unusual. The material usually was not visible in its concrete form. John Tom declared that the thing removed was never shown to anyone except another shaman and that regardless of its real form it looked like "fog or steam." This applied to spirits as well.

A spirit seldom was returned to its owner unharmed. It might be treated similarly to an object or might be "cut in two."

Henry Covington (Bob's brother) was camping with Jim James on the Columbia river one summer when he fell ill. He called John Tom who came and treated him. He found that the sickness was caused by the spirit of a shaman. He sucked until he got it out. Then he told his helpers to hold him over a fire so that he could handle the spirit. After that he lost consciousness. They held him over a small fire for some time and threw cold water on him. Finally he became conscious and pounded the spirit out of himself and put it in the water. Then he asked what he should do with it and suggested that it be killed. One man said to cut it in two. Tom agreed and ordered a blanket and a white piece of cloth brought. The cloth was laid on the blanket. Then he held his hands over it and spread them apart. "Now bring a knife," he said, "and pull it between my hands. If I am telling the truth you will see blood dropping on the cloth." This was done and everyone saw blood drop on the cloth.

The doctor who had made Henry sick was a Colville who lived at Inchelium. He was dead when he was next heard of. (Burke)

After disposing of the substance the shaman turned once more to his patient. 755 After dipping his hands in the water and carrying them to his lips he rubbed the patient's body slowly from head to feet to "cool him off." He said, "I hope now that I have gotten out all your sickness and that you will be well. In the morning, if you feel hungry, take anything to eat that you like, regardless of what it is. It won't hurt you; it will help you." Or at other times the shaman specified what the person should eat or directed him to paint his face in a certain fashion. The food was provided or the face painted by a relative, for the patient did not leave his bed immediately. Before departing the shaman commanded the sick man's family to call him again on the following day if the patient were not better.

If the shaman were unsuccessful and felt that the reason was a lack of power he asked the relatives of the patient to call another to aid him, naming the one he wanted. Upon the arrival of the new doctor the first told him what he had already done and the two proceeded to work together. Sometimes still more doctors were called to assist, upon occasion as high as seven or eight.[21]

Shamans were paid only after a complete cure had been effected. If the person did not regain his health within a reasonable time no payment at all was made. When the treatment was successful those presents which had been originally promised were carried to the shaman and presented to him. Though the payment was

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[21] But no shamans' organizations developed.

spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than 755
one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prised by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid.

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness 754
in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt 756
proved unsuccessful.

Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that 756
other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' 776
guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered.

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, 754
although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other
shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was 756
also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used.

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

I (John Tom) was once called to treat another big doctor. The first time I went I could do nothing. The second call I made I found out the reason. The sick doctor was trying to trap me. He wanted to steal my power and make me sick. But he was being careful. He wanted to see how strong I was first. I told him that I would quit doctoring him unless he thought different. When he found out that I knew what was in his mind he gave up his plan. So I kept on doctoring him and cured him. 754 755

I (Tom) was once very sick. My nephew came to me. He said, "I know you are a big doctor and I'm only a little doctor. But I'll doctor you anyway if you'll let me. I let him go ahead. Pretty soon he left. A little while later my partner (guardian spirit) came to me and said, "What is the matter? Look at your knees." I looked and there were two big pieces of ice, one on each knee. Then my partner told me that my nephew had done that. "He's trying to make you worse, not help you. Take the ice and shoot it back at him." But he was a young man so I thought I would just let it go. But a little while later he died anyway.

John Tom was ill and crippled for the last two years of his life. During the time he was able to get no other shaman to administer to him. He explained their attitude: "They all think this way: John's partners are all very, very strong. But they stand off away from him and talk to him. They tell him that he is very sick and that he is very old so they can no longer help him. But still if we who have so much less power try to doctor him we're sure to fall into a trap. We would either find that his power is still stronger than ours or his helpers would come to him then. So we had better not doctor him."

After a diagnosis which indicated that a patient's illness was caused by the spirit of a shaman the attending doctor would refuse to go further with the case if the shaman responsible were stronger than he. To have done so would have resulted in failure or worse. The instigator, resenting the interference of a weaker shaman, might make the latter sick as well. To avoid such unfortunate results a stronger shaman was called to assist or the case was turned over entirely to a stronger doctor. Even the strongest of shamans proceeded with caution in cases of bewitching. It sometimes proved that the original diagnosis was deceptive; that the malignant shaman had sent only a portion of his power to afflict the person and was holding the rest in readiness to project as soon as another shaman came to the person's aid.

Cases of witchcraft were relatively easy to detect. The patient had a scared look in his eyes, jumped and twitched and often was delirious. In the latter state he frequently assumed the character of the bewitching shaman.

John Tom's aunt suddenly became ill. Soon she was near death. She began to laugh. "I am monwai'x̣," she said; "I am monwai'x̣." The man she claimed to be, monwai'x̣, was a powerful doctor and a miserly person. The woman's people called that doctor (!). He made three calls but each time the woman only got worse. In the middle of the night the woman called out, "I'm going to leave you, I'm going to die. I'm dying because of that doctor's power." Before morning she died.

754 The next morning the woman's brother picked up his axe and went to the doctor's house. He left the axe outside and went in. He asked the doctor to come 755 outside. When they got outside the brother pointed at the sun which was just rising. "I want you to take a last look at the sun," he said, "never again will you see it and never again will you kill another person." Then he split the doctor's head open with the axe.

Nothing was done to the man who killed the doctor. Everyone thought he had done the right thing. (John Tom)

While sitting in his house one day John Tom's son began to shiver. He turned around toward the door and fell unconscious. When his father came home he found him on the floor. He doctored him but it did no good. Finally he called xuxu'last, another Sanpoil doctor. After examining the boy he said to John Tom, "You were once doctoring inampi't'sa. You took away her power (Salmon) and made her die. Her father (ktampa'skət, 'cloudy,' also a shaman) found out why she died and sent his power to make your boy sick. I can keep him from dying but he will always be paralyzed on his right side."

The boy is still paralyzed. He can walk by dragging his right foot but he can't move his eye or his arm. He is very childish. He is always joking and laughs at everything. His wife left him when this happened. (Burke)

157 Chronic mental derangements were treated by shamans with varying results. 755 Permanent cures were sometimes obtained; at other times cases had to be given up. Insane persons who could not be cured were short lived.

qui·qui·ta'lks, Burke's aunt, was an hysteric (stsaiayɛ'sxʷ). When she was about sixty years old a horse which she prized very much died. After being told about it by Burke, who found the dead animal, she did not speak a word for a whole day. During the night she became ill and did not get up the next morning. Burke called Sam sa'xtula, a Columbia shaman, but he did not help her. For two weeks she remained in bed and did not speak. Then she got up but was never normal. She was irritable, shiftless, and flighty. She wept at the least provocation, recognized her family and friends only a part of the time and was seldom certain where she was. After having a question answered she asked the same thing over again. She lived about ten years longer. (Burke)

An unusual abnormal case was that of sqweä'luq. From childhood he was extremely slow in all his actions. In eating, for example, he carried food to his mouth and returned the implement to his plate so slowly that it took him two or three times as long to finish as anyone else. He spent most of his time gathering useless objects such as sticks and carefully searching for out of the way places to deposit them. He always hesitated a long time before answering questions. After every studied remark he made he laughed uproariously. If reprimanded he burst into tears and then laughed at himself for having done so. He died quite young. (Burke)

snqwa'la was afflicted with a more serious abnormality (sətsqoqwa'wa'xʷ, "crazy"). After difficulties with his wife ending in separation he became subject to spells of insanity. At times he disappeared to the mountains where he ran around like a wild animal. He walked elevated logs, jumped over wide canyons and sat on the very edge of cliffs with his feet swinging over the edge, singing all

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813 The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821 edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkʷ) that surrounded the land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823 was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825 died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753 lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826 had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777 no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821 dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821 by thunder. 844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skaltəmi'xʷ xa'xa'', "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ils'má'skət, "woman's influence." If the 761 child were a girl the sequence was reversed.

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821 the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821 tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

following one could be stopped without killing it by picking some grass or a few leaves and throwing them on the toad's back, saying, "Here, I pay you this. There is your blanket and your food. Now don't follow me." 821 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other 813 sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

The weather knew what was said concerning it. It was not well to boast of one's ability to withstand cold weather. One young hunter was admonished by his father to put on more clothes before going hunting. He objected, saying, "The cold is my wife. I don't need any more clothes." The next morning he was found frozen to death. 821

When lightning was seen but no thunder was heard, the weather that followed was very hot.

A summer in which two or three crops of berries appeared was followed by a winter with much snow.

Thick vegetation and bushes blossoming in the fall presaged a great deal of snow. Many worms on the wild cherry trees or many yellow jackets were indicative of the same thing.

Large flakes of snow falling in the spring were followed by the coming of crows. People said of the snowflakes, "Those are crows' socks."

A rainbow indicated that a storm was to follow or that "thunder was showing its wings."

The twitching of one's forehead indicated that rainy weather was to follow.

The croaking of frogs marked the coming of spring.

When the weather was foggy people said that coyote had urinated.

One's finger became sore and sometimes dropped off if it were pointed at a rainbow.

The coming of warm weather was indicated by: a dark crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the north; parhelia; dark or "colored" clouds before sunset or sunrise, if persisting; pine trees with a yellow appearance in the morning; wind "roaring" in the mountains (Chinook wind); or a new moon with tips of its horns in a nearly vertical plane.

The coming of cold weather was indicated by: a gray crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the south; a ring close around the sun or moon; anthelia; a fragmentary rainbow between the sun and the horizon in the afternoon; brilliantly colored clouds at sunset; pale clouds before sunrise; "deep red clouds" before sunrise lasting only a few moments; wind "whistling" in the mountains; a light blue, cloudless sky after sunset; "bright large stars"; pine trees with a dark appearance in the morning; many shooting stars; or a new moon with the horns pointing upward.

Black clouds resulted in rain; gray clouds gave rise to snow.

Cumulus clouds appearing in the morning brought a strong south wind.

A certain amount of control over the weather was possible to anyone who followed closely certain formulae. But major changes could only be made by those possessing spirit power over meteorologic elements. This supernatural control was usually exercised at the winter dances. 789 821

789 The common formulae follow:

821 To bring rain, bark from the jack pine was placed in a basket full of water or the leaves of the sulphur flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides*, Nutt., (si'a'its'qan) were mashed and similarly immersed.

To stop the rain pine cones were burned in the camp fire, Oregon grape berries were thrown into the air or head lice were thrown out into the rain. Another method was to place an otter skin in the fire and leave it until charred, then throw the ashes about.

The wind could be summoned in hot weather by charring needles from the top of the jack pine and throwing them into the air. The top needles were used because the coming of a breeze was first indicated by the motion of the topmost needles of the pines. Sulphur flower (same species as above) also brought wind if pounded between rocks, dampened and spread about.

Thunder was stopped by placing a long stick vertically in the ground and tying a knife to the upper end. Or sometimes several knives were simply stuck in the ground at various places.

OMENS

787 Twitching in the left arm indicated that bad news would be heard. Twitching of the shoulder was of the same significance.

Twitching of the right arm presaged good news.

If the heart beat fast the person was soon to become angry, or to hear bad news.

Itching below the eye was a sign that one was to cry as a result of hearing bad news.

Quivering of the eye was followed by seeing something unusual.

If the eyebrow or lip (Tom said upper lip), twitched, its owner was to have an argument and become angry.

If the heel twitched it indicated that one was to receive a horse soon.

Twitching of the bottom of the foot while riding meant that the rider was soon to be walking.

Quivering of the chin was a sign that good food was to be eaten on the morrow.

Buzzing in the left ear was followed by hearing bad news, perhaps of a death. Buzzing in the right ear meant good news.

If a tightly-tied necklace fell off, it indicated that the wearer or a near relative was to die.

When a dog urinated on a person a death followed. A dog howling near a house sometimes meant death.

The falling of a tree in calm weather presaged unusual news.

If tamarack needles fell on the rump of a female bear it caused her to have a miscarriage. That is why bears hibernated before the tamarack needles turned yellow and began to fall.

If one built a fire with wood from a tree which had beed struck by lightning it caused him to have cramps.

The appearance of many mosquitoes preceded the lowering of the Columbia river.

Good luck followed the catching of a beetle and keeping it. 787

A person sneezed because someone had mentioned his name. Also, the following was sometimes said after one sneezed:

ku'ks	snpi'i'lsa	xa'lәp;	kwâti-'sa	χәlә'ks	pápási'l.
You	joy (will have)	tomorrow;	(you) sneeze	because	sad.

MEDICINES AND CURES

The Sanpoil made very extensive use of the available herbs and roots for 757 medicinal purposes. An exhaustive list of these would probably include a half or more of the botanical genera (exclusive or grasses) found in the territory. Much of this practical medicine is forgotten today, but the list below includes the more important *materia medica*. Informants did not hesitate to tell what they remembered of native medical practices; cures do not seem to have been the property of individuals, and were not kept secret. Men as well as women shared the lore.

Household treatment of ailments seems to have been restricted more or less to the often recurring diseases (sqi'lt) such as the common cold (sa'axa'u'), minor injuries (sχa'no'mt), bruises and skin troubles, and to that one most serious malady, tuberculosis, which shamans ordinarily considered beyond their powers to cure. Minor wounds and cuts were given little attention; the "sores" for which so many medicines were prepared were usually eruptions of the skin, with an internal rather than an external cause. Serious wounds were attended by a shaman. Medicines for use at the time of childbirth were lacking, but contraceptives and abortifacients were common knowledge. Specific treatments were used for the two common venereal diseases. The number of medicines prescribed for the common cold was probably greater than for any other type of ailment, unless it be skin troubles.

In the preparation of a medicine roots were nearly always boiled with water, leaves often so treated, but stems very seldom. Steeping or brewing, infusion, maceration and pulverization were other common methods by which the raw material was handled in the preparation of the medical product.

Patients suffering from illnesses of the class treated by shamans were given special foods, or fasted. In all other cases there was no restriction or modification of the ordinary diet. Isolation was never practiced for illness; only menstruating women were separated from others. Ailing children were carefully attended but bedridden adults were left more or less to themselves.

The sweat lodge[2] was used for the cure of sickness of any nature except the common cold. This exception was explained as due to the harmful effect that water exerts upon the person suffering from a cold.

Snake rattles were carried under one's hat to relieve a headache (sk̓e'lәkәm). 755

The bite of the rattlesnake was curable only by a shaman or an individual 757 whose guardian spirit was rattlesnake. However, if a dog was bitten by a rattle-

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[2] See page 179.

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757 snake, the hair around the point where the fangs entered was singed off. This is the nearest approach to cauterization that I have recorded for the Sanpoil.

757 Surgical practice included removal of growths over the eye by an abrasive process, the lancing of boils and the removal of warts. The operation on the eye was accomplished with the aid of a small piece of bone that had been exposed to the weather for a long period of time and had become porous and rough. Such bone fragments were easily found by searching the fields. After a suitable piece of bone had been obtained it was heated in the camp fire "to kill any insects or bugs that might be in the fissures." A tiny piece was then broken off and used to scrape or abrade the surface of the lens capsule where the opacity existed. The operation required great skill and a steady hand, or the actual lens capsule would have been injured, resulting in permanent blindness.[8]

After horsehair was available warts were removed by holding a long hair taut between the two hands and moving it back and forth at the base of the wart until it cut through. Sometimes a large wart was removed by tying a horsehair around the base and gradually tightening the knot until the hair cut through. Warts were thought to disappear if rubbed with a porous bone until bleeding started.

Boils were opened by piercing with a thorn or a sharpened stick. To hasten healing the suppuration was forced out with a stick broken from the marker over a grave. After being used it was thrown back onto the grave or in the fire.

Limb joints swollen with rheumatism were blackened with charcoal. The rheumatic pains were admonished to "go to someone better off."

A bit of deer horn was placed in the mouth to relieve a toothache.

Bear grease was rubbed on sores, after being chewed and rubbed between the palms of the hands.

White clay from the banks of the Columbia river was mixed with water and drunk to relieve indigestion.

[278] A poison, which caused acute convulsions followed by death, was made from a plant called ini'x" by crushing it, mixing with water and boiling.

The following list represents that part of the native *materia medica* about which I was able to get more or less detailed information and specimens. I have not been able to arrange the list according to any consistent system of classification, either botanical or utilitarian, for although in the case of some plants a single part, such as the root, was used, and for a single purpose, many had various uses, and the several parts of other specimens were all used, either for one or more purposes.

A specimen of each type was obtained in the field for purposes of botanical identification. Some of these were identified in the herbarium of the Washington State Museum; the greater number was classified in the herbarium of Washington State College. A few of the specimens were unidentifiable.

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[8] Even with great care, however, it seems that the chances of avoiding serious injury to the eyeball must have been small, to say nothing of successfully restoring the eyesight. But Bob Covington insisted that he had known personally of two operations, both of which had been successful.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

1. Common Sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwinqwinəmani'łp^{u}, "blue brush"). This plant is one of those most commonly found in the territory of the Sanpoil, and perhaps the one most extensively used for medicinal purposes. A tea was brewed from the pulverized leaves and stems and used for the treatment of severe cases of the common cold and la grippe. 137 278 757

   A stronger tea, used in treating indigestion, biliousness and tuberculosis, was made from the tips only of the stems and a few seed pods. Sweating was customary preceding and following the drinking of the potion. Furthermore, these infusions acted as laxatives.[4]

2. Common Sagewort, *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Jeps., (nəqənəqati'łp^{u}, "ill-smelling bush"). A few leaves were placed in the nostrils and permitted to remain there for about an hour to relieve a cold in the head or a headache.

   Pulverized leaves of this sagewort were sprinkled on sores to hasten their healing.

3. Dragon Sagewort, *Artemisia Dracunculus* L., (tsitsiaqi'łp^{u}, "squeaking bush"). Roots of this sage were steeped in cold water to obtain a brew which was used in the treatment of colds.[5]

4. Purple Sage, *Ramona incana* (Benth.) Dougl., (snık'nıkı'taqi·'n). This was another herb popularly used in the treatment of the common cold, or for any illness of a general nature. The potion was made by boiling or steeping the leaves in water.

5. Antelope Brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən, "grease wood"). The berries of this plant were crushed and mixed with water to form a concoction for the treatment of constipation or hemorrhage.

6. Rabbit Brush, *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (Pall.) Britt., var. *speciosus* (Nutt.) Hall, (papa·'ləmıłp^{u}, "buckskin brush"[6]). A smudge produced by burning this brush was considered effective in curing horses of distemper. A few pieces of brush were placed in a container, lighted, and held below the horse's nostrils.

   Also, the branches and leaves were pulverized and mixed with water to form a paste-like substance which was rubbed on horses to protect them from horseflies and gnats.

7. Buckbrush, *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh, (wı·'γənłp^{u}, koli'tkiłp^{u}). This brush was utilized in the preparation of a powder for use on sores or wounds. After removing the bark the sap wood was scraped away, then dried and pulverized. Grease or oil of any kind was rubbed on the afflicted part and the powder sprinkled on top of it.

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[4] For non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 36.
[5] For a non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 76.
[6] So termed because of its use in smoking buckskin.

the while. He would not return from such escapades until caught and forcibly 158
taken back. These attacks continued for about a year. At the end of that time 755
he was cured by a shaman named ḳeosá'luxkan, "two-pointed horn." (Burke)

John Tom recounted one case of magical "poisoning" which he treated but 754
without success: "I was called to doctor a woman named tamtɑ'lks. I couldn't find out what was wrong with her. Her heart was as if it were in hot water, but I couldn't find out why. I went home and lay awake nights for two weeks thinking about it. Then I decided she had been poisoned. I went back to her and asked her if she could remember when she first got sick. She said she had been visiting up in the Colville country and had stopped at an old woman's house to eat a few bites. Then she had vomited and got very ill. I told her that that is what I had thought, but I didn't want to say so because I didn't want to hurt her feelings. Then I told her that the old woman had put poison (kəni'lɪmən) in her food. She did it for the mother-in-law of tamtɑ'lks, who did not like her son's wife. There was nothing I could do for her. She died in a little while."

A woman shaman whose common name was tcutcuwa'lks, but who practiced 755
under the name she had received from her spirit, ḳəsa'iakan, "bad head," gained a wide reputation for her ability to heal wounds and was well paid for her services. She treated by sucking in the usual manner. She always sucked out large quantities of blood, filling a basket in a short time(!). She finished her treatment by blowing over the wound and her patients seldom failed to recover quickly.

Suzanne was another female shaman who was often called by those suffering from serious wounds.

A young man named kwəlamini'tsa had been stabbed. The wound had been neglected until gangrene appeared and the man had lost consciousness. Suzanne was called. She threw water on his face and then sucked on the side of his body opposite the wound. She drew out a quart of blood (!). Then she blew on the blood and the water and threw it over the sick man. That night he regained consciousness. Within a week he was well.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wá·'lak, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. /137 278 757

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itskən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (x̣ax̣a'ilpʷ). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̇otsq̇otso'iȧ'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.
It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion. [847

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.(12) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [415

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tubercolosis.

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[9] See page 135.
[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.
[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.
[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137 278

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes. 757

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sət'si'xənt, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakni'lpʷ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (pətspətsəmə'kul, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpʷ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tul'tul'ti'lpʷ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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278
757

23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (xoẋti'ʔlpʷ, "cut-off bush"). The roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, to form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful parts, sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultice in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hair wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (xoẋo'i'ʔlpʷ). The stickers and outer covering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split into fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color, which was used for colds.

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stəmtəmani'i'ʔlpʷ, "grave-bush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

[515]

Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

[302]

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis lingusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓ətsásuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'xpoẋilpʷ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̓iq̓i'təni'ʔlpʷ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxloxwi'lp^{a}, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 137 278 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilp^{a}). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

    One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

    The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (stəptəpsa'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lp^{a}). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (tuptupala'u'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [251]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

    The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

    A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sua'tkulp^{a}). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nq^{a}). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 153.

[20] Identification not certain.

137 38. An umbelliferous species, (àlàpi'spəs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

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757 39. tcuqtcuqti'ɬpʷ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

40. məsməsəin'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. [841] Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[21]

41. tcəstcu'sləmilxʷ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulqulmi'ɬpʷ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. xa'sxəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[803] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soqc'imən ti'taxʷ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'lkutən..........	"time that it snows"
ktsa'tsa'ltə'n.........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kəl...............	"time that it is white"
skanə'γumən..........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpətctitə'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən............	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kami'lkto'tən..........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[21] Cf. page 134.

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ki'i'átən	"time that si'i'a are ripe"
qiaxqtaxtə'n	"time that chokecherries are ripe"
sala·'mp̓	"time of wilting (withering, dying)"
skalu'ɩ'c	"time the white (silver) salmon run"
ska'a'i	(?)[33]

The seasons were determined by the solstices and the equinoxes.

ske·'pɩtcʷ	spring
stca·kumɑnu'x	[illegible]er
ka'a'iʷ or ska'a'i	autumn
si'ist'kʷ	winter

Time of day was expressed in relation principally to the position of the sun. Each day was called naqsxaia'lənxʷ, "one sun."

tcənpa·q'tci'n	"sky becoming white"
xuk̓lapu'lau	"morning"
skukuk̓la'p'	"sun just appearing"
stcɑnu'i's	(a position in the sky) 8:30-9:00
kikəntoxoxqi'n	"nearly noon," 11:00-11:30
əntoxoxqi'n	"noon"
nu'utsk̓aqi'n	(a position in the sky) 2:00
ma'á'n	(a position in the sky) 4:00-5:00
tikaqa·'tu's	"nearly sunset"
ksa·γu'səs	"sunset"
qa'k'sɩs	"almost dark"
uṅəququa'a'tcs	"night"
tuxui'us	"midnight"

Four directional points were recognized, the same in general as the ones we isolate. The zenith and nadir were also named. 823

cixumu's; cixumsu'la'	"direction of the cold country"; "direction from which the cold wind comes"; north
stcaxa'lkʷ; kəltcɩ'xtsəxtənxula	"direction of the warm country"; "direction from which the warm wind comes"; south
sq̓ɩtip̓sətá'n	"direction from which the sun rises"
sq̓əlaxutá'n	"direction in which the sun sets"
kɩlɩstɩkəmá·'skət	zenith
kalɩkəli·xu't	nadir
nəqa·qeu's	center, middle

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[33] Covington translated this term as "fall"; he could give no literal translation.

821 The winds:

uxumu's	"north wind"
sqwa''ats	"south wind"
scuxuli'kʷ	"whirlwind"
skə'mpəmm'tcu't	"storm," "heavy wind," "fog" (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

ki'kat	"short distance"
luku·'t, qumi·'ut	"long distance"
kukwi·'na	"small," "little," "few"
xui''i't	"large," "big," "many"

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125
822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englihs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[33] and two of tints.[34] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[33] Or full colors as seen in the shadow.
[34] Or full colors as they appear when "mixed" with white.

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822

Wave length in ten millionths of a millimeter	Bradley designation	NATIVE TERMS		
		Standard	Shade No. 2	Tint No. 2
	Red-violet[35]	xɛ'n	qwa'i	pa·'[37]
	Violet-red[35]		xɛ'n	xɛ'n
6571	Red	kwı'l	tïka'tka	
	Orange-red		kwı'l	
	Red-orange			
6085	Orange	kuγa'i	ṗu·'m[36]	ṗu·'m[36]
	Yellow-orange			kuγa'i
	Orange-yellow			
5793	Yellow		qwi'n	ṗu·'m[36]
	Green-yellow			pa·'[37]
	Yellow-green	qwi'n		
5164	Green			
	Blue-green			
	Green-blue	qwa'i[38]	qwa'i[38]	
4695	Blue			qwa'i[38]
	Violet-blue			pa·'[37]
	Blue-violet			
4210	Violet			

FIG. 23. Color names and classifications.

822

The standard colors constitute an unbroken series from one end of the spectrum to the other.[39] The native classifications are of much the same nature as our own, except that there is no term in the native nomenclature corresponding to our violet or orange. The latter is divided between the reds and yellows. The violets

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[35] Non-spectral colors.
[36] Translated "buckskin."
[37] The term applied to the grays.
[38] Probably the diminutive of black.
[39] That is, no one term is applied to two non-contiguous segments of the spectrum.

522 are grouped with the blues and called qwa'i, a term which may be etymologically equivalent to "dark colors," since it seems to be a diminutive of the term for black, which is q̇wa'i. There is no confusion between the greens and blues, or a combining of these concepts, as is so often the case with primitive peoples. It is interesting to note that the two extra-spectral colors, red-violet and violet-red, are classed together and separate from the rest of the series, (xs'n).

To be accurately represented the colors on the chart should be arranged in a circle. If such were the case the shades, too, would show as a continuous series instead of qwa'i appearing once at the top and again at the bottom of the list. If my analysis of the term qwa'i is correct, (that is, "dark color"), it is quite understandable that red-violet, which as a standard color was called xs'n, should become qwa'i as a shade, for the shade is markedly darker. Another noticeable feature of the shade series is the designation of red by a new term, tlka'tlxa, and the fact that the term is applied exclusively to this color.[illegible] The word p̓u·'m, which means "buckskin," makes its appearance in this series also. Evidently certain colors which correspond to the various shades of smoked buckskin[illegible] have been singled out of the total range and have come to be designated by this term. The shade of yellow is included with the greens but this not unusual, for the distinctive quality of yellow is almost entirely lost in the shade.

In the tint series p̓u·'m is the name given for two tints (orange and yellow) but is not applied to the tints intermediate between these two. This may be explained by the fact that smoked buckskin is either left quite light in color (yellow) or is twice smoked to deepen the color (orange), but is seldom finished in the intermediate tones. The xs'n group in the tint series includes all of the spectrum reds, whereas in the standard series only extra-spectral colors are designated by this name. However, the latter colors both contain red, so it is apparently a subtle combination of tone and shade that determines this classification.

The outstanding feature of the classifications of the tints is the inclusion with the grays of a large proportion of this group. All of the grays[illegible] are classed under the designation pa·', and in addition this term includes all of the tints from green-yellow, through the greens and blues, to red-violet, inclusive, with the single exception of the tint of pure blue which retains the same name as the standard. This exception is no doubt due to the fairly intense chromatic quality retained by the tint of blue as compared with adjacent colors whose characters are more or less lost in the tints.

The native term for white is pa·'ik, to which "color" the word is applied exclusively. Black, likewise, is known by an exclusive designation, mentioned above, q̇wa'i.

It is true, of course, that pure spectrum colors are seldom seen in nature, except in the rainbow. However, the range represented by the standards, shades and tints is sufficiently wide that most of the "natural" colors are closely enough

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[illegible] My informant translated the word into English as "brown."

[illegible] Unsmoked buckskin is pure white.

[illegible] The eight Bradley grays are light and dark neutral gray, light and dark green gray, light and dark warm gray, and light and dark cool gray.

approached for present purposes. Certainly the native nomenclature is indicated in its entirety, and I feel that the classifications have suffered very little as a result of the artificiality of the materials used. 822

We have seen where the name for a material object, buckskin, has crept into the color scheme, and has more or less distorted it. This tendency to objective reference is more marked in the case of animals, for which there exists an entirely exclusive series of color names. The designations applied to horses alone form a list practically as long as the group of more universal terms which we have just considered.[33] Following are the designations recalled by my informant: gray (horse), tẹe·'lps; buckskin, tipa·'luxʷ; spotted, ma'man; pinto, kei'luxʷ; mouse colored, tipo'kuluxʷ; and tan, kpi'kulups. 822 192

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[33] Those skeptical of the flexibility and plasticity of primitive languages will please note that here is an instance where a primitive group met a new situation (the coming of the horse), by incorporating into its language an entirely new series of words, in this case color terms, immediately upon feeling the need. 192

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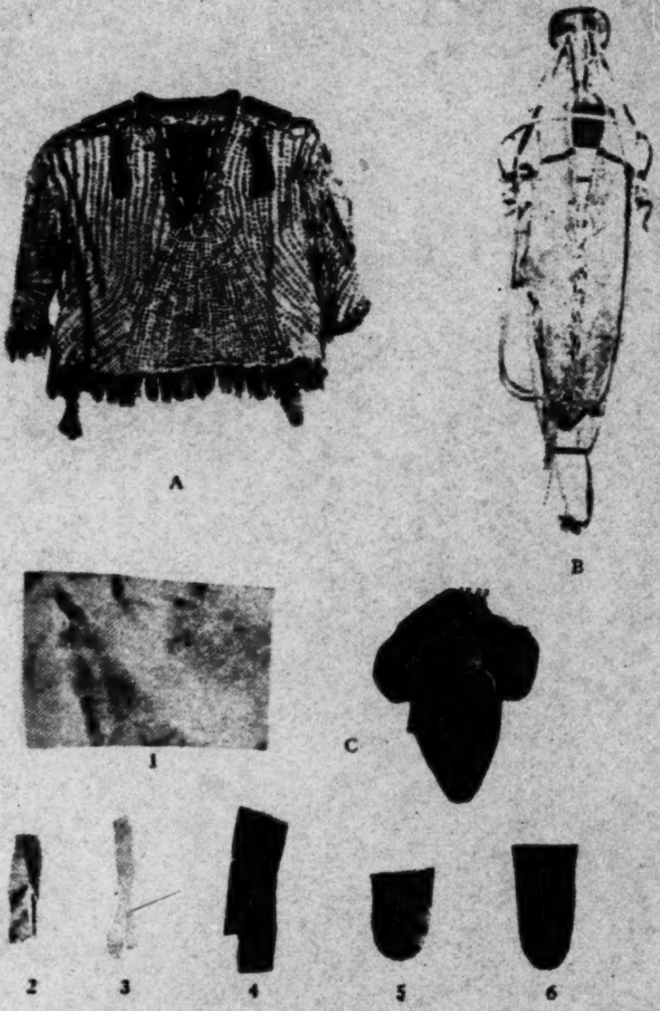

PLATE 1. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body, (2, 3) inserts, (4) ankle flap, (5) inner tongue, (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A, 2-11783; B, 2-158, C, 2-159).

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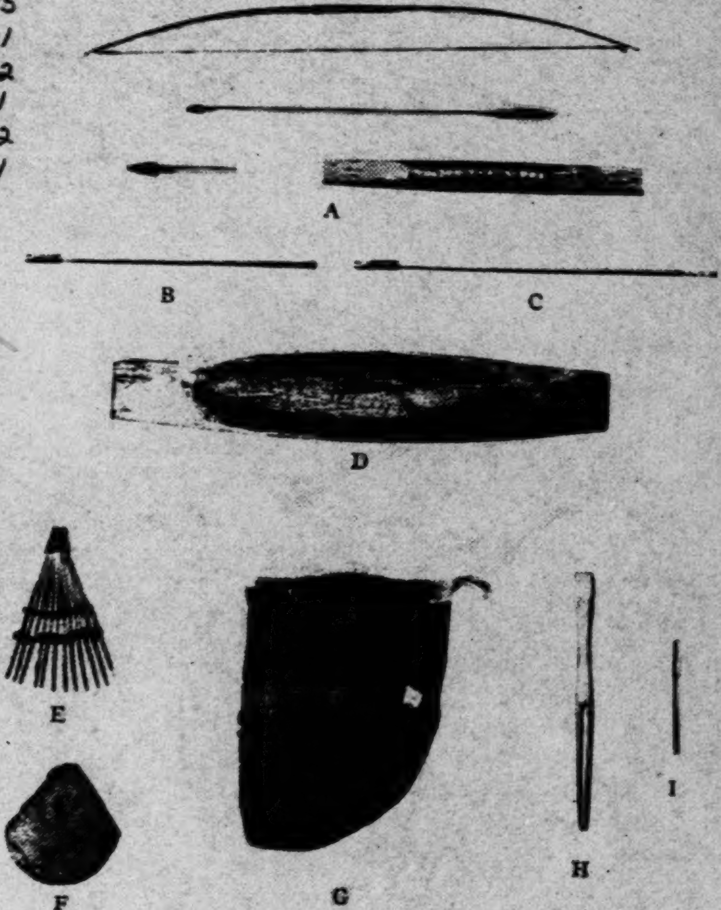

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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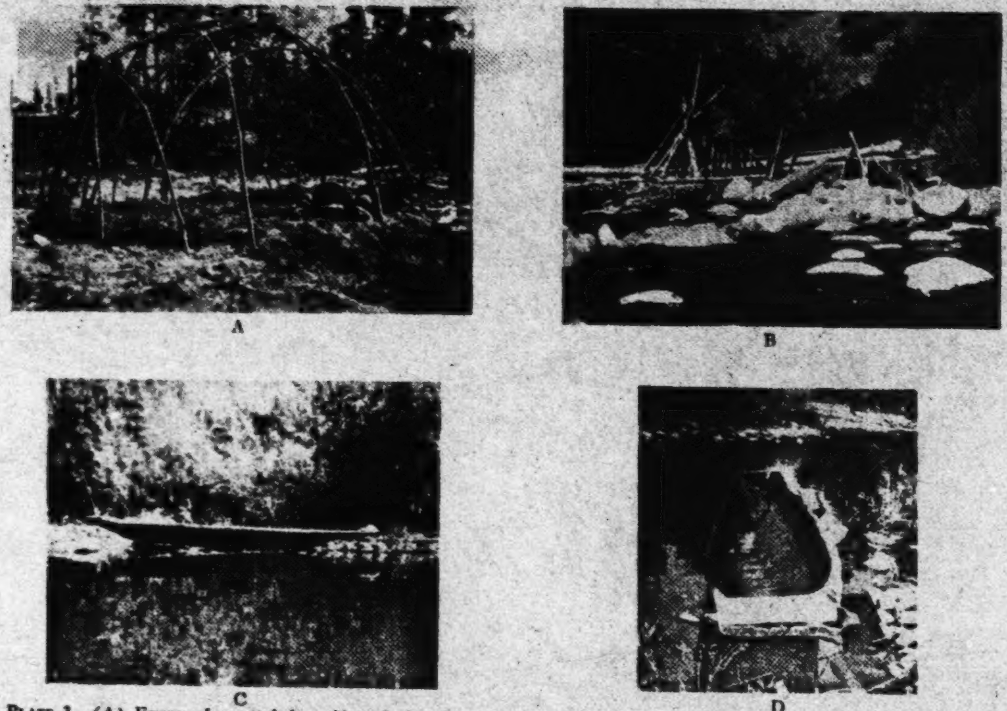

PLATE 3. (A) Frame of sweat lodge. Note fir boughs and stones (B) Small fish trap on the Sanpoil River. (C) Dug-out shovel-nose canoe, side view. (D) Same canoe, end view. Note repaired ends.

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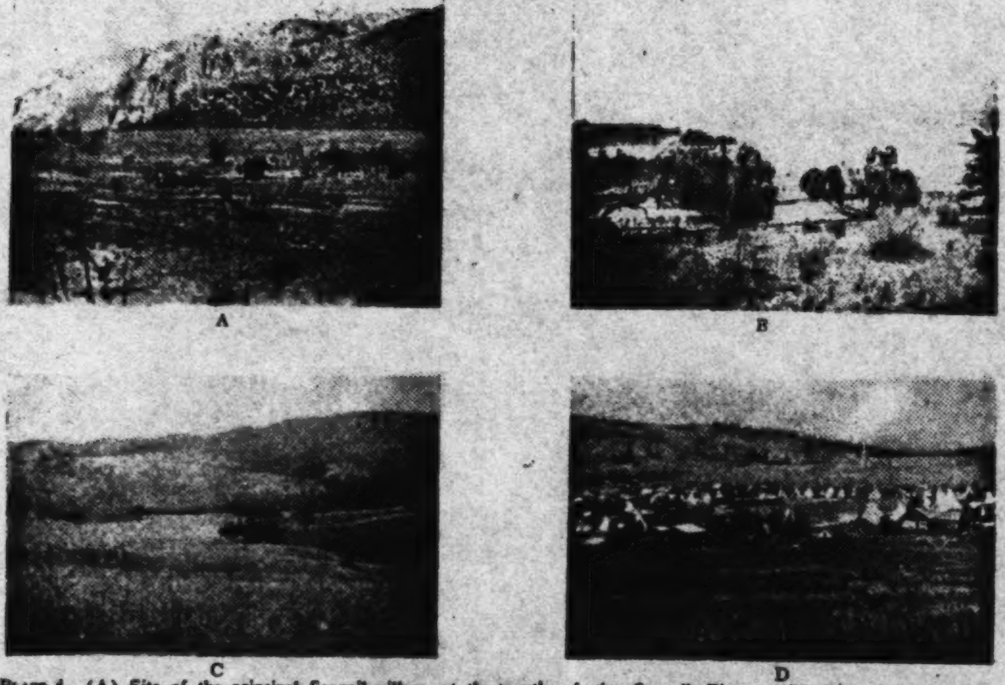

PLATE 4. (A) Site of the principal Sanpoil village, at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. (B) The Columbia River opposite fig. A, with the Sanpoil River in the foreground. (C) Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake) with the Sanpoil mountains in the background. (D) Modern camp circle at the present village of Nespelem.

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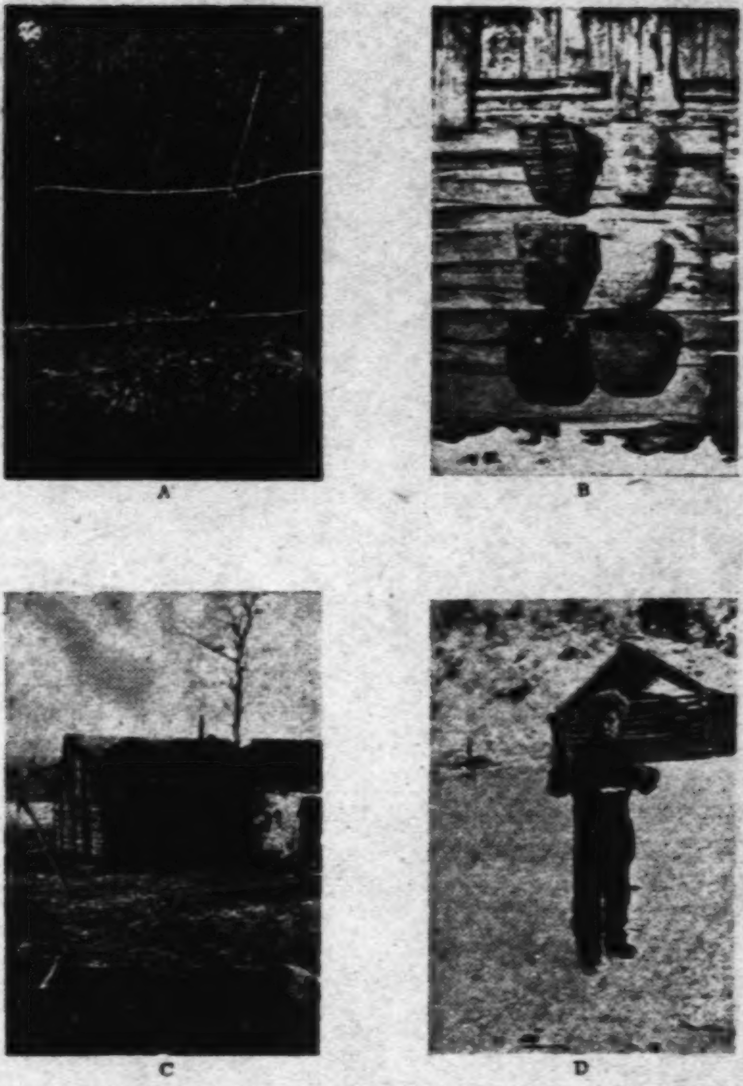

PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

By

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PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Chelan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

101 121 As a field for investigation for the group we hit on the Southern Okanagon. The cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

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162
361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105
177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

115

Michel Brooks, Southern Okanagon, aged 55, was born of a Canadian mother (Northern Okanagon ?). He remembers the old life as a little boy. His father and grandfather told him much of the old ways.

Cecile Brooks, about 58 years old, was born at the time of the great earthquake (1872 ?). Wife of Michel Brooks by the levirate. (Her first husband had been a cousin of Michel's and a son of Lucy Joe's.) Kalispel by birth, but married into the Kartar branch of the Okanagon at a rather early age (about fourteen). There got rather full technological training as well as some insight into the functioning of the social and religious order, and traditions about the tabus of menstruation and so forth, which were for the most part no longer practised. Very able and intelligent. Distinguished very carefully between customs of the Okanagon and those she knew of the Kalispel.

Lucy Joe, Kartar, aunt of Michel, was more than 70 years old. She first married at the time of the earthquake, or somewhat before: her oldest child died at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). Remembered days before the establishment of the mission. Herself able and intelligent, she was respected and somewhat feared by the others, particularly as she had a reputation as an important shaman. She did not admit this power openly during the five days we [M.M. and R.S.C.] talked with her, but hinted at it. This may have colored her material on religion somewhat, but her disavowal of Catholicism was frank and clear enough. Had been strongly influenced by the Indian preachings of the local advocate of the Dream dance. Had travelled, particularly to the Thompson country. Intelligent and well-informed on economics and theoretical social arrangements, ceremonies, and so forth.

Julie Josephine, also Kartar, probably about 80, but only a little older than Lucy Joe. These two are cousins: Lucy Joe calls Julie Josephine "older sister," since the father of the former was first cousin of Julie Josephine's mother (or more distantly related ?). This informant was good at specific details, such as relationships between actual individuals in a particular village. Time too short to get very much information.

Suszen Timentwa, 48 years old, present chief of the Kartar band, was born at Okanogan town. Ancestry is a mixture of Moses-Columbia and Kartar on his mother's side for several generations: father was Chelan. Intelligent person with mystical tendencies; prone to formalize everything into a cosmic scheme centering around his religious ideas.

Mary Carden, about 78 years old, member of the Tukoratum band. Her ancestry is Tukoratum and Chelan. Very shrewd, excellent memory, no scruples about divulging the past, and no pet philosophy to uphold.

Josephine Marchand, 38 years old, Mary's daughter. Her father was white. Considers

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115

herself a Tukoratum. Excellent interpreter; interest was not in the past but in financial returns. Annie Marchand, aged 16, her daughter, furnished a tale.

Chilowhist Jim was born at Entiat about sixty-five years ago. He came to Malott as a boy of eight or younger. His mother lived at Malott, his father at Entiat. He has been on the Methow River a great deal and still goes there often.

Old Harry is also from the southern end of the Okanogan River. He married at twenty-six; had twelve children by two successive wives; his youngest son is now forty; hence Old Harry must be about ninety.

Billie Joe was an unsatisfactory informant whose views were undoubtedly colored by his wide contacts with other tribes. His father was Wenatchi; his mother a Northern Okanagon from Penticton; his stepmother Wenatchi; and his wife a Wenatchi shaman.

Johnnie Louie, aged 49, served both as interpreter and informant. His affiliations seem to be mostly among the central and northern bands, but one or more of his grandparents were Colville, and there is a question how far he identified himself with the Colville. Much of our Colville information was supplied by him. He is shrewd, intelligent, well-informed, and was active in furthering our enterprise.

Emma Louie, his wife, aged about 25, was also interpreter. She is Colville by birth, marriage, and normal residence. Nine years of mission school education. Adequate knowledge of languages; fairly intelligent, completely naive. Translations fairly accurate, as far as could be judged, and unbiased, but not always full enough.

Andrew Tillson, aged 78, affiliated with the northern bands and with the Northern Okanagon. Difficult to work with because of Johnnie's resentment of his deafness, and his character. Material seems to have been trustworthy whenever certainly checked as his own.

Tom Martin, about 60 years old, member of the Inkamip band, Northern Okanagon. He gave reliable information, but there were many things about the past that he did not

Yale University
September, 1933

know, or had forgotten. 115

Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in	father	ʌ	as in	but
ä	"	hat	e	"	met
ē	"	fate	i	"	pin
ī	"	pique	o	"	not
ō	"	note	u	"	put
ū	"	rule	E, the indefinite vowel		

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

P.5(B)

000 Since this was written we learned of the untimely death of Rachel S. Commons. In her we have lost an ethnographer of promise and a companion whose charm meant so much to our life in the Okanagon country.

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3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

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3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

SEASONAL ROUND

221 262 361 The foods utilized by the bands of the lower Okanogan River were typical of those found among northern plateau Indians generally. They took every variety of fish and game, root and berry that was available; also moss, seeds and the cambium layer of pine trees. Very little camas grew in the valley and no kouse, but the former root was well known through trade and special trips to camas grounds. Since the activities of collecting and preserving varied continuously with the seasons, the material will be presented in calendrical sequence. There are two main seasons, the sedentary winter and the nomadic summer. The latter was spent in camping, sometimes for several weeks, to obtain salmon and deer, but for much shorter intervals for other foods.

In winter the bulk of the people were in the villages, living in the tule long-house or the underground house. A number of families from each band were generally scattered through the hills; usually those who did not lay in large supplies and depended more on winter hunting and fur taking. Hunting for furs became more frequent after white contact. Such families were visited frequently by young men sent by their chief to bring them food if needed. Game was soon scared from the vicinity of winter villages. If food was scarce men would go on long hunting trips, singly or in pairs. But game was thin and poor until summer.

Bears were taken in March and April, when they first came from their winter quarters and were still fat. Overnight trips were not generally needed except for grizzly bear hunting in the mountains, one of the few trips when women did not accompany the men.

During the last three weeks of April the fish locally known as suckers were running in the Okanogan, and families from the whole valley went to the falls in McLaughlin Canyon (twenty miles below Oroville) to work traps. They would remain a week or two, gathering and drying enough to last until the first salmon runs in June. The run of steelhead trout at this early season was not so important, but at Keller and other places considerable numbers of people used to gather. From here some people went directly to the summer salmon camps, particularly those at Oroville and Kettle Falls.

F 11 (A)

221 262 [517] 361 When several bands came together at a fishing site they camped separately and the chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After fishing all day they might come together in the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races. The chiefs might meet to pass about their pipes and compete in showing off.

During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were made in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

221 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for
deer were held in the fall..... In the
spring roots were dug, and the people return-
262 ed about June to the streams and speared sal-
mon.... In July began the season of digging
361 fresh camas, which continued indefinitely un-
til a sufficient supply had been accumulated.
After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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[1] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
[2] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 246
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
[4] Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

926 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) *O. nerka*, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) *O. kisutch*, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

227
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622 The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such a time and place. This announcement usually occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

The head man was the first to move his family to the camping site, more families following day by day. The trap was communal: anyone could spear in it who wished, and anyone who was there would work on it. He would detail groups of men to make the preparations; some to cut poles of proper length, others to cut branches, twigs and strips of yellow bark for lashings; to make or borrow spears, canoes, apparatus for lighting, etc. As these assistants begin to arrive he cuts a small willow stick, while singing his power song, and lays it on the ground to signify the beginning. The others also sing if they have power songs. The head man superintends the whole construction, himself working here and there as he sees fit. 227 622

Poles of young pine trees are cut for tripods, each from ten to twelve feet long and four to five inches in diameter. They are hewn clean of all branches, the top yard or so cut off, and the butts sharpened so that they will stick in the bottom. These are not sharply pointed, but bluntly rounded, since no pole could be sunk more than a few inches among the rocks of the stream bed, and a sharp point would not present a large enough frictional area to hold firmly. Two of these poles are tied together about a foot from the tips and the third is tied to one of them two feet from the tips. Thus one of the three poles has two lashings, one a foot above the other. The lashing is of willow bark, wrapped around and around, and secured with half hitches. (Hay wire is used today.) The lashing is done ashore on the ground, and the tripods are then pulled out into the river to the site, either by pairs of men or a boy on a saddle horse with a lasso. In former days the head man carried the upstream pole of the three. He sights along the tripods which are already placed so as to get the next one aligned. Each one is placed so that the two poles whose lashing is the lower will be upstream and the third pole downstream of them. In former days the weir was built straight across the river, perhaps slightly curved with the convex side upstream. Today the Indians on the Okanogan River are allowed to put their weir only halfway across. So from this halfway point they run a wing straight downstream, which obviously helps to corral the salmon. The poles do not have to be worked down into the bottom, but are merely jammed between the rocks. In the eight or nine m.p.h. current they are quite stable, with their angles of inclination at about twenty-five degrees from the vertical. The tripods are about twelve feet apart, and the poles comprising each tripod are about seven feet apart at the water line, so there is a pole every five and seven feet alternating at the waterline. Power songs are sung at frequent intervals while this work is in progress. 227

Longer poles, of eighteen to twenty-two feet, are now lashed horizontally to the two upstream poles of each tripod, about eight inches above the water. One can walk along these easily. Sticks about two inches in diameter are lashed to this in a vertical

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227 position, their lower ends pushed firmly into the crevices between the rocks. Heavy chicken wire netting is laid along these, one edge of the strip of wire being fastened along the horizontal pole and the other edge flat on the bottom. It is curved downstream, so that salmon cannot work their way under it while ascending the river. A second strip of chicken wire forms the trap proper. One of its edges is wired to the top of the horizontal pole at the same place where the first strip is wired. The other edge is held in the air, about two and a half inches above the water level on the upstream side of the weir, supported by sticks about a yard long, which are nailed one to each tripod pole. The fish jump over the horizontal pole, and into this second wire, which is bent so as to form a pocket V-shaped in cross section. The fish will become jammed in this and are not able to flop out. They will jump because of the small waterfall, four or six inches high, made by accumulating leaves and other floating debris which collects in the first wire. In former times, in place of the wire netting, green stakes, one inch thick, were used; they were two or three inches apart, lashed with willow withes and little sticks. They were held in place at the bottom by rocks.

226 About twenty feet from shore a bulkhead or platform of stones is built, about ten feet square, where the spearsmen stand. Its upstream edge is in line with the weir. One reaches this from shore by stepping stones. Next to it the water is fairly deep (three or four feet) for a short distance, and over this an arbor of willow and pine boughs is built, also about ten feet square. On the downstream side this covering is built to the water level. Under it a lantern is hung at night so the spearsmen can see the fish; also for the purpose of dazzling them, for they are said to become immobile in its glare. The arbor is made so as to prevent the fish from stopping before they are within range of the spearsman.

227 In former times, when fish were plentiful, a trap was made at the center of the weir, at the apex of the upstream bulge. A hole about a foot wide was made here under the water, by removing several of the vertical pieces, and an enclosure built on the upstream side of the weir, supported by two extra tripods. This was at the deepest part of the stream. A horseshoe dip net was often suspended under water to one side of this passage, where the fish would congregate. When the trap was full the passage would be closed and the salmon speared, either from the main horizontal support of the weir or from canoes. Iron gaff hooks have been used recently for this. White stones might be placed on the bottom of the trap to make the fish more easily seen. This is also described by Curtis.

Another construction is described by Curtis.

"On the downstream side a single panel

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

251 417 a foot apart, on which were laid the pieces of salmon. The other type of rack was square, twenty feet on a side, often employing trees for corner posts. In both cases, the sticks bearing the flesh had to be set in place with the aid of forked sticks, for the rack had to be seven and a half to eight feet high in order to prevent animals from stealing the meat. Bits of bush might be placed over it to keep off the sun, and a small fire of dry willow or alder wood, which was not pitchy, kept going underneath if the weather were moist, if the flies were bad, or if the people were in a hurry to move on. Generally it took about two days and nights to dry the salmon, but it was watched carefully so as to be dried the optimum amount, more being constantly set up wherever there was room. The dried fish was stored in sacks of hemp or tule, about as large as burlap bags, placed in arbors and later in caches.

Dried salmon would last only one year: it became wormy after that.

If taken in winter the fish (mostly silver salmon) were hung in the eaves of the house. If they were caught too quickly for this they were allowed to freeze. They could not then be dried and stored, but had to be eaten fairly soon, and they had practically no taste. The dog salmon which was picked up dead was treated similarly.

252 Small amounts of salmon pemmican were prepared by pounding the dry flesh on flat rocks with large pestle-shaped stones or mauls. Tule mats would be spread out next to the rocks to catch the crumbs. No berries or roots were mixed in, but oil was added, which helped to seal the fish from the air.

Fresh salmon was cooked only by roasting: dry salmon might be roasted or boiled. Roasting consisted of placing the flesh near a glowing fire, usually with a splint of wood run through it for support, and if it were fresh and juicy, with a receptacle underneath to catch the dripping oil. Boiling was accomplished always by use of hot stones in buckets, usually of bark. The stones were moved with fresh green sticks. Fish which had been smoked could not be roasted but had to be boiled, whereas fish dried in the wind could be roasted.

Methods of preparing salmon heads were cited by Mary Carden as follows. (1) The head might be roasted to keep for several days. Having been cut off back of the gills and slit from mouth to throat, the flesh inside was cut into strips, and a stick pushed through the whole transversely to hold it flat. This was set on a spit beside the fire and turned from time to time. (2) To dry the head for storage, it was cut and skewered as above, and hung to dry. (3) Sometimes these were boiled for immediate consumption. Eyes were always eaten, but not uncooked.

p. 14 (B)

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on 226
during the first four days each year that
fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was 796
to keep the fish at the river shore until
daybreak (the first ones usually having been
taken at night), and then carry them up on
poles, actually spear poles, which were [482]
thrust into the gills and out through the
mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight
or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders.
They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves
to await butchering. The butcher is chosen [622]
by the head man as one skilled in the work
and deserving the distinction. He frequently
does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. 226
A transverse cut is made into the ventral
side at the base of the mandible, where the 796
gill slits are closest together, and another
transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base 252
of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to
the backbone. The head of the fish is then 788
bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 15 (A)

by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh.

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The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

3; Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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6 [1] Mr. Post took part in the building of a weir and first-salmon ceremony near Malott. — L.S.

p. 15 (c)

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 15 (4), category 116. -- Analyst]

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listerer: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter. [521]

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū´ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai´wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai'wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai'wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalū́ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [775] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coastal tribes). 226 796 171

The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast. 226 796 825

Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish. 226 796 784 825

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

P.17(A) [7] Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony.

mon from entering the trap of a person with 000
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the 796
river, they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail,
they would become strict again. 825

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon
creation myth, in which the first weir is [773]
said to have been built by two bird sisters,
far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ŏq'ŏmŏ´s) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the larger catch was in May, when traps were set at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old [462]
men: women dried the catch which was traded
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap. They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226 417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies. (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen. [433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wI'tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is
then jerked back so as to force the barbs in-
to the fish. This secures it firmly so that
it can be lifted out of the water by raising
the pole, with very little chance of the
fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear
in early spring when they are so fat they can
swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easi-
ly pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they
were even speared from the banks. No long
trips were made for such fishing. Suckers
252 were not often caught in numbers great enough
for drying; but were roasted fresh. They
were butchered by slitting the belly and re-
moving the viscera, but leaving the skin in
place. They were then impaled on a splint
before the fire. The backbone might have
been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the
viscera were boiled in a pot with berries,
etc., like the salmon xnlū′ps, but such suck-
er stew could be eaten by women or children.
Usually no internal parts were used but the
roe, which was dried for winter use or smash-
251 ed up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut
was made down the right side of the backbone
and the fish kept open by running a small
stick through the flesh transversely. Both
sides of the backbone might be cut and the
bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole
was then punched through the tail and a stick
run through several fish at a time. Thus
they were hung on a drying rack for a week
or less; not in the sun, for then the oil
would drip off, but under a shelter covered
with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy
weather a small fire would be kept going be-
neath, using dry wood, such as would not
flavor the meat. This would take perhaps on-
ly three days. Dried suckers were kept in
tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or plat-
[462] forms. This work was done by women, and the
catching by men or women. Usually only old-
er people and children took suckers. The
dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after
being broken up if too hard.

226 First fruits ceremonies were observed
796 for suckers. The first nights' catch was
roasted next morning by the women; bitter
root and service berries prepared too. Every-
body present would eat all they could; the
portion left was divided and taken home. Be-
fore eating, some old man "thanked the Lord"
for the suckers.

p. 18 (B)

for the suckers. 000

A small fish called sEsERē'ûs abounded in the creeks emptying into Omak Lake during the spring floods. These came from the lake to spawn. They were so numerous that they could be caught by hand in hundreds. Later in the season, before service berries were ripe, the fish was even better, having more fat; while they could still be caught in the hand, they were then not so numerous. The fish were dried on racks and later mixed with bitter root or service berries. Or the eggs were extracted and mixed with service or other berries. The latter dish (alone ?) was called xalû'ps, like that prepared from salmon, but unlike it this was not tabu to women at any time. 226 262

Trout (xōkōmē'na) were caught in late summer and fall, while descending the mountain streams to spawn in the lower creeks. Hooks and lines were employed, also traps like salmon traps, but smaller, from which they were usually lifted by hand. Small salmon trout were also taken with the dip net. They were sometimes dried in the sun for winter use. During the winter they were taken in the rivers, but only when other food was scarce, since they were then thin.

Fishing by hook and line was not common, and was carried on mostly by women and children for small fish. A pole was always used, of straight tamarack, cedar or fir, always peeled and smoothed. It was called qElhtEmnalōqtEn. The line, of Indian hemp, was tied to a little notch at the end; sometimes also passed down and tied again at the handle. Hooks were of crossed splinters of bone (usually deer ulna) wrapped together with sinew, sometimes one passing through a hole in the center of the other and wrapped (called qaqē't and tîtâmē'n interchangeably). These splinters were shaped by cutting and grinding on a stone. A hole was bored in the hook for the line and a groove made on each side of the point where the bait, grasshoppers or worms, was tied on. A line was never held by hand alone. Bullheads were caught thus, as well as trout and other fish. 226

Ling or devil fish (spokōla'tc) were caught through the ice in wintertime in Lake Okanogan, that is, in Northern Okanagon territory. The hook was made by binding a bone point, one inch long, to the end of a piece of dogwood (about three inches long) which is strong and has no odor. A small fish is used for bait and Indian hemp for a line; also for binding on the point. The line is dropped to the bottom of the lake in deep water and its end tied to a cake of ice. When a fish takes a bait he swallows it completely, and so does not often get away. These fish were a palatable and valuable winter food. Usually they were boiled after skinning. They were not preserved, but eaten fresh.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 19 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

6 Cf. Teit, Thompson Indians, 246.[1]

DEER HUNTING

Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: pre-eminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (łEcqôqane´ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees.[1] "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks." 224

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (süktakei´n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. 224 624 [834]

Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they 224 could be seen from some distance. The dogs were held in leash by a simple thong around the neck, usually of willow withes. When they came to a fresh track they would strain and pull, and if it was a large deer they would be set free, the hunters running after them. As soon as a deer was brought to bay the dogs would bark, and the hunters stalked up to shoot it, keeping hidden, since the deer would still run if it should see a man. A very good dog could bring a deer to bay all by itself. Such hunting was done only by one or two or three men. If there were more they would organize a drive.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

Deer fences were used in October when herds had formed and were descending the trails from summer pastures, the does first and the bucks later. A fence would be built across the brow of a hill as on a contour line. Where it crossed a deer trail a trap would be built, usually only one for each fence, but sometimes two or three. There would be an opening in the fence here just wide enough for a deer to pass through. The fence would be about half a mile long and eight feet high. It was made by chopping trees halfway through and bending them over to forty-five degrees, all in the line of the fence. The limbs would hold them so. If the deer were scared they would jump over such a fence, but if undisturbed they would travel along it until they came to the hole. The fence was reinforced here by twining extra poles among the trees.

A log about two feet in diameter is laid across the trail at the hole in the fence. A deer coming down the hill would step over this; if it were any bigger he would jump. Just where the forefoot would come down on the further side of the log, a hole was dug in the earth about one and a half feet deep and two and a half feet in diameter. A noose of Indian hemp rope, about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, was laid about the hole and tied to the top of a fir sapling, which was bent over and tucked under a notch in the log to hold it down, the tip very close to the hole. Small twigs were laid over the hole to hide it. When the deer steps over the log his foot will jar the sapling so that it springs up, pulling the noose which is around the forefoot. The sapling is not large enough to carry him into the air, but simply to lift his foot.

The more complicated and effective variation of this trap described by Teit[9] was probably also used, but was only dimly recollected by Chilowist Jim. Here the spring is held down by a second rope, which is tied to the center of a piece of wood six or eight inches long. This was caught under the log and a rock placed at the opposite side of the hole. Another stick resting on this served as a trigger. When the deer steps into the hole he pushes down the covering

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[1] [For context of this footnote, see p.20(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

9 Teit, Thompson Indians, 247.
10 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70.[1]

224 twigs which move the trigger, so that the spring is released. In general. Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 286 [462] Nets (spinpI'nia) were made occasionally of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?] long, but only eight feet high, since the deer could not see them to jump over them. They were stretched between trees and shrubs and the deer driven into them so that their horns and feet became entangled, when they were shot. Women prepared the hemp string and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of convenient weight to pack, and tied together. Teit reports that nets among the Thompson were generally made of the bark of Apocynum cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on the snow was hard enough to support the weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone, singling out the freshest track they could find and following it persistently. This work demanded much strength and endurance. Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then rain for a while to melt the surface, then cold to make the crust. They usually carried a sack tied to their belts containing dried meat and roots. In starvation times they would eat game in the bush, though it was customary to bring everything to camp first. [264]

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis[1] for the interior Salish:

> "As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

Men might sing in the sweathouse before

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[1] [For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst]

224 782 Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick."

PREPARATION OF DEER

224 482 When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck.

224 251 If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in [482] the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces."

224 251 262 In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all

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11 Teit, Thompson Indians, 248.

p.21 (A)

the blood possible, and this was all poured 224 in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by warriors, if they had the power of a deer- 251 killing animal, but more frequently service berries were cooked in it, or it was added 262 to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer time, even though it clabbered in the heat. The intestine was hung up near camp until all the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the hills the meat would be dried there, at any 251 time of the year. It would then be lighter to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the deer while women cut the meat into slabs, sev- [462] eral inches square and three-sixteenths of an inch thick. If there was much meat, a structure similar to the salmon rack would [417] be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed 251 at permanent camps (sEnxaówI'ltseten). These had four uprights, were five to six feet 417 long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

251 the thinner the meat is the better it will
dry. After two or three hours of smoking
417 the meat was allowed to remain on a similar
rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that
262 it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first
784 three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were
825 dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had
[783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

224 the deer, was to make all the women roast
784 their meat for a number of days, and then
825 boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle
[794] the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products.

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 Meat was frequently divided among the
group. In the evening after game was cut up
421 a large pile might be made, about which the
women sat in a circle, and those men who had
431 no women. They might sit for this division
on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always
[222] kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept.

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222
462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa´wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI´ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau´na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

The leader of the party[1] had to have considerable 224
power. Nevertheless, his power would be of 624
no avail if he went bear hunting during his
wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. 841
This was necessary for the hunter of any
game under the same circumstances, but in
this case the bear would certainly kill the
hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, 224
he painted his body red, being nude save for
a breechclout, and drew red marks on his
cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over 302
his face, he scraped claw-like marks with
his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224 He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 82.5 An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224 Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

[1] [i.e., bear-hunting party.--Analyst]

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top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground.

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

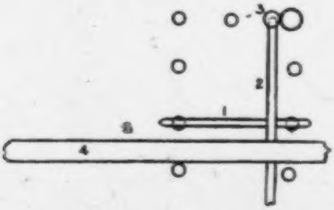

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

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[624]

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden).

224
[585]
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When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, end the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called staămi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung

224 825 up simply the bare skull. Hallowell,[12] who also says that no ceremonial treatment of the bear's carcass was practiced in the Plateau area, makes note of this fact. The greatest criterion of manhood was killing a bear, particularly a grizzly. Stories are numerous of heroes who killed bears unaided, the best of them by stabbing with a knife.

224 A "small mountain goat" (yálī′kwŪlEkEn), quite possibly an antelope since this is somewhat out of the mountain goat range, was hunted in the Waterville - Coulee City region in the spring.

Small game was taken at all seasons, and while not sought at great distances, still it formed a large item after big hunts. Generally it was a sport for boys, or a diversion for women, between berrying and root-digging. Men took part only in big drives, such as those held while the women were digging camas in the Columbia River country. There was no ritual behavior for small game, such as the women's tabus, the rituals of butchering salmon and deer, etc.

Rabbits came foremost. Cottontails were taken by small spring traps set in their trails, with piles of brush for them to jump over so they would land on the trigger and noose. The springs were bent saplings, two inches in diameter. Rabbits (spa′p′kōnten) also were shot by small boys with bows and arrows. On favorable ground boys drove them through the sagebrush towards men with rabbit sticks. These were straight sticks about one inch thick, of willow or service berry wood. Jack rabbits were hunted with sticks, bows and arrows, and boys might use a form of sling.

[963] Rabbit meat was roasted or boiled, but never dried or preserved, although plenty of rabbits were killed. The fur was used for caps but was not strong enough for mittens.

The sling was an Indian hemp cord one or two yards long and one quarter inch thick, one end wrapped about the little finger two or three times, and the rest all wrapped around a large smooth stone about one inch in diameter. The string was jerked back at the end of the throw, sending the stone spinning toward the quarry. This was also used in hunting birds.

When beaver houses were located, the entrance tunnel was dug away back to the bank of the stream; then stakes were driven close together in front so that the beaver could not escape. Sticks were then driven down into the various houses to force the beaver to rush out, on which they were stabbed with sharp stakes.

Ground hogs were shot with the bow, or a short pole of service berry wood was thrust in the animal's den under a rock and twisted

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[12] Hallowell, Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere, 73, 142.

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skūqūleu'ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sī"ūs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

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252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several species, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open. 252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes. 252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 263 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went toget[illegible] to gather plant foods, as they generally [illegible] no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

1 [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1

p. 25 (A)

824 222 251

or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for summer consumption.

222 252 824

Today the fresh berries are boiled and eaten with sugar, though in the old days they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. Dried berries were never cooked alone: usually they were mixed with bitter-root and boiled, often also with salmon, which was separated when served and placed on mats. A special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never mashed. The dried berries were sweet and thus very desirable for mixing with the many bitter foods.

222 251 252 824

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō'səm, were gathered the last part of June and the first of July. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, then sacked and stored, but were sometimes used fresh. They were prepared by first being soaked in hot water half an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft, then stirred vigorously with the foam berry mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root basket, until they foamed up like the whites of eggs. Dried service berries might be added for sweetening before soaking, the berries being very bitter. Grease will prevent the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, prepared in the evening when friends call, and eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berries were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanI'q or swá'enI'k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (xax'xa'I'I) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka'lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stI'q'tsŭ), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the buffalo, see Allen, The American Bisons, 121 f.
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of plant foods at the end of this section.

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1/^ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 25 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 25 (c)

222 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in 251 these containers, handfuls were spread on a rock to dry. After several days they were stored in tule sacks for winter use. They 252 were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled 824 in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (łaza), (9) strawberries (tq!əntqEm), and (10) thimble berries (palpŪ'lEqxm) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skŪlI's) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spI'tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexəRI'pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa'I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[4-62] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

P.26 (A)

222 251 252 824 en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (walqwIū′p‘^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

[342] (15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxûlō′sa, white round camas at Waterville; I′t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka′ûōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

(16) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else. 222 251 252 824

(17) A root (stákcI'n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmdráta), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called cūI'x^{u} (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklō'kūm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden).

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (pcaI'k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūI'x^{u}), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with sEma'rata, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (tcōkōlō'sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsI'n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō'wI) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flames had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

222 251 252 (25) A root (^{t}sIms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

824 A root (xEnasta´tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsI´xwI) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsI´xwI'^{tn}. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamŪ´n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qŪaqŪaqŪnI´lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mI´ktŪ) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mŪ´qŪAk'n.) The women used a beater (klepta´n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1/a] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

[1/a] [See figure 24 on p. 58(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

222 powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and
251 perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not even moistened, and was regarded as a delicacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

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824 (30) Choke cherries (tlŏxtla′x$^{\breve{u}}$) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers. They might be treated like servi[illegible] berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwalī′p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use.*[1] It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aŭ′q!ŭ) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks p[illegible] in the bottom, and on this was laid two i[illegible]ches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 28 (c), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 28 (B)

16 The process among the Okanagon was described by one of the Wilkes party in 1841 (Wilkes, *Narrative*, IV, 434) - L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 28 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 28 (c)

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. 252 They were not pounded or stored, but used as a titbit while they lasted. 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pI′tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi′Ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[18]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. 261 [796] Mussels (skokōI′na) were of first importance. 226 Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River.

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI′tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.

18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[1]

trout would be ascertained before the ice came. 000

Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself. 224 [787]

Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa´ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation. 261

There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites, but it seems to have been frequent before that. 731

How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen: 261

The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it. 776

P. 29 (B)

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

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LIST OF PLANT NAMES

Berries

1.	Service berries, sI'a	Possibly Teit's"[1] sI'a, Amelanchier alnifolia (Nutt)
2.	Red foam berries, sxō'sem	sx̣ō'sEm, Shepherdia canadensis (Nutt)
3.	Black thornberries, cxwanI'q	sx̣wanI'k, Crataegus rivalaris (Nutt)
4.	Red thornberries, x̣ax̣'x̣a'I'I	
5.	Huckleberries, stEka'lqx	stĕx̣ĕ'llk, Vaccinium membranaceum (Dougl)
6.	Willowberries, stI'q'tsu	sti'kex̣ᵘ, Cornus pubescens (Nutt)
7.	Blueberries	
8.	Raspberries ,ƛaƛa	x̣lā'la, Rubus sp.

[1] [For foot note, see p. 29(A), category 11b. -- Analyst]

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9. Strawberries, tq!ëmtqEm	tEkei´mkem, *Fragaria californica* (C and S)
10. Thimbleberries, palpū´lEqrn	
11. Bearberries, skūlī´s	
12. Red berry, tatka; grows high in mountains; not important	

Roots

13. Bitterroot, spī´tlum	Possibly Teit's spī´tlem, *Lewisia rediviva* (Pursh)
14. Small onion, welqwlū´pᶻs	yekiyu´kEps, *Calochortus macrocarpus* (Dougl)
15. Camas: Black round camas traded from Idaho, ī´t'xwa White round camas dug at Waterville, tsaxūlō´sa White camas with long bulb, ka´ūōs	ë´txwa or ī´txwa, *Camassia esculenta*
16. Big onion	
17. "Potato," a bitter bulb, stákcī´x	stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
18. "Yellow Bells," sEma´rata	
19. "Carrots," sklō´kūm	
20. A root, pcaī´k	cxei´kEn, *Sium lineare*
21. A bulb, cāī´xᵘ	s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*
22. A root "white camas ?), tcōkōlō´sa, (perhaps comes from Waterville, above)	
23. Tiger lily bulb, stExtsī´n	stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
24. "Parsnips," mīcō´wī	
25. A "parsley," ᵗsīms'ne´lqa	smitsenā´lkᵘ, *Peucedanum macrocarpum* (Nutt)
26. "Potato," skwEnqūlnEm	skwenkwī´nEm, *Claytonia sessilifolia*
27. "Radish," xEnxEx	xe´nExen, *Cycopus uniflorus*

Other Plant Foods

28. Pine cambium, tsī´xwī	Possibly Teit's tse´xwe or tsā´xe, *Pinus ponderosa*
29. Sunflower seeds, mī´ktū	mī´kto, *Balsamorrihiza sagittata*
30. Choke cherries, tlōxtla´xᵘ	xlo´x.łox, *Prunus demissa* (Walpers)
31. Black moss, skwalī´p	skolë´p, *Alectoria jubata*
32. Pine nutlets, sq!aū´q!ū	sqa´uku, *Pinus ponderosa*
33. Fungus, kła´panter	
34. Fungus, pī´tlik'm	
35. Fir tree, tsqīlxp	
36. Early bud, cwa´ya (See No. 21, its root, which is eaten)	s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*

STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251 417 The arbors (kŏŏka'os) might be built new or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251 415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

171 The account of Teit differs essentially:

251 "The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251 415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

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[19] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 23a.

251 415 before winter, were preferably kept in buckets of cottonwood bark which were cached. These were made in two pieces: a round bottom piece and a cylindrical wall sewn up with a single seam. The bark was cut very thick (one to one and a half inches) so that no supports were needed. It could be peeled off the trees with comparative ease in June, when the sap is plentiful. A cover was woven of tall "horse-tail grass" (qEtsō´s). Leaves and rocks were laid on this cover. These baskets were made in the same manner as those of birch bark (see Material Culture).

[417]

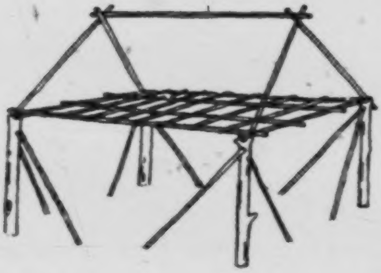

Fig. 2. Frame of storage arbor.

Storage barrels, or rather tubs, of wood were reported by one informant, Suszen. Lucy Joe, who was exceptionally well-informed, had never heard of them. These varied in height from one to three or four feet, and the diameter from nine inches to three feet. Any kind of wood was used which was free from knots, preferably cottonwood and least preferably pine, because of its pitch which flavors the food. A cylindrical section was dried for a month or so, then the inside burned out by placing coals in it and scraping out the charcoal and partly burned wood with a stone adz. This operation limited the size to four feet, for it would be difficult to manage the fire any deeper. To determine the wall's thickness, they were thumped; no holes were bored. The cover was always of wood, overlapping the rim and fitting tightly, or the gaps stuffed.

A hide might be thrown over it, held down by rocks. These barrels were never decorated. They were used for all foods intended to be kept over a month: if for a shorter time, baskets or sacks were used. Only one food was placed in each barrel, lest the tastes mix. Their special advantage over baskets and sacks lay in that insects and rodents could less easily get at the food.

251 As winter came on the supplies were removed from the arbors to rock shelters or pits, usually nearer the winter villages. The pits (ŭlakI´n't) were from six to sixteen

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qōqanI′xh^u, "cracked hilltop."

251 262 342 352 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (x̣alI′na) built one on each side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

1[For context of footnotes, see p. 32(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

252 212 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow. 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

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p. 32(4) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above. 1

[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion. 1

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot."[a] The ceremony was called cqEpŏ'mnsimm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skŭm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SüipEqē n after a dream."[a] His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

[a] [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as for food, most men having enough general power; but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help. 224 [777]

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa'p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or pack animals. 224 [784] [492]

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: çinq!alI'p, "coyote"; sinikstI'a, "skunk"; çkÁmxI'ct, "bear"; kIlaûna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and arrow would be made. Children were supposed to be able to converse with dogs, 231 552 562 789 231 [825]

p. 33 (A)

It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now. 231 [435]

No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introduction and played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent. 177 231 472

The horse is called sinx̌'tsaska´xa, or inkŭwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikŭwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon. 177 231 171

177 231 171 For the northern bands we have the following information. In the days when Andrew Tillson's father was in his prime, that is, about 1850, they got horses in the Blackfoot country by fighting. (His father died, an old man, at the time Andrew was born, eight or ten years, probably more, before the Nez Percé war of 1877.) They had no horses before his father was born. Margaret Sersepkin, a Northern Okanagon now about ninety-two, said that as long as she could remember her father had horses. This would set the date about 1840-50. (These may have been obtained from a Hudson Bay Company post, for even when she was a baby, he hunted for furs to trade with the company.) She accompanied her husband Sersepkin to the Blackfoot country with a train of thirty horses when seventeen or eighteen, i.e., about 1856. Andrew also mentioned seeing his first horse at Kettle Falls about 1874. At that time they (customarily ?) went to the Wallawalla district by canoe to get horses from Indians and whites. He also rode there at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). This may mean only that horses came into general use in the eighteen-seventies. Andrew further stated that when he was fifteen, i.e., about 1880-85, Sersepkin and Kawi´salaqin began raising horses in numbers on the Okanogan River.

177 231 On the lower Okanogan, [illegible]d Harry said he first saw horses when he was about ten, not before, that is, about 1850. (He was

p.34 (A)

177 231 about ninety in 1930.) They were brought from the lower Columbia River by the Nez Percé. His mother also got some from the northeast. Mary Carden mentioned travelling with horses when she was sixteen, about 1870, but her people had horses at least half a dozen years earlier.

In the central district, Lucy Joe was living near the present town of Okanogan about 1875 when her father brought the first horses of the district from "Portland." (She is now about seventy and was a big girl then.) She stated that they had no horses before the earthquake of 1872 (?).

231 Young coyotes, foxes, and wolves were caught and kept as pets for a short time, but they were apt to chew their ropes and escape. Young bear and deer were also kept.

Eagles were kept by many families. They were always captured as fledglings and reared in cages (?). Some men laid claim to eyries and prevented others going there. Eagles would eat only raw meat, and starved to death if given any other foods alone. They grew a new set of feathers every two months; only the long tail feathers were taken as a rule.

Magpies were easy to keep: their wings and tails were clipped. They stayed right in camp. Crows and geese were also taken as pets.

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

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MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1] The underground or semi-subterranean house appears to have been [178] a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[2] Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[3] An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the [823] length of the house. One door preferably faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

342 as the smaller. One was cited as forty feet long, which took a week to construct.

To form an end frame two poles were tied together near their tops and raised into position (Figure 3, a, a). About a third of the way down, two poles were tied to each of these foundation poles, one vertical and the other slanting in a plane parallel to the main axis of the house (b, c). A third pole was tied somewhat below this point, slanting in a plane between that of the main axis and that of the original poles (d). This made the end of the house rounded. The interior frames consisted simply of two crossed poles (e, e) tied together near the top with Indian hemp or willow twigs. These were ten to twenty feet distant from the end frames, depending on the size of the house. The butts of the frame poles were planted about a foot in the ground. Horizontal poles, set end to end, were then tied to them the full length of the lodge along each side and around the ends, leaving a door space about five and one-half feet high at each end. The number of rows of horizontal poles (f, f), which were about three feet apart, varied according to the size of the lodge. Four or five rows were common, making a lodge about forty feet long and fifteen feet high at the ridge. To the bottom row of horizontal poles short vertical sticks were lashed (g, g), about a foot and one-half apart, their butt ends buried in the ground a foot, like the frame poles.

342
285 Mats of round tules were tied to the finished framework, upon which one could climb without fear of its collapsing. The tules ran vertically, their natural length limiting the breadth of the mats to four or five feet. They were sewn together (placed with butts and tips alternating at the edge) with Indian hemp in a needle of bone or wood about seven inches long. The lines of sewing were spaced about five inches apart. A willow stick slightly larger than a tule in diameter terminated each end. The mats varied from ten to twenty feet in length. Since dry tules were used, the mat was very light and could be easily transported. One row of them, end to end, was tied to the framework all the way around the lodge, leaving a space at each end for the doorway; then the next row was tied above it, and so on, until in the finished lodge each row of mats overlapped the one below it like shingles. The top row of mats was lashed to the top pair

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000 1 On the choice of village sites and arrangement of the houses, see Social Organization.[a]
2 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 227.[a]
3 A house of this type is illustrated in McWhorter, The Crime Against the Yakimas, 35.[a]

[a] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 37 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

342 285 of horizontal ribs, so that the space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

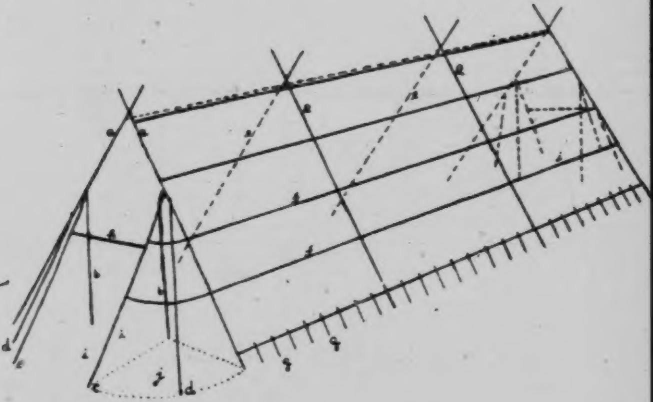

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3). [551] In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

342 592 Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
space directly under the open ridge. Protection
342 from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pillowing
513 the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were

raised two feet from the ground and were six
[753] feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled
and the mats rolled up and stored in trees
for use the following winter, or some of them
were carried along for use on summer shelters.

171 The Colville were said to have had mat
lodges precisely like those of the Southern
342 Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

poles were tied together near the top, one 171
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622
greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531]
which covered the chief's lodge were decorated on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large [791]
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

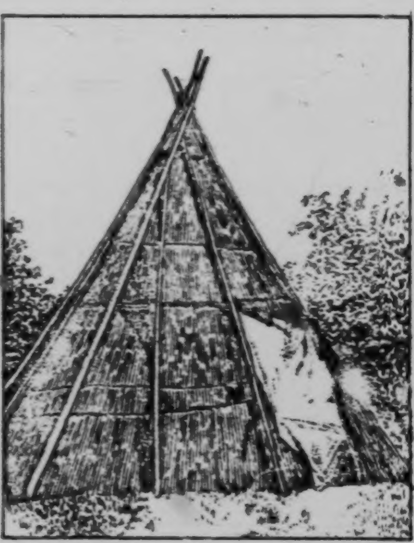

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular pit about a foot deep was dug, and three or four poles (both numbers were regularly used) sharpened and tied together at the top were set up inside the excavation. Other poles of smaller diameter were then tucked in among the foundation poles, the butt ends of all poles resting against the

1/^ [For context of this footnote, see p. 39(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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4 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 69. 1/^

342 342 285 side of the pit. Two or three rows of transverse branches were tied on, completely encircling the frame, as in the mat lodge. Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered with several rows of round-tule mats, the tules vertical, each row overlapping the one below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top row of mats was of single thickness, each row below having one more layer of mats than the row above. The mats were not always rectangular, as those of the long lodge, but curved, a condition accomplished by laying all the large ends of the tules along the same border of the mat and not alternating them with small ends. After the mats were in place, slender poles were laid against the mats and heavier poles on these to keep the mats from blowing about. An opening was left at the top for the escape of smoke, flanked by two ears supported at the top by poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method of construction of these was not obtained, except for the information that they were made of tule mats. Presumably they consisted simply of two tule mats fastened to the top of the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis with cloth covering show such ears (Figure 5). There were storage spaces at the entrance, said to be like those of the long lodge. Details are lacking beyond a description of vertical poles inside the entrance tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The door was like that of the long lodge: a mat of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with the tules horizontal so that it could be rolled up and tied. One side was raised for entering. The door faced south, for protection from the weather. Poles were laid against the mats on the outside to keep them from blowing in the wind.

342 In winter cedar bark was set up within the margin of the pit outside the poles and covered with grass and earth, or earth was piled up a foot or more over the outside mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat affixed outside of this.

342 592 The size of the tipi varied according to the number of occupants. Only one or two families lived in a tipi: a larger number would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the tipi and the number of rows and layers of mats varied accordingly. There was only one fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis were reported, although Curtis[1] says they were as often elliptical as circular among the interior Salish.

171 177 342 The first buffalo skin tipis were seen by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried (i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated that the first skin tipis, possibly copied from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty years ago.

[1] [For foot note, see p. 39(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 39(B)

342
361 According to one informant a summer camp usually had two rows of tipis or temporary structures facing each other with a long street between. Each one had built in front of it a flat-roofed shelter of the type described below. This was the general living and eating place during the summer, cooking being done at the outer edge nearest the street. Other informants referred to the arrangement of a summer camp as rather haphazard.

342 Data on the earth-covered lodge is equivocal. Billy Joe spoke of underground houses (among Northern or Southern Okanagon ?)

about seven feet deep and rectangular in shape, usually fifteen by thirty feet, larger ones being forty feet long and smaller ones twenty. The smaller earth lodges were probably all round. There were two longitudinal ridgepoles, only three or four feet apart, supported by four stout uprights. These ridgepoles were only three to five feet above ground level and were held apart by stout braces. Smaller poles were placed as close together as possible with one end on these and the other end on the ground. Pine bark, grass and earth were laid over the poles, two feet deep, except for a space about four feet long between the ridgepoles for a smoke hole and again (?) at the entranceway. The entrance was said to be on the sloping roof and on the side away from the wind. A trench was dug around the house to carry off the water. Both floor and earth walls (against which small poles were set upright) were lined with brush or tule mats, or both, to keep out the dampness. These houses had but a single fire, even though the largest might hold eighty people. A sloping notched log served as ladder, its direction immaterial. A rope ladder was also mentioned but seems improbable. It was generally said that the wealthier and more industrious people used

p. 40 (A)

342 to live in such houses. A person with the power of a burrowing animal would initiate the building of one of these because then the dirt could be more easily dug. It took about fifteen to twenty days to build one.

Mary Carden's father was reported to have heard of round underground houses among the southern bands of Sinkaietk, the largest of which might hold eighty people. A circular pit was dug. Big green logs of pine were placed "flat across the top about three or four feet apart." Small pieces of driftwood were placed over these; then a foot-thick layer of green rye or meadow grass, an another foot-thick layer of dirt. The circular hatchway, three feet in diameter, was at the center. The hatchway had a coping made of a willow hoop wrapped with tule or willow bark to make it smooth. A green pine log, notched, served as a ladder. It is not clear whether this house, presumably in the southern part of our area, had its roof flush with the ground (that is, a mere covered pit) or was a conical structure raised over a pit. The former is more probable. Billie Joe and Johnnie stated that there were no houses with roofs flush with the ground.

Julie Josephine, now about eighty, had never heard of earth lodges among the Kartar people. It is possible that this means that there were none at Kartaro, a locality famous for its mild winter climate.

Methow houses, according to Chilowhist Jim, were circular (fifty feet in diameter) and had their roofs flush with the level of the ground. Yet they did not let water drain in. The inner frame was four or five fir posts supporting a series of poles laid close together, the whole covered with tips of fir boughs and dirt. At the center was a square hatchway, through which two separate

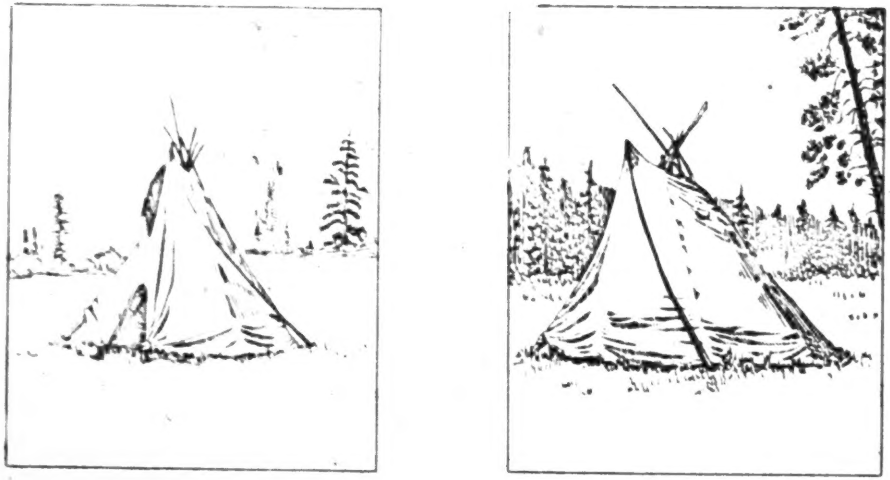

Fig. 5. Tipi of Wenatchi woman at Disautel (front and rear views).

p. 40 (C)

ladders slanted. These were notched logs, or rather, provided with small holes for the feet. Beside each ladder-log were two slim poles for hand-rails. The single fire was at the center of the house. At night the hatch was closed to keep snow out and the warmth in. So warm were they that no blankets were needed. 342

Underground lodges on the Similkameen River, again, were reported to have been round. Big Joe had seen an underground lodge in Inkamip (Northern Okanagon) territory. This had a notched log ladder and a little door at the ground level for the use of old people. The Colville were also said to have had underground lodges.

An obscure description of an earth lodge near Oroville in Northern Okanagon territory was obtained from David Isaac. This resembled an earth-covered tipi with a round hole at the top and set into a circular excavation. The pit was about twelve feet in diameter and eleven feet deep. It would seem that four main poles were set obliquely at as many points of the periphery of the bottom of the pit, to meet a round frame at the center of the roof. A vertical prop supported each of these four at its midpoint. Other poles were laid on this framework to form a cone (?). The roof was covered with successive layers of bark, grass and dirt. The excavation outside of the conical roof was completely filled with dirt. A notched log protruding through the smoke hole in the roof gave access. 171 342

Andrew Tillson once saw an earth-covered lodge among the Lillooet in the Nikola Valley, but he could give only fragmentary information. It projected four or five feet above the ground, the decking consisting of poles covered with six or more layers of peeled bark, bark side in, over which earth was thrown. These poles were preferably of cedar, otherwise of fir or tamarack. They were supported by four large posts set up in deep holes at the corners of a square. A circular pit was then dug. Smaller posts, mortised into their tops, reinforced the four main posts. These apparently leaned inward. Crossbeams rested on these, mortised in and held by the weight above, so that no fastenings were necessary. Other horizontal poles were set in notches in the leaning side poles. The entrance was about ten (?) feet square, exactly at the center (openings were always at the center) and was never closed. Whatever snow fell through was easily removed. The ladder set in the hatchway was a single log, sloping and notched on its upper face. It was set about a foot into the ground and rested against the rafter poles, which were notched to receive it. It protruded above the opening about five feet for convenience in grasping. The "front" of the house apparently faced west, since women were allowed to approach only from the east because game was kept "at the back:" but this information does not explain the direction in which the ladder sloped. At its foot was the fireplace, on the bare

ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. 171 342 Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. 342 Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground: fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. 342 484 Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi; put up by the women. 343 [841] A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

343 arched over these at right angles, their butt ends on alternate sides of the lodge. Where the wands crossed, they were tied with willow twigs. Finally a heavy wand was bent over the frame from back to front and broken off at the top of the entrance (between the

middle pair of arches first erected, on the side of their butt ends), where it was tied. All the wands were set in holes made with a short stick pounded into the ground with a stone. The finished frame was round at the base and dome shaped. If the structure was a permanent one it was covered with successive layers of bark, grass, and earth. For temporary use it was covered with several layers of blankets. A blanket was hung over the entrance and lifted to enter. Originally this was simply a bundle of fir boughs. The floor was covered with fresh fir tips just before use.

The pit for the sweating-stones was a hole about a foot deep and a foot wide, situated inside to the right of one entering.

p. 42 (A)

in very large houses it might be at the center. This was dug before the framework of the lodge was erected. Hot stones were carried into the lodge and placed in the pit; water sprinkled on them furnished steam. The sweat house was always so oriented that its entrance faced the stream beside which it was built. The fire for heating the stones was built near the lodge, a little to one side of the entrance. Sticks were used to carry in the hot stones, except by those whose power permitted them to carry hot stones barehanded.

A somewhat different type of sweat house was seen at Katarc, Disautel, and near the mouth of the Okanogan River (Figures 7 and 8). This was made of four willow poles which crossed and were tied at the top. The rock pit was at the left (?) of the person entering, whereas in the lodge described above the pit was on the right.

Each village was said to have a large

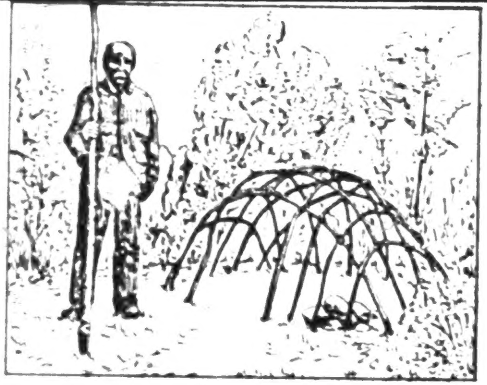

Fig. 6. Framework of temporary sweatlodge.

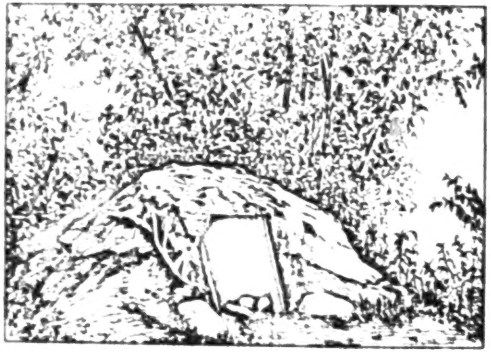

Fig. 7. Sweatlodge near Kartaro.

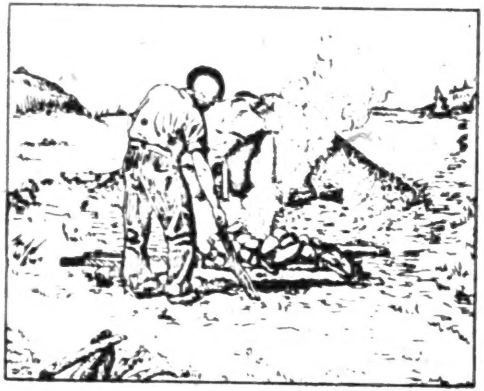

Fig. 8. Heating stones for sweatlodge at Disautel.

p.42 (c)

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343 Each village was said to have a large 364 sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5]

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported- 361 as being defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were some- 712 times needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6]

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the North- 291 ern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear hide, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. When first dressed, a child [858] wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing [462] was made by women.[8]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime male dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (circa 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left, the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
[6] See Warfare.
[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.
[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

The apron of the clout was sometimes decorated with a fringe. The belt was a [531] piece of tanned skin tied at the front in a flat knot, bowknots being unknown in the old days (?).

Men's leggings reached from the breechclout to the moccasins. They were frequently made of wolf, coyote, or fox skin in winter, and buckskin in summer. The exact construction is not clear. Each legging was apparently made of a single piece of skin sewn or laced with buckskin on the outside of the leg and so cut as to leave a triangular flap along the seam, point downward. This was often slit in fringes. Stripes of [531] porcupine quills, shells, or feather quills were sewn down the seams and around the bottom as decoration. The legging was held on by a thong attached to the top on the outside, which was tied to the belt. The legging was not attached to the moccasin, but simply fell over it or was tucked in. Winter leggings, most often of coyote skin, were worn fur side out and were not decorated. The sides were sewn with buckskin, using an awl. Additional leggings of groundhog skin, sometimes added to eke out the length of those covering the thighs, reached from knee to ankle. Women's leggings were shorter than men's, reaching to just above the knee. They were always of buckskin and worn the year around. (Chilowhist Jim stated that they wore goat hide in winter.) The edges were tied together with three buckskin thongs on the outer side of the leg. Apparently there was no triangular flap as on the men's leggings. Decorations were of porcupine quills [531] or paint, but shells were not used.

Two types of moccasin were in use, although both come in the category of "one-piece" moccasins. One, said by informants to be the older, was made with a tongue covering the instep, the seam of the wide sole-piece extending from the toes to meet it. A later one-piece type, said to have been borrowed from the Nez Percé, has almost completely superseded the older type. This has its own seam around the margin of the sole. Both were made from smoked skin lest wetting make them stiffen. There were no sex differences in cut.

For the older style moccasin a piece of buckskin was cut larger than the sole so that it could be lapped over the sides of the foot. This was then sewn up from the toe to the instep, and vertically up the heel (Figure 9).[1] A folded double tongue piece covering the instep was then inserted, the sole piece being slightly gathered to fit the tongue. The circular seam securing this was reinforced by inserting in it an extra strip of buckskin. A straight piece of buckskin, about three inches wide and long enough for its ends to overlap about two inches at

[1] [For footnote, see p.43 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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5 For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.

6 See Warfare.

7 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.

8 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9, Nos. 2-267, 2-268; Figure 10, Nos. 2-266, 2-269.[1]

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 43(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 43(c)

291 the front of the ankle, was then sewn to the side of the sole piece from the top of one tongue seam, around the heel to the other tongue seam. This ankle flap was pulled tightly around the ankle with the free ends overlapping. This moccasin was laced by a buckskin thong passing back of the heel and through two loops sewed at the points where the ankle flap met the tongue.

In the more recent type of moccasin the seam runs around the outside of the foot from the toe to the heel with a vertical seam up the heel (Figure 10). The straight tongue is part of the sole-piece, and in use is tucked under the overlapping ankle flap, which is attached as in the older type of moccasin. Sometimes the sole-piece is slashed even with the width of the tongue and a tab bent back over the instep and fringed.[1] The moccasin is held on by a thong lacing which passes through holes in the sides of the moccasin and the tongue.

[1] [For foot note, see p. 44 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 44 (A)

291 Both types of moccasin were provided with tabs or trailers protruding at the heel. The tab of the recent style is inserted into the lower [illegible] as it is sewed at the heel. Those of the older style were made by pinching out the material in some fashion as the heel seam was formed. Heel-tabs were forked at various angles or fringed, according to the fancy of the maker.

[286] "Moccasins" were also woven of Indian hemp by those too poor to use deer skin. These were said to have been made in the older style, but informants could give us no details as to the manner of weaving. It is possible that these resembled the slipper-like sandals of the Paviotso and Klamath.

In winter, warmth was obtained by stuffing moccasins and leggings with sunflower leaves, deer hair, or grass, made soft by rubbing between the palms. One informant (Cecile Brooks) reported warm moccasins of

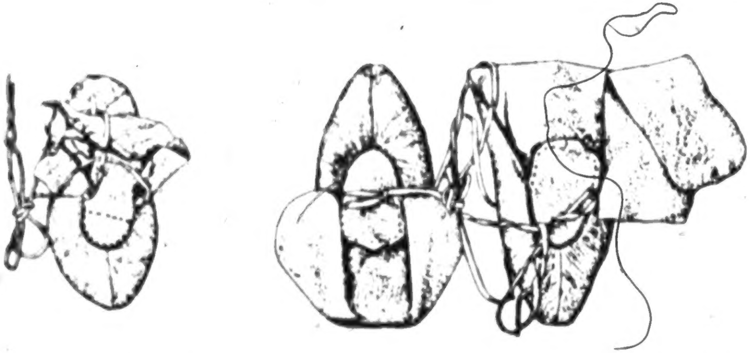

Fig. 9. Moccasins of older type. (The moccasin on the right is left unsewn to show the pattern.)

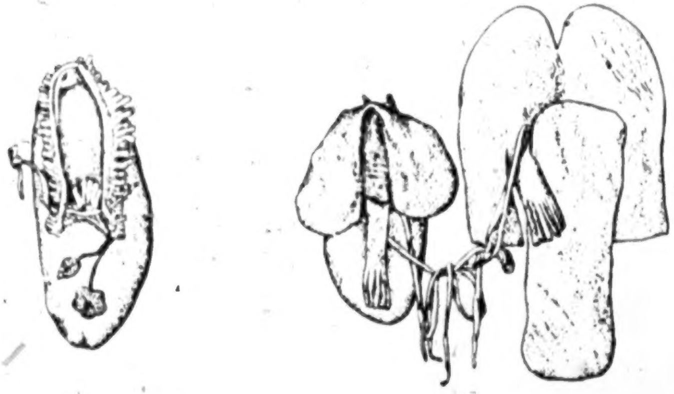

Fig. 10. Moccasins of recent type. (The moccasin on the right has been left unsewn to show the pattern.)

p. 44 (c)

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9 This is not clear. Perhaps it is meant that the tongue is cut off short, fringed, and allowed to fall over the instep as in Figure 10 with or without another long tongue sewed in place. — L.S.

P. 44 (D)

buffalo skin with the hair inside. These needed no stuffing and were not decorated. 291

At present moccasins are undecorated except those used in the winter dances. The modern decoration is bead work in floral designs of the Great Lakes type. The old style moccasin was decorated with embroidery on the seams and surface of the inset tongue. Presumably the embroidery was done in porcupine quills in early times; after the introduction of the horse, horse hair was a common embroidery material. One pair of moccasins of the older style obtained was decorated with horse hair at the curved seam of the tongue: two lines of black horse hair at the outside, a white line inside these, and a third black line inside the white. For this several strands of hair taken in a bundle were wrapped with another bundle to form a cord-like line. The stitches of sinew with which the hair cord was sewn on passed through the turns (?) of the wrapped bundle of hairs. The two center lines of hair were thicker than the two outer lines. A tassel of hair about two inches long was left on the right side of each moccasin. 291 531

The man's shirt was made of two deer skins, neck end up, sewed together over the shoulders. It had sleeves to the elbow, beyond which a thong might extend to tie to the gloves. Sometimes the sides were fastened only with thongs. According to Teit,[10] Northern Okanagon shirts had the margins of the neck cut circular or triangular to be bent down and sewed to the body of the shirt in the manner of the pendant flaps of Plains shirts. A poncho-like shirt made of a single skin with a hole cut for the head to pass through was also worn. Fringes and embroidery were not emphasized. Neither the vest nor the neck wrap mentioned by Teit was described by our informants. 291

The woman's dress was made of two buckskins, hung from the shoulders and reaching as low as the calf or ankle. These skins had the flesh side out. One informant stated that the tail end of the skin was at the bottom of the dress because this was the broader part of the skin, but another stated that it was at the top, which agrees with Teit's information. The shoulders were either sewed or laced together with buckskin thongs. The sides of the dress were sewed together below the armpits. This stitching was well within the margins of the skin, which was purposely cut over size. The marginal portions could then be slit for fringes. The leg skins were left attached and sewed as a sort of sleeve. This was sewn along the upper side, but apparently unsewn below, or at best laced, so that it resembled a cape draped over the arm. Mary Carden mentioned sleeves of elbow length. Sleeves evidently varied greatly in length. Seams, ends of sleeves, and the bottom of the dress were usually fringed. Wealthy women added a

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[10] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 232.

p. 45(A)

yoke to the dress. No belts were worn with 291
these dresses until recently.

The dress was decorated with paint (col- 291
ored dots applied with the thumb across the
top and around the bottom) together with 531
short pieces of buckskin thong doubled and

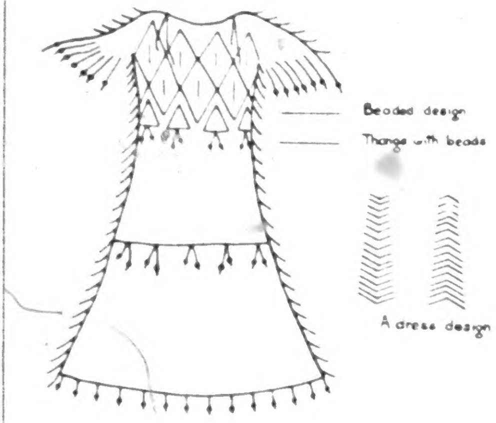

Fig. 11. Women's dress (after native sketch).

sewn on at the fold to resemble small bows.
Mary Carden denied the use of painted decoration.
Other dresses had designs made with
bone beads or embroidery of porcupine quills
along the yoke and near the bottom of the
garment (Figure 11). Various special designs
might be used by women with certain kinds of
power. For example, a woman with power [778]
against being shot would have rows of little
holes around the top and bottom of her dress.
On the whole, women kept articles indicative
of their power hidden inside the dress. A
women with the power of a swift bird might
have some of its feathers tucked into the
buckskin ties on her shoulder: when pursued
she would throw these feathers behind her.

Porcupine embroidery was said to be made by doubling the quill, slipping the ends through two holes close together. The ends were then interlocked or tied with buckskin on the under side. (This may well be questioned.) Designs used were a series of short parallel lines, squares, triangles, zigzag lines, and chevrons. Beads or shells (including dentalium shells) were sometimes attached to the fringes. The use of beads was learned from the Nez Percé.

Some notes on design styles in general were obtained from Cecile. Solid dots and concentric circles were used; the dot within a circle as a unit being unknown. Long before the earthquake (about 1870) they were

291 531 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

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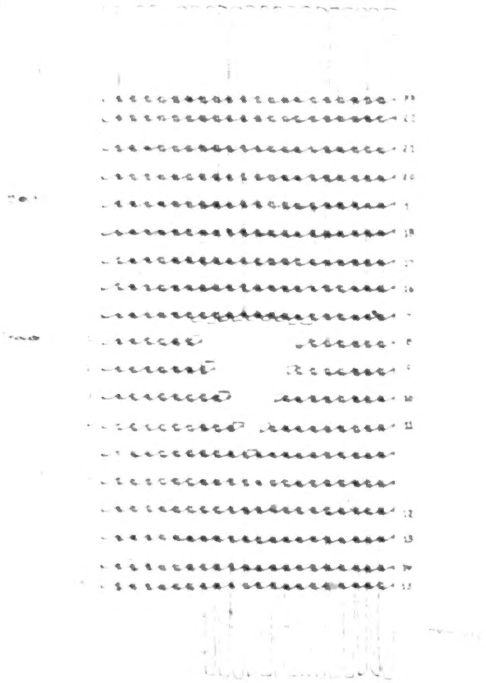

Fig. 17. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleened by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'èlō'q'ètc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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[11] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

p. 46 (A)

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aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

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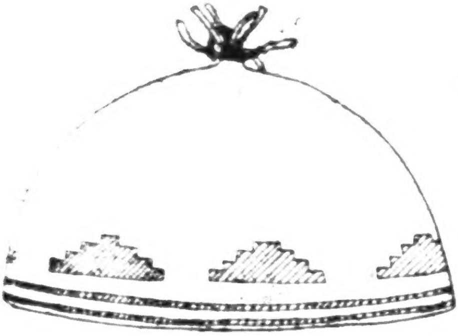

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

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During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

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Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decor-
ated with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks re-
call the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalis-
pel living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the [439]
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted and embroidered, or finely embellished capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by wo- 292
men on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shap- 285
ed and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alter-
nating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that bas-
ket hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a 778
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buck
skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

er animal were sewn on top or front as a decoration. It was stated that if an old man with strong power saw such a cap worn by a young man who lacked the privilege, he would ask his power to kill the pretender. 292 778 [754]

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291

[292 778]

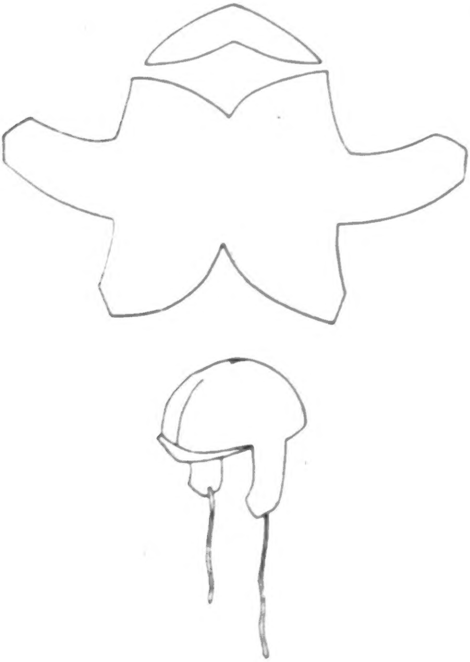

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around. 301 [778]

Feather bonnets were said to have been introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasku´sm (?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé 171 292

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong net was used, with meshes one inch apart. The feathers, of which there were one or two dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

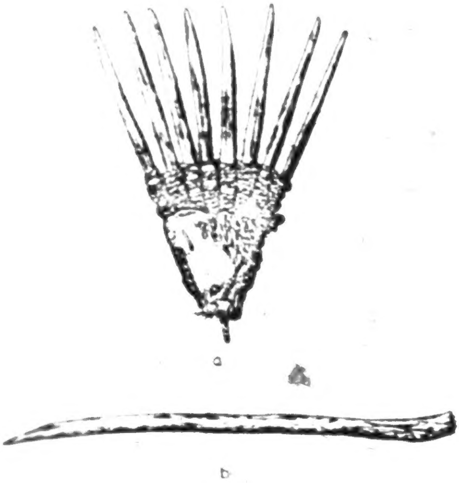

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which might reach even to the ground. The lower end of each quill was cut down to a strip, which was passed through the fabric or skin of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were often decorated with tassels of horse hair or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16] and by them only on special public occasions or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
211 ing significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a single matter of business, two feathers in-
622 dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore one or two feathers upright, depending on the prestige and standing of the individual. Three feathers indicated a chief. Such standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with power, in that an individual without the proper power could not wear feathers without suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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16 But see Marriage Ceremonies.

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
211 Since scouts and messengers would be chosen from among men of prestige and ability, who
554 would also naturally have sufficient power to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
622 here. Apparently after the introduction of the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them from blowing about. At puberty girls folded
[881] up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated.
[145] The grease was collected from the tops of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy 515
leaves of dogwood. These were picked in
early August, stored for winter use, and when 314
wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to
produce a lather. Another soap was provided 317
by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds.

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip 171
from side to side just below the nose and
inserted a shell or string with a bead on 304
each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it.

When girls were two or three years old 301
their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced
with a bone awl. The hole was salved with 304
deer fat and first a greased thread, then a
stick inserted and worked back and forth fre- 852
quently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsiapū́stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings 304
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. 852
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears.

302

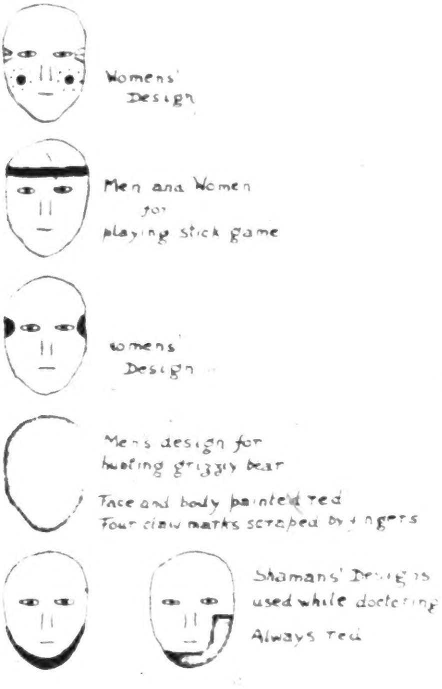
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
womens' Design
Mens design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more char- 171
acteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the nee-
dle was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

304 cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman capable of drawing blood from wounds might tattoo a line of dots from each corner of [791] his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not clear whether the designs had any connection with the power animal or other significance. [681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a person because he was a murderer or thief, as Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant; that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin, this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent introduction than the first. 171 It was said to have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce 854 now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-[illegible]), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 281 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 16).[1] This wooden board, an inch thick, was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress .nkEke'e kEtEn, "pad for the back" was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows, one under the head at the very top of the board, the other under the knees (?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

854 ÷ [For context of this footnote, see p. 50(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 18, No. 2-262; Figure 20, No. 2-263. $\overset{1}{\wedge}$

p. 50(C)

854
281

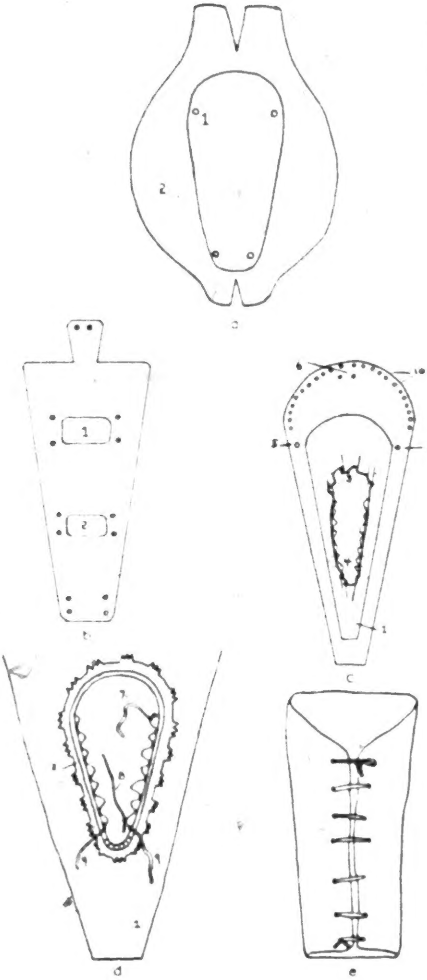
1
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Fig. 17. Cradle types and patterns (a, infant's first cradle; b, old trapezoidal type; c, recent oval type with pouch; d, detail of the pouch shown in c; e, sack for use at night).

p. 51 (A)

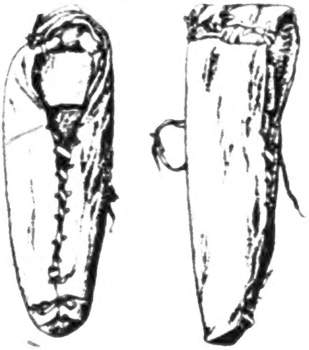

Fig. 18. Infant's first cradle (from a model).

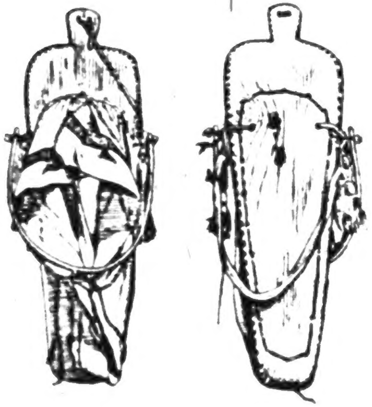

Fig. 19. Trapezoidal type of second cradle.

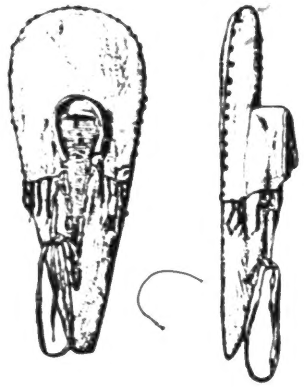

Fig. 20. Oval type of second cradle (from a model).

p. 51 (B)

854 were sharp, but in a specimen seen in the field (Figure 19) they were somewhat rounded. Six holes, in pairs, were bored down each side of the cradle to receive the loops necessary to lace the bedded infant to the cradle if the board was to have no pouch attached (Figure 17,b). Three loops on each side were then formed of a cord (thong ?) which passed in and out of the pairs of holes, beginning from the under face of the board. A willow bark pad was tied between the uppermost pairs of loop holes to lie under the child's neck; a second similar pad was tied between the middle pairs of holes to rest under its knees (Figure 17, b,1,2). Baby and bedding were laced in by a buckskin thong passing through the three pairs of loops. This thong was permanently tied to the lower left loop (that is, on the baby's right side and was carried first to the opposite lower loop, thence to the left and right middle loops, thence to the upper left loop, and was finally tied at the upper right by a simple knot followed by a half-loop.

When a pouch was to be attached to the trapezoidal board a row of holes was bored around the periphery (to judge by the specimen shown in Figure 19; there being no other data. The pouch itself was evidently shaped much like that of the baby's first cradle.

In all trapezoidal boards a hole was bored in each upper corner to receive loops to which the tump line was attached. These loops were of tanned skin from the neck of a deer, which is tough; the tump line was bearskin, worn with the fur side next the carrier's head. The ends of the broad tump strap were brought through each loop, lapped back, and sewn with buckskin thongs. A shade bow was also previded to hold a covering away from the baby's face, so that it might at once allow plenty of air, yet keep off the flies. This arch was a green service berry or willow branch, trimmed to a half-inch thickness and fastened in the proper shape until it dried. It was tied to the tump line loops at each side and was of such a size as to stand ten inches above the baby's face. The arch was adjustable: it could be laid flat or raised as desired. When travelling the arch was held erect by two strings tied in grooves at the top of the arch; one end of each thong extended to a hole in the handle extension at the top of the board, the other to the middle lacing loops. A mattress just the length of the child was made for use with at least the pouched variety of this cradle, together with pillows for head and knees. These pillows were somewhat smaller (?) than those provided for the baby's first cradle.

854
531
[846] These boards were not decorated: "the board was so small that there was no room left for painting." Strings of dentalium shells were hung from the shade bow for the baby to play with. As in all other cradles, the baby's umbilical cord, tied in a buckskin, and sometimes a fool-hen's heart, were attached to one side of the cradle near the [illegible].

854

In more recent types of cradles the board was oval with a flattened base. As noted above, there were two different ways of providing a pouch for the baby: either the pouch was fastened to the face of the board well within its margin (a type derived from Moses-Columbia), or the board was entirely encased in a skin cover which fitted snugly except where it pouched to receive the infant (derived from the Nez Percé).

The oval board, in an example of the first mentioned variety made by Mary Carden, measured thirty-one inches in lêngth, thirteen and a half inches in greatest width. A flattened base was provided so that the cradle could be stood on the ground leaning against some convenient upright. The board as a whole was not covered with skin, but a skin pouch (Figure 17, c,1) was fastened to it through a series of holes arranged in appropriate positions well within the margin of the board. In the specimen examined this pouch was twenty-three inches long by nine and a half broad, and conformed to the contour of the board. A strip of cloth (Figure 17, d,2) was sewn around the opening of the sack; at intervals three angular pieces had been clipped out by way of decoration. Two cloth pillows (Figure 17, c,3,4) were fastened in place within the sack. The carrying band or tump line was fastened to two holes (c, 5) on either side of the sack. The same holes also served for tying the ends of the shade bow, which could be held upright by cords to two holes at the top of the board (c, 6). A series of loops were provided on each side of the opening of the sack so that it might be laced up. The lacing thongs were two (d, 7, 8); one fastened to the uppermost loop on the right, the other to the lowest loop on the same side. To lace the infant in, these were put through successive loops to meet at the middle, where they could be tied together. The lower margin of the opening could be drawn up over its feet by a pucker-string (d, 9) which ran under the stitching; the ends of the pucker-string could be tied together. This string was permanently attached to the lowest loop on the right. By way of decoration twenty-two brass pins were set along the upper margin of the board (c, 10). Such boards were said also to be decorated with bead work, but probably the following variety was meant.

In the second or Nez Percé variety of the oval board (Figure 20) the buckskin covering was stretched tightly over the board, leaving an opening, that is, a pocket, to be laced as high as the breast of the child. A second piece of buckskin was cut to fit the upper part of the board (a dark cloth in the model illustrated) and sewn down smoothly, covering the seams in the piece underneath. A hood which stood out from the board a few inches beyond the baby's head, was made of two straight pieces of buckskin sewn together. The two thicknesses of skin were sufficiently stiff to stand out at right angles to the board. This was sewn around the upper edge of the opening of the pouch. A mattress just the length of the child and two smaller pillows were provided for this

p. 52 (B)

854 [531] cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills.

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

411 Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] 1^ The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] 1^

237 322 411 The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew. 000

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[18] See Individual Life Cycle.

1^ [For footnotes, see p. 53 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53 (A)

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283
or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled [237]
on the thigh by women. One end of the
string formed a loose loop, the other was 411
lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow
was not in use the loop end was loosened and slipped down the bow. Great
care had to be taken that the string be new
and strong, for if it should break, the bow
would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411
a half feet long, while war arrows were perhaps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was 322
used for arrows, as the pliability of this wood when moist permitted easy straightening, and its stiffness and elasticity when dry made it admirable for shooting. A fairly straight piece of wood was selected, stripped of its bark and bent straight while heating it before a fire. The teeth were used as a vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench. Wrenches were also made of bone and horn. Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes arrows were straightened by weighting with flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing with a handful of service berry shavings or tough grass; never with a stone. Just below the nock the arrow was made thin to provide a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of eagle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes [237]
were always parallel to the axis of the shaft. Each feather was split and the wider half discarded. The quill of the narrow and stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible, while being held between teeth and hand. The vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew from the back of a deer. One end of the chewed and shredded sinew was held in the teeth while the other was started around the arrow about three quarters of an inch below the nock, after pine pitch had been applied. The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft at one end under the sinew with the left and while the arrow was rotated with the ight, thus rolling the sinew around the aft. When the vanes were neatly in place the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had been wrapped on. The forward ends of the vanes were fastened in the same way. There were no grooves into which the quills were set; neither were they bound in the middle, but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211
were often decorated with paint to facilitate finding them in the bush and probably 531]
also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411
of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double
spiral, about that portion of the shaft 531
where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was smeared over this section and charcoal, red ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

411
137

18 See Individual Life Cycle.
19 Ironwood, used by tribes on the Columbia, does not grow in this region.
20 Modern examples made for casual hunting of small game are quite short. A specimen in the Washington State Museum (no. 2-271) is thirty-two inches in length.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 53 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53 (c)

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
531 unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design in natural-color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
324 designed for large game were fitted with bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with pro-
778] per power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (its'istin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
278 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connect-
[821] ed with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsätsExünt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick

[412]

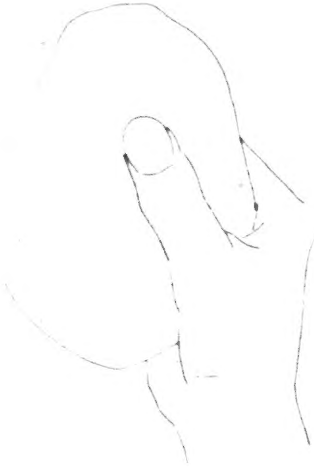

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

War clubs of the "slave-killer" type were made of a stone called sqēa'sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

[321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, [531] and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, 411
and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop
was attached. This club was used mainly as
a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs
two feet long, perhaps of the type used in
the Great Basin.

Little information was obtained concerning 412
stone knives, which have long been out
of use. A single type of knife served all 324
purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped
by pressure-flaking along one edge only
with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by
rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was
rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt.
The pressure was down and away from the body.
Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon.
Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating
and then touching with a wet stick along the
line to be chipped. Only one edge of the
knife was sharpened. The handle might be
left unworked and wrapped with buckskin.
Mary Carden reported that knives to be used [411]
in warfare were provided with short stout
handles so that one stabbed downward. The
handle was of peeled service berry wood, two
inches in thickness, dried over the fire if
wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside
to season. At one end a flat place was whittled
so that the blade could be set against
it. This was joined with pine pitch and a
wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin.
Pictures of the power animal were incised in
the handle, the fine lines being filled with
clay or charcoal.

Spears of various lengths were used in 411
warfare and to a very limited extent in deer
hunting. A spear about ten feet long with a [224]
bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft
was made of any straight wood, preferably
fir, which was peeled and straightened with
a large wrench like that used for arrows.
The head was either inserted in a socket in
the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and
bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated
with feathers and beads. A shorter spear,
from five and a half to six feet long, was
reported by Michel. This spear is substantially
the same as that just described. The
head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the
end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew.
Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed,
were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust,
held at the end of the shaft with the thumb
back and the knuckles up, the hand moving
forward from over the shoulder. The spear
thrower was unknown.

Shields of varied shape and construction 713
were used in warfare to parry arrows
and spear thrusts. One type was circular 411
(about three feet in diameter) and convex.
It was made of rawhide from the neck of an
elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from
buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was
stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood,
to which a cross of wood was bound. David
Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so that the shield was convex. The shield was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of wood were reported by Suszen as the common type, but no details were obtained. 713 411

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge arrows depended on one's power. Boys played at war with shields and blunt arrows. [524]

Skin armor was made of thick deer and elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide reaching below the hips with a hole cut for the head to pass through. This was laced together on each side with thongs. The hide was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however. 292 713 411

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was customary to enter battle wearing only a breechclout and with the body painted. 726 411

411
713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

411
463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

171
501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen . Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of [46] continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task.

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 56 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

Cf. Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 71. [1]

p. 56 (A)

501 used along the shore, especially on lakes. Paddlers usually knelt on grass in the bottom of the canoe. The steersman at the stern paddled mostly on one side, but the others paddled on both sides, shifting after every two or three strokes, according to Curtis."[1] Since the gunwale of the canoe was only a few inches above the surface the canoe often shipped water. This was emptied by tilting the canoe to one side and scooping out the water with the paddle.

171 501 Among the Northern Okanagon spruce bark canoes were abundant, some families owning two. (David Isaac stated that dugout canoes were unknown until after the advent of the whites.) Their maximum length was fourteen feet, the maximum load four persons, but usually three. Both ends were rounded (David said sharp) and "turned down" for strength (i.e., the bark turned down inside ?). This canoe was made of a single piece of inner bark of the spruce, with ribs of bluewood, about six inches apart, whittled flat on the side next the bark shell and sewed with cedar root. A central longitudinal bar was put on the bottom over the ribs. The gunwale was reinforced by a rim of bluewood fastened with pitch and sewed to the inside of the shell. A single piece was used for each side if long enough; otherwise lengths were fitted together. In sewing on the various pieces, an awl of bluewood, fire hardened, was used. The outside of the canoe was coated from time to time with pine pitch spread with a firebrand. A coat lasted about ten days if the canoe was used frequently. A single strip of wild cherry root, which turned yellow, was sewed around the canoe (gunwale ?) for decoration. There were no thwarts. Men knelt in the bottom, using a paddle four feet long, its blade thickened down the middle, and without a cross-grip to the handle. Paddles were neither painted nor carved. About three days were required by two men to complete a bark canoe. (David said the last of these was made sixty or seventy years ago.)

The Lakes (Senajaxtee) were said to use white fir bark for canoes.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

Salmon Spears

227 One and two-pronged spears with detachable heads, and one, two, three and four-pronged spears with non-detachable heads were used for spearing salmon. The commonest was the two-pronged type with detachable heads. Shafts were of fir, from sixteen to twenty feet long, shaped to a uniform thickness. Fir was chosen because it was not only naturally straight, but would not warp nor become heavy when wet. The forward end was beveled to receive two foreshafts about eighteen inches long, of any kind of wood such as service berry, bound to the shaft

[1] [For footnote, see p. 56(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

at a slightly diverging angle (Figure 22).[23] Each foreshaft bore a head, made of two pieces of split deer horn or bone, sharpened at the point and bound together. Each head was attached to the shaft by a slack line. At their midpoints the foreshafts were connected by a firm line to prevent them from spreading when thrust into a salmon. All points of binding were first covered with melted pine pitch and then wrapped with Indian hemp cords. When casting or thrusting this spear, it was held horizontally above the right shoulder, the right hand grasping it with the thumb toward the butt end, so as to deliver a stabbing stroke downward. The left hand merely guided the shaft. 227

Nets

A conical dip net was used for chub, eels, squawfish, and small salmon trout. Its handle was a long peeled willow limb bearing a fork. The ends of the fork were lapped and lashed together to form the ring carrying the net. The net was laced to this ring with Indian hemp cord. The net itself was deep and conical. It was made with the aid of several gauges of cedar wood, whittled and rubbed very smooth (Figure 23). The description obtained is not wholly clear but seems to be as follows. Meshes were made in a continuous spiral around the net, working from left to right, and turning the fabric face for face with each new row of meshes added. To start the first row, which would form the apex of the net, a series of loops were made over a net guage. For the second row, the fabric was turned over so that the meshes now added faced in the same direction. Square knots were used throughout. The netting needle, or more properly reel, was 227 286

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[23] Washington State Museum, No. 2-327 a-c.

formed of two small sticks crossed at the 227
middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on 286
this figure-eight fashion.

Deer nets were made of hemp string by 224
hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight
feet high and as long as four hundred yards, 286
but were made in sections large enough for
one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, [462]
men the net.

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern 481
part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for

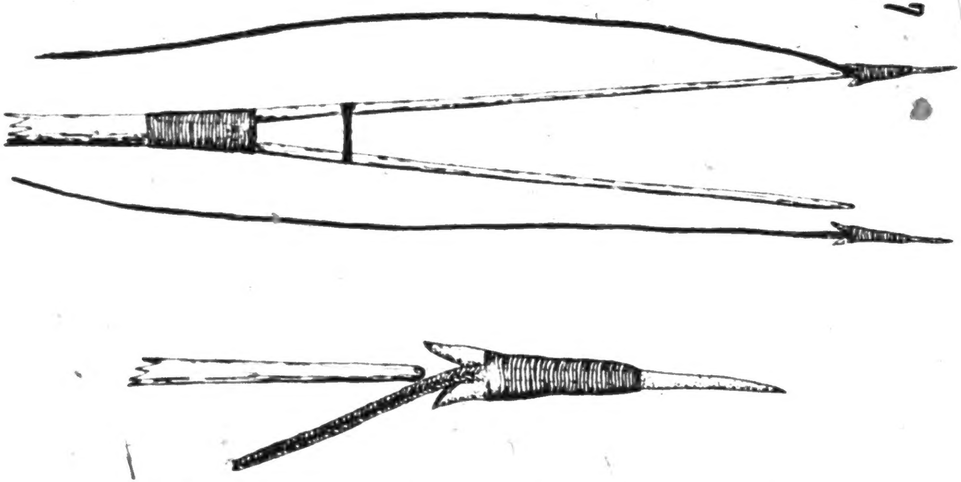

Fig. 22. Fishing spear (showing foreshafts and detail of head).

p. 57 (c)

481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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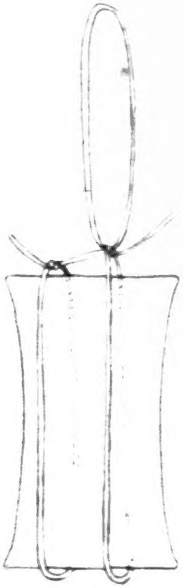

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

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This was about two and a half feet long but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

p. 58 (A)

222
412 which lay at the point of crossing, were lashed together with the inner bark of service berry (Figure 14). A piece of buckskin the shape of the beater (a) was sewed on the larger loop. A second piece (b) was sewed on the opposite face of the smaller loop so that this, the handle, was covered on both

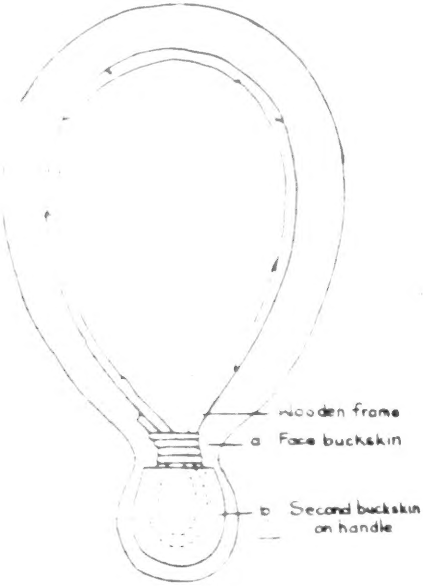

Fig. 14. Seed beater (drawn from description).

faces. The first piece of skin (a) overlapped the second. The sewing on both loops began and ended at the point of crossing. The stitches were on the back, the smooth side being down when in use. The fastening of the sewing element was a simple knot. After the beater had been in use, the buckskin on the beating surface stretched and was less taut, which was not considered desirable. A skilled woman could cause an almost constant rain of seeds to fall into the funnel-shaped birch bark bucket held in the left hand. The bucket was held by the rim with its loop handle resting on the back of the hand, or it was simply held by the loop. Basketry beaters were unknown to the Southern Okanagon.

Mortar and Pestle

412
285 For a mortar a rather shallow, twined Indian hemp basket was lined with the heavy neck portion of a deerskin and placed inside a slight cavity, naturally or artificially hollowed in a stone.

Methow and Chelan were reported also to use this form of mortar and pestle (see below). The Yakima, Wenatchi, and "Ellensburg" (Northern Wenatchi ?) used a coiled cedar root basket with a pestle of similar shape but of a blue-black stone.

p. 58(B)

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called squêasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

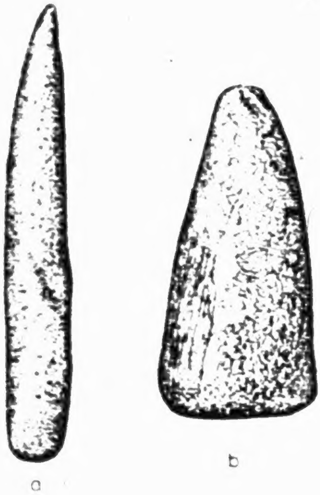

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 321 [435]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 59(c), category 416.--Analyst]

Stone Adzes

412

These were used for hollowing out dug-out canoes and wooden storage tubs. They were easily made from a stone knife hafted to one of the branches of a forked stick, the other branch serving as the handle. At the hafting the branch was whittled thin to the same size as the blade. No gum was used, only a deerskin thong, since this was only a temporary tool. The wood was from certain thorn bushes, which are not apt to split. Mary Carden stated that the adze scraper used in tanning bear hides was never used for trimming wood.

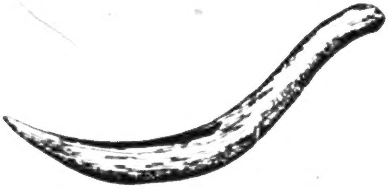

Fig. 26. Horn spoon.

Fire-Drill

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The drill, made from wood taken from the topmost twig of a dead pine tree and well dried, was sharply pointed. The hearth was a board about one foot by six inches, of either dry pine or cottonwood root, shaped either flat or convex transversely on the upper face. In the convex type the hole in which the vertical drill was rotated was on the center line and the tinder, dry grass or shredded dry willow bark, was placed around it. In the flat hearth the hole was near the edge and was connected with the edge by a shallow groove. The tinder was placed beside the board so that the ignited dust would fall on it by way of the grooves. While one man held down the hearth, the drill was rotated rapidly between the palms by one, two, or even three others, taking turns without letting the drill stop. When the glowing dust appeared, they cried in unison, "There they come; there they come." If one man alone drilled for fire, he held the bark tinder ready under his armpit. Sometimes green birch was used for the base and dry sagebrush bark fiber as tinder. The drill was designated as male, the hearth as female.

Fire was also produced by striking together two pieces of flint. This was said to be pre-white.

Only one fire was started in camp in

412

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24 That shown in Figure 25, a is fifteen and a half inches long; in b six and a half inches. Specimens in the Washington State Museum numbered as follows: Figure 25, a, 2-285, b, 2-284; Figure 26, 2-274. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 59(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 59 (c)

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252
412 A piece of dried cedar wood, about twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412
356 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252
354 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks which was fired from below.

[531] Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflamable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

P. 60(A)

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.

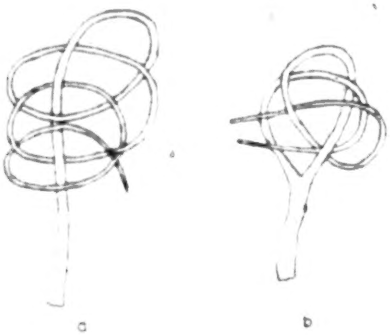

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulne, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

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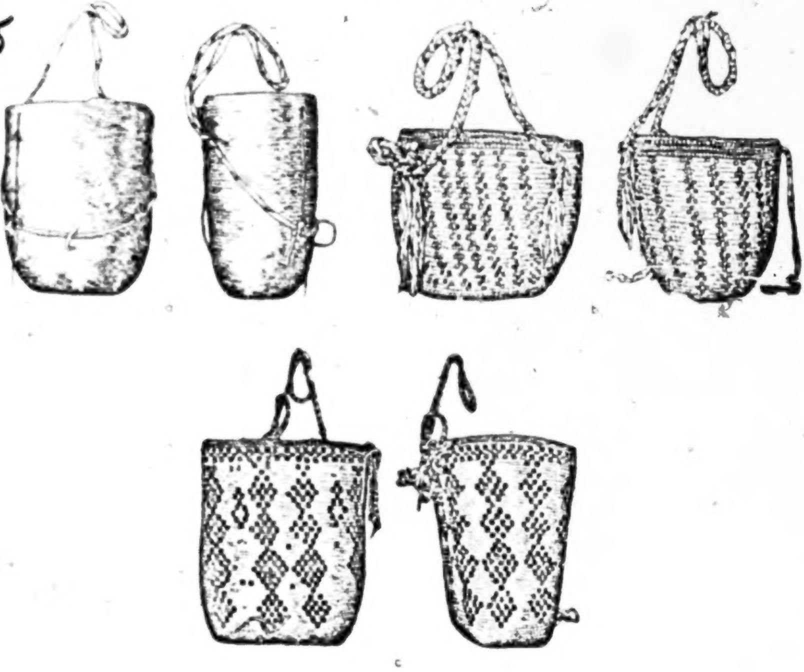

Fig. 28. Coiled baskets (front and side views).

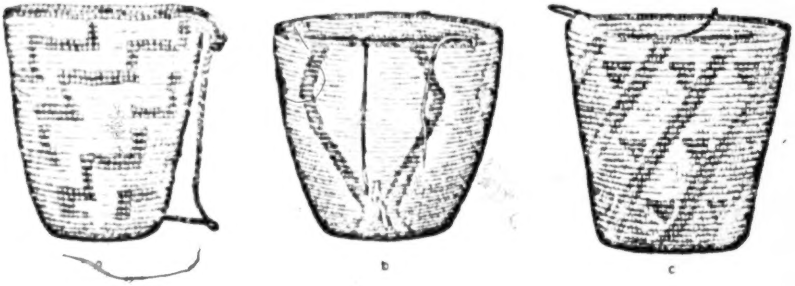

Fig. 29. Coiled baskets (a, c, Southern Okanagon; b, Wenatchi).

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 281 These (called pEnpEna', "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon.[25][1]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29).[26][1]Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[1][For footnotes, see p. 62 (D).
Category 116 -- Analyst]

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[27] Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

Sinkaietk

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The coiling is counterclockwise, the work proceeding from left to right on the edge of the basket nearest the worker, the inside of the basket being uppermost. The strips of bark used for sewing, eighteen inches or more long, are soaked in water while the work is in progress, and occasionally the whole top of the basket is dipped into water. Such strips are split to proper thickness and width while one end is held between the teeth. The foundation of the coil is a bundle of strips of bark (sometimes strips of the root itself are included) about a quarter of an inch in diameter when compressed. In splitting the cedar roots many splints are short: these are used in the foundation. The foundation bundles are sewed with a somewhat longer and strong strip of cedar root bark, pointed at one end so it can be passed through each stitch in the course below. A hole is made with an awl for each stitch, which passes inwards from the outside, up and over the bundle of strips, then is pulled downwards with considerable force before being pushed in through the next hole. The stitches are spaced equidistantly in round baskets, but in rectangular baskets they are more frequent near the corners. As the work proceeds new strips of bark are inserted into the end of the foundation bundle to give a continuous coil. To add to the sewing element, the remnant of that already in use is brought into the foundation bundle. The new sewing element is stitched twice through the same hole, the short free end being left in front and covered with the second of the stitches. The edge of the basket is finished with stitches making a criss-cross pattern: apparently each stitch pierces the second stitch beyond of the course beneath, is then carried back

p.62(B)

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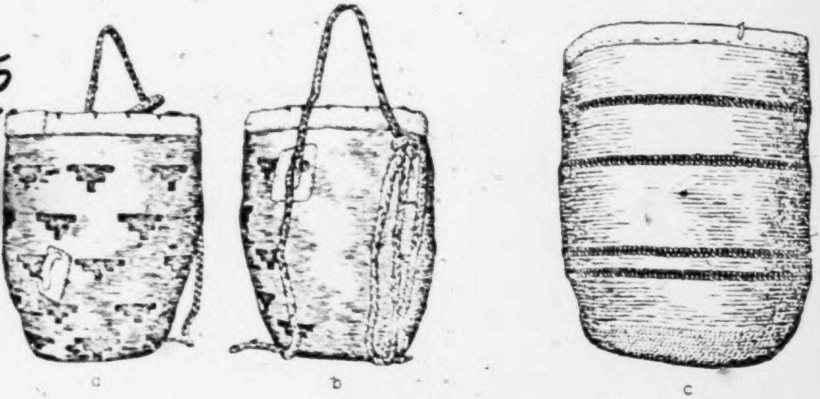

Fig. 30. Round twined bags (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 62 (c)

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25 An Okanagon specimen is figured in Spier, Plains Indian Parfleche Designs, 322.[1]
26 Catalog numbers (Washington State Museum) and dimensions of baskets illustrated: Figure 28, a (2-253)
depth 12" x length 9" x width 7"; b (2-257) 8" x 9" x 7"; c (2-255) 14" x 12" x 9½": Figure 29, a (2-256) 10"
x 8½" x 7".[1]
27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 62(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 62 (D)

over the rim from the inside, and pierces (from the outside) the stitch that has been skipped. The elements of the foundation bundle are cut off one by one at the rim so that the foundation coil tapers to an end and the edge of the basket is even. 285 415

Imbrication was the only mode of decoration. This was done with a kind of grass called slEkē'stIa, which was picked in the Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. According to Boas[28] the home of imbrication seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade region, the Okanagon having received the trait about the time of the coming of the whites. 171 415 285 531

Cooking baskets were always set into the ground for stone boiling. They were not washed out but scraped with the fingers, which were promptly licked. 252

Twined bags with round bottoms resembled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29][1] These were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine bark (qêts!asEnI'm), or with tule warps and willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag was described as follows. The bottom was first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when 285 415 filled. Bags of other materials were apparently made in an identical way. These had handles of buckskin, with little buckskin re- 285 inforcements. A hop vine cord specimen seen 415 had its base in simple twining, its sides in diagonal twine. They were decorated by false embroidery in red and black, worked with the [531] inner bark of a plant called pō'qwē. This plant was brought by the Similkameen in bundles about five inches thick, three of which were worth a blanket. The bark was dyed in a concoction of Oregon grape root boiled in water. The lacing was always done with a two-strand Indian hemp cord. If the bag was to be carried any distance, the top was stopped with grass and leaves before it was laced. The tump line was then tied around it. Such bags were used to transport anything that was not fragile, such as dried meat, berries, or pine cones.

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[28] Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 116.--Analyst]

Flat twined bags of Indian hemp were used for carrying roots and berries, or for supplies taken on a hunting trip. They were about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches deep (Figure 31).*[1] Such a bag was woven as a flat fabric, then doubled, and sewed along the sides. A buckskin handle was fastened on each side at the opening. An Indian hemp rope fastened to the handles was slung over the shoulders for carrying. As in the [531] specimen illustrated, the two faces might bear different designs. The making of corn husk sacks of Nez Perce type was derived from the Wenatchi (?) within the last two or three decades.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63 (D), category 116) -- Analyst]

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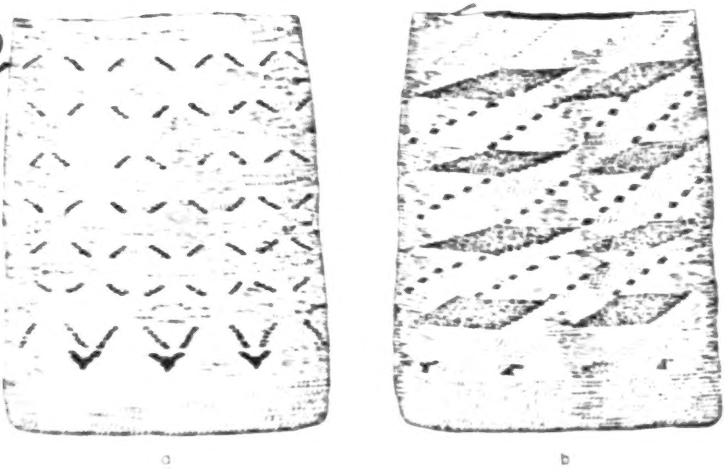

Fig. 71 Flat twined bag (showing unlike designs on two sides).

p. 63 (c)

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28 Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.
29 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 30, a, b, no. 2-254, 13½" deep, 9" diameter; c, no. 2-258, 7½" deep, 5½" diameter.
30 This specimen (no. 2-259) is 20" deep by 16" wide.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 63(A), 63 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 63 (D)

285 415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314 415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).[1]

Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom ([illegible]) were forced up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. [531] A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category IIIb. -- Analyst]

314 415 stir and the meat. Few were over two feet high. Such buckets were used for fetching water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 251 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the like were used for storing berries, etc., and were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 415 Vessels of clay, such as were made by the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 [832] Flageolets were used principally in courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

3 Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

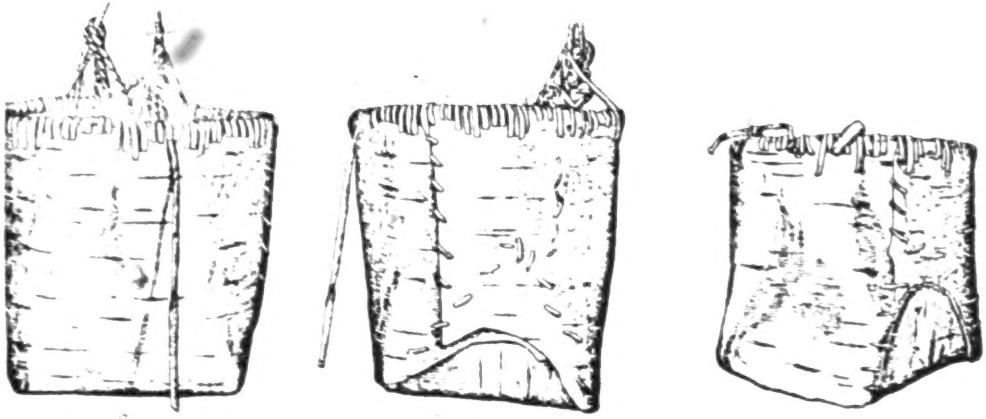

Fig. 32. Birch bark buckets (showing two sides in a and b).

314
45

p. 64 (c)

314
415

31 Numbers and dimensions are: a, b, no. 2-265, 8½" deep, 8" diameter; c, no. 2-264, 7" deep, 7" diameter. ,1

1 [For context of this footnote, see p.64 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 64 (D)

534 [463] [533] over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

[314 415]

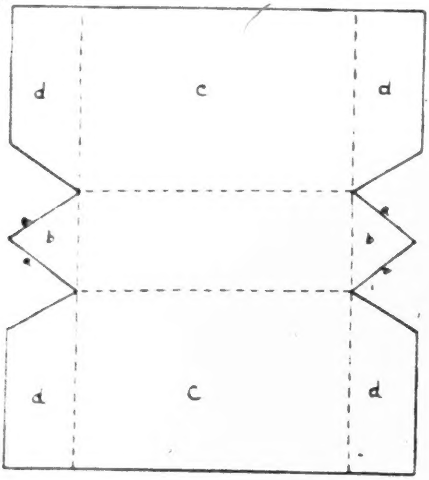

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276
These include the elbow pipe, the tubular
pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of
the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35).
Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: [562]
they were made for them by the men. No woman
could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and
a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red cat- 276
linite pipes were traded ready-made from the 316
Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how
to work this stone. A red stone was ob- 439
tained on the Methow River, a dark blue-
green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black
soapstone from the Similkameen River. A
light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which
was considered superior to other materials,
was also gotten from the Similkameen River.
To obtain it a man had to be let down the
bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge,
where he crawled back under the shelving
rocks and took the stone from under water.
The stone was immediately cut into pipes
while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes
was also traded from the Thompson for Indian
hemp. Clay was also used when stone was
lacking, according to Suszen, although he had
never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied
this. The Methow used a blue translucent
stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked 276
on the stone was cut out with a flint or ob-
sidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored 324
with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was
smoothed and polished with horse tail (*Equis-
etum*). The short stems of stone pipes were
sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow
willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b)
rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds [531]
and animals or straight lines were incised on
the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian
flake and filled with red paint made of red
clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and
grease. Those who were too poor to own a
pipe or who were on a hunting trip without
one, would make a hollow in the mud for a
bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side.
This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone
position. Women's pipes were similar to
men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462]
formerly made by men, but are now made by wo-
men also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276
group or band pipe) in the custody of the
chief of the band. This pipe was passed 623
around the council circle to the right, start-
ing with the chief, before the discussion be-
gan, each man taking two or three puffs. The
heads of winter houses were also said to have
large pipes for formal gatherings like those
of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314
weeding the wild plants, but was gathered
along creeks and in moist places. This plant [137]
was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were 276
stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for
about two days. The dry leaves were then

P. 65(B)

314
276 put into buckskin bags and pulverized by rubbing the sides of the bag together. The tobacco was then stored in another bag. One informant, Suszen Timentwa, stated that the tobacco was pulled up by the roots, dried for ten to fifteen minutes over a fire, then stored in tight cedar-root baskets. He also stated that it was kept moist by putting in the basket fresh roots or grass, but on another occasion denied this. It seems improbable that the tobacco plant was rooted up, as this would destroy the supply, but it was said to keep better intact. (This was in fact contradicted by other informants.)

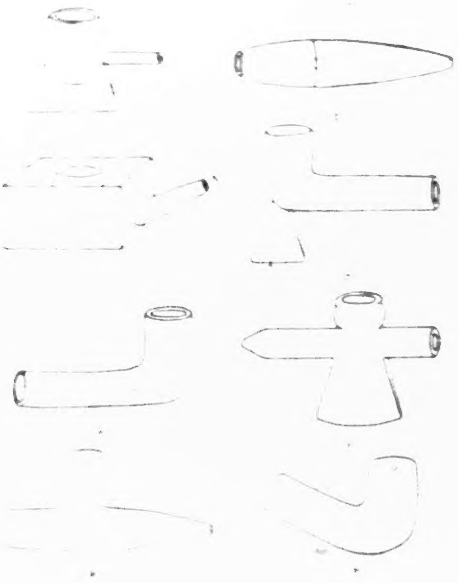

Fig. 34. Types of pipes.

"Kinikinik," properly bear berry (Arctostaphyllos uva-ursi (L.))[1] was mixed with tobacco just before being put into the pipe in the ratio of two parts of kinikinik (skûlsû - tmEn) to one of tobacco. Sunflower leaves were substituted for tobacco, as also a plant called cqElûxcma'nûc (which grows by streams) and the dried pulverized root of xa'cxa'c. [278] (The last named was also used to revive unconscious persons.) All three were mixed with kinikinik. Not so sman'xû, a "grass" growing near Riverside, which was smoked alone.

276 Formerly the pipe, tobacco, and kinikinik were carried in two separate bags worn at the waist. These bags were made by women for their husbands according to the latter's

p. 66 (A)

[1] [For footnote, see p. 66 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

276 specifications. They were about six inches wide by nine inches long, but varied greatly in size. They were sewed up on one side, perhaps fringed at the seam, and were closed by a draw-string at the top. They were decorated with porcupine quills. A shaman's pouch was painted on both sides. In more recent times they used a single long bag, about the length of a stocking, open at both ends, and separated into two parts by a seam across the middle. Tobacco and pipe were kept in one compartment, kinikinik in the other. A Wenatchi woman shaman was seen with a cloth bag of this type knotted several times in the middle to keep the compartments separate. One informant stated that the bag was sewn down the middle: whether this means longitudinally or transversel is not clear. These bags were fringed and decorated with quill work, though modern cloth bags were undecorated. Tobacco bags were made of ground-hog skin, buckskin, and, in later days, other materials. Otter hide was used by chiefs and other wealthy men, "strong men" who were able to (permitted to ?) make fire with the fire drill.

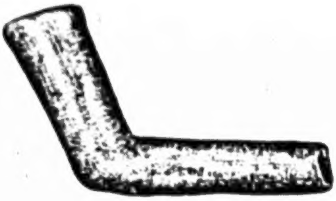

Fig. 35. Stone pipe.

276
791 In former days the only women who smoked were shamans. Smoking always accompanied a shamanistic curing ceremony. A man shaman had a special ceremonial pipe decorated with his power animal, in addition to his ordinary or secular pipe. No other person was permitted to smoke the shaman's ceremonial pipe.

PREPARATION OF MATERIALS

Tanning

281 Deer skins were tanned by women. If the skin was not to be prepared immediately it was hung, hair side under, over a pole tied between two trees until dry, then stored away. When ready for dressing the skin was soaked in a stream for several days. The wet skin was then laid over a log leaned against a tree and the hair scraped off. This log, prepared by a man, was about six inches in diameter and about five or six feet long.

p 106 (B)

276 [1] [For context of this footnote, see
314 p. 66(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

32 Identified by Mrs. Martha Flahaut of the Washington State Museum. [1]

The bark was removed and the log beveled at the upper end to rest flat against the tree. After the neck of the deerskin had been scraped, it was tucked in between the end of the log and the tree so that the skin was draped over the log with the legs hanging. The hair was then scraped from the rest of the skin with a downward motion always in the direction the hair lay. Women made their own scrapers of the fibule (?) of a deer, naturally sharpened on one edge, but further sharpened with a stone knife. The articulations at the ends of the bone were not removed but were wrapped with buckskin or sinew where it was grasped. The parts of the skin were scraped in the following order: the neck, forelegs, back, and finally the hind legs. On a large buckskin a thin layer immediately under the hair, probably the pigment layer, had to be removed to leave the hide smooth. The long hair of a hide taken in fall or winter was often cut short before scraping. After the hair had been removed, blood was washed from the skin in clear water until it was white. The skin was then hung up to dry with the hair side down. A woman who wanted to prepare her buckskin quickly would scrape off the hair while the skin was still fresh. This was more difficult than after the skin had been dried and soaked.

After drying, the skin was soaked for one or two days in a basket containing a mixture of water and deer brains. The brains had been previously buried in the ground until decomposed; which took over a week. One brain was sufficient to tan two skins. While soaking, the skin was worked from time to time with an edged stone and rubbed between the hands to aid the softening process. The skin was then wrung nearly dry. For this process the neck end was wrapped around a post or a small tree and turned back so that the end was caught in the folds of the skin. The skin was then twisted once counter-clockwise and the hind legs similarly wrapped around a stick. Holding the stick in both hands and pulling, the tanner then twisted the skin counter-clockwise as far as possible, until it knotted itself up against the tree. After being left for a few minutes until all the water had dripped out, it was untwisted and tied on the stretching frame with cords of braided Indian hemp about one-quarter inch thick.

The stretching rack consisted of a pole tied near the ground between two saplings about six feet apart, and another pole tied about five feet above it, thus making a parallelogram about six feet wide and five feet high. If a small skin was to be dried the frame was shortened by tying a vertical pole to the horizontals to give the desired length.

Holes for a cord to pass through were made with an awl about two inches apart all around the edge of the skin. Any tears in the skin were tightly sewed up before stretching. The skin was always stretched with the flesh side toward the operator and the neck toward the right. The two corners of the neck and the ends of the hind legs were tied tightly to the four corners of the frame. The ends of the forelegs were tied to the upper and lower bars and the tail to one upright. Then a long length of quarter-inch Indian hemp rope was tied to the upper horizontal with a half bow knot and passed alternately through a hole in the skin and over the bar until the skin was tightly laced to the frame all around. As the skin stretched during the scraping, the rope was tightened. The edges of the skin were scraped with a stone scraper held in the hand; for the larger surface the scraper was attached to an eighteen-inch handle. The operator held the scraper in both hands and, standing sideways facing either the neck or the tail of the hide, scraped toward herself. The scraping process was continued until all the flesh was removed and the skin left soft and white. This required several hours.

The final step in the tanning process was the smoking of the hide. A circular pit about eighteen inches in diameter was dug in the ground and a fire of two or three heavy sticks was built in it. When this had burned to coals, pine cones, rotten fir wood, and dry willow broken into small splinters were put on the coals to produce a dense smoke over which the skin was left all day. This gave the buckskin a strong yellow tinge, desirable for moccasins. For gloves and other articles calling for a white skin, only dry willow splinters were used in the smoking. Formerly the skin was laid over a dome of green poles, like a sweat house frame, built over the fire pit. Three skins were smoked at once so as to cover the entire dome. This method was replaced at least forty years ago by another. In the modern method the softened skin is trimmed all around to an even edge, folded along its longitudinal axis with the flesh side in, and sewed up from the neck to the end of the hind legs, thus making a sort of bag with the opening at the hind end between the tail and the hind feet. The skin is then hung, opening down, from a horizontal pole tied between two trees, directly over the smoke hole. A broad band of cloth sewed to the open end of the skin and fitted to the edge of the fire pit caught all the smoke and directed it into the skin.

Skins to be tanned with the hair on were stretched tightly about three inches above the ground by stakes driven through holes in the edges of the skin. The skin was moistened with water and the upturned flesh side was scraped with a handleless stone scraper. As the skin became loose the pegs were moved so as to tighten it. No deer brains were used in this process.

The implement used for scraping the flesh from the drying skin was a flat rounded stone. Figure 21 shows the outline as traced from a specimen: only one edge was prepared for scraping, that to the left. A flat weathered slab taken from the river, perhaps an eighth-inch (?) thick, was laid on coals until the heat split it along its lines

281 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

283
314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (speł'tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was reserved for their own use, but the bulk was
[439] sold to the Thompson.

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 68(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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[33] Teit, Salishan Tribes. 66, 219, 231. 1

283 Three strand braided ropes were made of willow bark. The bark was kept in water until it was needed, and the braided portion of the rope was continually laid back in the water while the length of rope was being completed. Lengths of three to four hundred (?) feet were made in this fashion, strong enough to lower a man down the face of a cliff when hunting for eagles.

Mountain goat hair was twisted into cords according to Chilowhist Jim (an informant from the southern end of the territory). The longer hair, six to eight inches in length, was shaved from the skin with a knife. A pile of this hair was moistened, matted together, and roughly twisted. To twist this, a lithe stick provided at one end with a right-angled hook was used. One end of the bundle of hair was engaged in the hook while the longer arm of this stick was rolled between palm and thigh, or between the palms, to twist the hairs into a cord. Two persons engaged in the task; one spinning the wooden hook as he pulled on the cord, the other holding the free end and adding hairs to lengthen it. This cordage was made of ten or twelve strands of hair. Horsehair was spun in the same way to make rope, which was valuable because it withstood wetting.

Weaving

286 It is doubtful if the Southern Okanagon wove, or at least that the southern bands did. (Chilowhist Jim, whose information may refer to the Methow, implied that his people wove mountain goat yarn.) Teit states that the Lake (Sinajextee) alone of all the interior Salish tribes wove. "It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom." Again, "Woven goat's-wool robes were known [by the Coeur d'Alêne] to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere."* Andrew Tillson, whose affiliations were with the northerly groups, stated that blankets were woven of goat's hair. The hair was twisted on the thigh and woven apparently without the use of any sort of loom. On the other hand, the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon, according to Tom Martin, had no woven blankets of mountain goat hair. Cecile, a Kalispel brought up among the central groups of Southern Okanagon, had never heard of blankets woven of goat hair or rabbit skin. They may have traded for them.

Wood and Bone Working

313 Trees were felled by chiseling away chips around the circumference near the base with a deer horn wedge and a wooden maul. The procedure was to drive in the wedge and pull it up to pry off a chunk of wood. An alternative method with a dry tree was to chip out several pits at the base with the horn wedges. Fires were set in these pits to burn

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*[For footnote, see p. 68(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor. 313

To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner. 322

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321

Dyes and Paints

Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kai'lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant. 386

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traded from the north; a fistful
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint [439]
was mixed with water in the bowl of a moun-
tain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas; a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags
about four inches square. She named the fol-
lowing paints obtained from them: Enaqa´lsp-
EmEnü´laû, "Kal'spel earth," chocolate red;
tû´l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rêölaû', "yel-
low earth"; Enp'ömûlaû', "brown earth."
Other clays obtained at Keller on the San-
poil River, "were not so pretty," since the
colors were duller. Here there was a dull
red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan
yellow, known by the names for light red and
yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ëlö´q'- 317
ëtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth,
since it was said also to have been applied
to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them
flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over
the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based
on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:

- pîtoqwi öcî´kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
- ntla´pa´cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
- ntqö´cElâq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
- kêaqôsa´xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
- nikôcwhêpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
- kErmixq!ö´taEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:

- nâq!ötEqêöcEmîn, one span;
- acî´ltEqêöcEmin, two spans;
- kat!EltEqêöcEmin, three spans.

The stem, tEqêöcEmin, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:

- nâkeqê´nigst, one thumb broad;
- acilqê´nigst, two thumbs broad.

804 The common word for thumb was ctô nigst.

296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

805 together for two hundred, three for three
hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied
on to represent a thousand days. While the
device is indiginous, being known also to
neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earlier
existence of the higher counts (see also
[843] Religion). It was also said that women kept
track of the passage of the nine lunar
months of pregnancy by making a knot for each
month, counting from the first failure to
menstruate until one month after the birth
[765] of the child. Old people were said to keep
track of how long their children had been
dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt
this. Knotted string records were called
[211] catca'sq!. They were not used as memoranda
sent with messengers who carried invitations.

p. 70 (B)

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe:

"He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."

621 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and
deny that any man was ever head chief over
their entire tribe. Taking into considera-
622 tion that each band is autonomous, it is not
possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a
tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a
group functioning as a unified political
619 whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess
may be explained as due to dialectic identi-
ty, close geographical association, similar
customs and friendly relations which have
been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

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1 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle't^{kū}, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqalé't^{kū} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa'in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqale't^{ku} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

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164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

161 In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated. The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619
574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area, the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[illegible] 14 ([illegible]), category
116.[illegible] – 4[illegible]]

p. 74 (A)

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In fact, most 574 Salish-speaking people in the Plateau are treated as friends. At food gathering seasons, members of different bands meet in one place, but camp separately. Each chief or headman keeps order in his own camp. After fishing all day, the men gather socially in the evening for gambling, trading, wrestling and foot racing. There is much smoking, chiefs and old men passing their pipes around so that everyone present may have a turn. There is also extensive intertribal visiting during the season of winter dances. Instances of marriages of Sin- 582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes are not unusual, but in the records of 619 specific marriages obtained.'[1] it is noted that the majority of known cases for each band are marriages within the band. Out-marriages seem to be determined by geographical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has established friendly relations with the Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively with the Nespelem, while the more northerly Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes. Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and Thompson. These friendly affiliations may also be cited regarding trade relations. Lucy Joe says that it is only since the several tribes have all been placed on the same reservation that the Sinkaietk have married other than Okanagon-speaking people. This is doubtful, since genealogical records'[1] give information to the contrary.

The Inkami p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers prior to the coming of the horse.'[1] The Sinkaietk went south as far as Wallula and 487 north into Thompson country to trade, their routes closely following the rivers, whether they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[1] who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74(c), category -- Analyst]

p. 74 (c)

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1 [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 74(A), 74(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

2 Mooney, *Aboriginal Population*, 13, 14, 16.
3 Gibbs, *Report on the Indian Tribes*, 417-18.
4 Ross, Samuel, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for year 1870*, 26.
5 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 213.
6 See succession of chiefs; see also Individual Life Cycle.
7 Walters, Moses-Columbia field notes.
8 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 250.
9 Ross, Alexander, *Fur Hunters*, I, 43-44.

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the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any 574
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the nyEsqwē Ūs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sō xqūI).* If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in

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* For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

developing friendship with another. One man 484 never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several 439 to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was 437 not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade.

Andrew Tillson went to the coast at the 484 time of the Nez Percé war. He started at about haying time and went alone by horse. He went from Loomis (tū´tckūla^{xū}) to the country around Oroville. Then he went across to Rock Creek (sxa´laqEn, White Owl), thence to Curlew (nsIsqEtcI´n) and across the hills to Kettle Falls (cxōne´t^{kū}). Then he went to kawI´la and Loon Lake (ncweme´taq^{ū}) in Spokan country. From there to Walla Walla the country was uninhabited so that he travelled for two days without meeting anyone. When he reached the Palouse River, he crossed on a ferry (stēqa´weł), run by a white man. It took him two days from here to reach Walla Walla, where there were many other Indians working, but no Okanagon. Then he went to Wallula where there were friendly Nez Percé (naI´aqūtsEn) and sold his horse for a good price, four dollars. A horse might be [435] traded for a tanned buckskin, which might itself bring twenty dollars, or for good blankets that were worth a hide. Large parties of Okanagon sometimes went to Wallula. They camped alone while there and never intermarried with the Nez Percé. From Wallula Andrew took the steamboat to Portland, but as he was warned by white people that he might be killed by the other Indians, he returned to Wallula after two weeks. After remaining in Wallula three years because of the fighting, in which he did not participate, he bought a horse and returned to Loomis.

Suszen Timentwa says that the Sinkaietk 484 infrequently go to Blackfoot country (ctq^{wé}-xōnū la; ctq^{w}ō´léxūn, Blackfoot). They go 439 down the Okanogan River, south on the west side of the Columbia to Nez Percé country and across to the Blackfoot country. Sometimes the Moses Columbia, Spokan, Flathead, and Nez Percé accompany them. Runners carry news all the time between these tribes; thus they arrange meeting places on the way to the buffalo country. Poor men with nothing to trade go also to assist with the horses: they receive food and clothing for their services. Salmon, mountain goat hides, berries, grizzly bear hides, and deer hides are taken along to trade for buffalo hides and meat. The Blackfoot and the Plateau people are always ready to fight. A smoke is motioned for in sign language and a truce

p. 75 (B)

484 holds while trading. The Plateau people have learned sign language at these meetings.
439 Some of the Blackfoot are anxious to get salmon in trade, while others object to the Plateau people hunting buffalo and fight about it. Healthy women and children are taken on these trips. The women trade with women, camas for buckskin clothes and leggings that are beaded with bone. All trading is individual. The trip takes three months each way.

484 Sulktaskosem, Suszen's great grandfather, a Moses chief, was said by him to have been the first Plateau man to lead a party to the Blackfoot country. Margaret Sersepkin, whose narrative follows, said that her husband was the only Sinkaietk who took parties to the Plains in the middle of the last century, and that in her father's youth no one went to the buffalo country.

Margaret and her husband, Sersepkin, chief of the Karter band, started from Loomis for the plains in July, six years after a great earthquake. (Margaret is now about ninety-two. She was seventeen or eighteen at the time of the trip. Sersepkin's party consisted of two boys hired to kill buffalo, his own two sons and Margaret, with thirty horses, some of which he intended to trade with the Plains people. A good horse was worth five or six buffalo hides.

After travelling all summer, they reached Montana where they rested five days at the home of Angus Macdonald, who was the brother of George Tillson's wife. They travelled eastward from here seven weeks before coming to good buffalo country. On their way they came down to a town, either Helena or Missoula, and followed a lake for two days before crossing the Rockies. Then they came to a big bluff with a little narrow trail. When they got on top of this rocky mountain and camped, at midnight they heard a roaring like a thunderstorm. Margaret was frightened and thought the mountain was going to cave in, but experienced travellers with her said that the mountain made this noise because she and her companions were strangers, and when they had travelled over this mountain two or three times, it would not make this noise. At the foot of this mountain, miles away, they looked back and could see Indians going single file up the rocky trail.

On the other side of the mountains there were nothing but plains. People from many different tribes were wintering there in buckskin, buffalo skin, or canvas tipis. Yakima, Spokan and Nespelem Indians were there. The only food was buffalo meat. There was no wood, no rocks, no long grass; the grass was short and thick and the ground so hard that horses left no tracks. They camped at small lakes where the drinking water was filthy from the buffalo. The Blackfoot danced every night with many drums, but the Plateau people did not join them. The Plains and Plateau people talked to each other and told stories in the sign language.

p. 76 (A)

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'we, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar. 484 439

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange. 321 439

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade. 171 439 [186]

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box. [764]

p. 77 (A)

DRUM DANCE

535 171 796 439

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stła'lēm has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

439 431 527 [834]

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

527 439

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

527 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in 574 the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. 439 When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsîû´ûˣ) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmî´ˣû) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (Stuwi´x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 SûqwEtî´kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them [439] to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

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1 [For context of footnote, see p. 78(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96f.

12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204f.

13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum. 1

14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket. 1

15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar. 1

p. 78(A)

619 people have always been friends. (Michel, however, said that formerly they were fought.) Mary Carden thinks they intermarried with the Tukoratum in the old days, because Tukoratum here have relatives there. The Tukoratum cross the mountains some years. The coast people have strange kinds of fish for sale. The specific people to whom Mary is referring here are probably Skagit, for the neighboring Chelan and Skagit intermarry and are friendly, making annual visits across the mountains by way of Cascade Pass.

The Wenatchi are called npEsqwē´ūs or sīnqwī´le. The Columbia (i.e., Teit's Middle Columbia Salish) are called "big river people" (sīnselōxwī'ī t^{kwūx}), while the Moses Columbia are known by their band name, skūwa´xqtsīn, "build on edge of the river." The Upper Kutenai are skalsī´ūīk.

The sīnkaqaī'ī´ūs "between people," are a group composed largely of Tukoratum and Moses Columbia people who have intermarried and live around Coulee City. It is a small group with one chief, and does not belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.

The naī´aq^{u}tcEn live on the Columbia River below Wenatchee "around Ellensburg and Yakima." The Cayuse, Umatilla and Wallawalla are all known as either the skaī.ūū´s or sEnīyē´l.m´n. The Cöeur d'Alêne are known as the skī´tsō^{xū}. People around the Dalles in general are called swaī.ya´mpā^{x}, and the Chinook are stcEnū´k. The Snake are called sīnxaxō'ō´laūxtEn; the Blackfoot stEqwa´ī'ixEn.

[726] During the days of Mary's grandfather, the Spokan (spōka´īn^{xū}) attacked the Sinkaietk across from the island just below the town of Okanogan. All the Spokan were killed but one, who swam the river and died on the edge of the island. Since then the island has been called stEpōkanExī´kEn."[1]

The Lakes (cīnnaī´tckst) still use bark canoes. After the Colville got horses, they traded horses to the Lakes for bark canoes, but the Lakes could not use horses because the mountains in their country are too steep. The Tonasket make their own bark canoes, because it is too far to trade them from the Lakes."[1]

The Similkameen (sīmīlkamī´^{xū}), who now speak the Okanagon language, live around Penticton and at Princeton, B. C.

619
728 The Sinkaietk and Shuswap made a treaty at Konkonelp before 1800 and have never fought since."[1] The two tribes are apparently old enemies, for Teit mentions "the Okanagon, of Okanogan River and south, who occasionally

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 78(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."[16] 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 721

"The natives of the Oakinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms in impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe."[17]

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

The last time the Thompson came to skÜnqwÜnfep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One man was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home.[18]

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

"At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow."[19]

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

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16 Teit, Shuswap, 542.
17 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, Thompson Indians, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Kartar.

kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared 721
for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'l'kEm). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were 727
never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk.
A wounded enemy might be cared for by the
chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal 701
such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcī lc). He was considered immune to 624
wounds and directed the tactics of all his
men. Such an individual is supposed to be [787]
able to dream of an approaching enemy attack
so it is always desirable to winter with him. 791
He is urged to stay at the regular winter
villages with the chief. He has no proper
title or position, but is much respected as
a strong fighter and a man who has saved his
people. Ixwaski nt, a Karter, was such a
man.

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp 721
on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago,
a summer camp. They had a trench there to 729
defend it. In July they would be camping up
there. They used to pick berries below Okan- 172
ogan, below that island where the eddy is, on
the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski nt, had won the fight.[20] [1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Karter band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116. -- Analyst.]

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
173 to [illegible] to camp with them. One of the
791 Kartar men went to see where the enemy was. The enemy saw him and were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski nt. That night when they went to sleep, Ixwaski nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
791 with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
[727] war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
[302] paint their whole bodies with red clay and wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it. At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid, but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

726 [illegible] which they [illegible]

712 722 [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] when [illegible] the men [illegible] ready to fight, [illegible] the women and children [illegible] to a pit [illegible] barricades [illegible] was built [illegible] and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

The village where Okanogan, Washington, now stands, is said to have been fortified by piles of rocks behind which trenches were dug [illegible] side. The women were hidden in the trenches during battle. Barricades of logs were never built. This refuge was described by [illegible] as on the [illegible] hill overlooking the present town. There were trenches for defense and food stored in underground cellars. They would flee up this hill, passing up the steep sides by ladders which were pulled up after them.

562 722 The women do not [illegible] the [illegible] of this [illegible], but they think of their power. If the enemy comes close, a woman with such power may take a bow and arrows from the dead of either side and fight with the men. She shouts while fighting, but does not sing, and comes back to the pit at intervals to rest. In desperate situations even menstruating women help in battle. After the fray a woman may keep the bow and arrows obtained on the battlefield for her own use, but this is the only way in which a woman can obtain weapons.

726 Mary Cornen, now an old woman so crippled with rheumatism that there are days when she can scarcely walk, gave a vivid description of the battles of the Tukoratum warriors. She stood erect, and with gesticulation and gesture enacted each phrase of her description. "In battle some would run down along the river under the bluff and jump out at the enemy. Others would hide behind bushes at a distance with their bows and arrows. The fast runners jumped right into the fray in hand to hand combat. As they fought they would whoop and jump up and down and wave their war clubs. They sang their power songs, and made lots of noise to frighten the enemy."

173 726 The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts bear a mythological flavor. Versions of the following episode were received from two different informants.

A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the [illegible] and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and

p. 80 (B)

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children were killed, except one girl who had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two."[22]

In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa'kalatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

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The Nez Percé are traditional enemies of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Percé have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk."

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22 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
23 Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
24 Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

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Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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There was an old woman gathering wood. She looked up and saw a man standing right there. He was a Nez Percé come to spy on the Konkonelp. He stood there and the old woman was afraid to run for fear he would kill her. So she made believe that she did not see him and went on gathering her wood.

Then she went back to the village and told the people, "I saw our enemy. I guess they have come to see what you are doing." And they told her, "Oh, we don't believe you." And they did not believe her. She said, "Yes, I saw him. He had mud all over his head and all over his clothes. He was the same color as the ground, and I could hardly see him."

She had three grandchildren, two girls and one boy. She told them, "We will get ready to leave here." It was about evening. So they left and went far off and sat down. They did not go to sleep. They just sat there.

About morning, all at once the people in the village all went to sleep. The enemy came there and killed everyone. All the women, men, boys and girls; they were asleep when they were killed. The Nez Percé took all the little children, stuck a stick through their throats and strung them up on a pole. They took some food and blankets and left."[1]

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The following tales are of battles participated in by neighboring tribes.

One time the Shuswap came down toward Osoyoos.

Two Northern Okanagon boys and their mother had gone from Oroville to Osoyoos on a ridge and camped there to keep away from the mosquitoes. One of the boys was sick and could hardly move. He was paralyzed; sick for a long time.

In the night the old lady got up to urinate and saw people lying all around watching her. She got up, raised her dress, and scratched herself as if she did not see them. She thought that if she acted afraid they would kill her, and she wanted to warn her son.

She told her boy that the Shuswap had surrounded them. So the boy got ready to fight. As soon as morning came, he jumped out of the tipi and started to shoot the Shuswap and they started to shoot at him.

The sick brother did his best and started to walk away to escape. His mother walked behind him. He tried to climb a hill, but fell back. His warrior brother turned around and started to fight again. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 81 (A), category 116.--Analyst]

[illegible] (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish
Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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His mother was quite helpless, too.

The Shuswap saw how helpless they were. The Shuswap wanted to scare the boy that was fighting. They hallooed at him and blew their flutes [illegible]. The sick boy still tried to climb the hill, and the Shuswap made all kinds of strange noises to frighten the one that was fighting them. The Shuswap made a noise like the sick boy's power, and it livened him. He ran up the hill very fast, and his brother ran after him. The old woman had some fine swan's feathers sewed onto the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. When the Shuswap caught her and were going to kill her, she tore the feathers out and threw them behind her. Then she ran and escaped from the Shuswap.

They came down the hill toward Oroville. The Okanagon, who were facing that way, saw them coming and said, "Enemies have attacked the boys and old woman, ehd are chasing them. All the men got their weapons and went over there. They asked the old lady, and she told that the boy had fought and saved all three. So the Okanagon retreated fighting and went back across the river to their camp.

The Shuswap followed them. When they came to the fish trap, they saw some salmon in the river. The Okanagon started to get salmon from the traps on one side of the river, and the Shuswap from the trap on the other side. The Shuswap started to roast fish right there. So the Okanagon went back to their camps and cooked fish and ate also. After everyone got through eating, one of the Okanagon went over and asked the Shuswap, "On which side of the river shall we play?" The Shuswap said, "We will go up the river and [illegible] you cross and we will come together and play."

They fought and fought. Finally the Okanagon killed the chief Shuswap warrior. There was still another fierce Shuswap warrior, so they fought until they came to Okanagon Smith Ranch above Oroville, where they killed the other big Shuswap warrior. The Okanagon had not lost a man. There were only four Shuswap left. The Okanagon chased them all the way up Dry Gulch, up the mountain toward Osoyoos. As soon as the Shuswap reached the top of the hill, they fell down weary. So the Okanagon said, "We will just let those four go to tell the tale."

The Shuswap waited for the Okanagon to come. One said, "You had better look over the hill and see where they are." Another looked over the hill and said, "Well, I guess we are saved." They saw the Okanagon already going back down the hill."

Some Okanagon warriors from Oroville and Penticton, with a certain fierce warrior

[25] Narrated by David Isaac, Northern Okanagon.
[26] Narrated by Billie Joe, Northern Okanagon
[27] Told by David Isaac, Northern Okanagon.

Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

173 named Cirmĕntcŏ't went to fight the Shuswap, who have dugout houses.

721 726 The Shuswap went way up the river to fish for salmon by torchlight. They came down the river with all their torches, spearing salmon as they were coming along. The Okanagon were near the Shuswap's earth-covered houses. They were sitting on the bank while the Shuswap torch-fishers were going along the river in their canoes.

One of the Shuswap hallooed, "Maybe you are around here getting cold, Cirmĕntcŏ't!" He was just joking, not knowing that Cirmĕntcŏ't was really near. Cirmĕntcŏ't was listening and heard this. The Shuswap started laughing after he had said that.

When the Shuswap returned to camp with their fish, they cooked and ate, and went to bed in the earth-covered houses. There were many of these houses.

The Okanagon waited until three or four in the morning. Then they began pulling the ladders out of the houses. Around these houses there was grass. They set fire to the grass all around. They killed all those Shuswap. So after they killed them all, they came back and stopped fighting" (David Isaac).

One time the Shuswap planned to attack the Okanagon at Inkameep on the Similkameen. The party of Shuswap came along. They saw the Okanagon fires down below them and thought they were at the foot of a hill. They were walking along single file in the dark. Really, they were at the top of a very steep cliff. One by one the Shuswap stepped over the edge. The last Shuswap was a blind man who walked with a stick. He felt ahead and knew it was a cliff. When he knew that his companions had gone over the edge, he returned home.

That night some Okanagon had a dream that the Shuswap had come. They all went to the foot of the cliff and there they found the dead Shuswap warriors."[1]

Many generations ago the Northern Okanagon and the Shuswap fought over a nqŏ-[illegible], a woman inherited through the levirate. Both tribes were hunting about Okanagan Lake when they met in friendship at its head. Two Okanagon men had with them their dead brother's wife, with whom two Shuswap ran off. The Okanagon brothers killed these Shuswap and fled toward Oroville. The Shuswap pursued them and killed one. Then in turn an Okanagon party chased the Shuswap and killed one of them. When the Shuswap then threatened to annihilate the Okanagon, the latter withdrew and gathered at Oroville. The Shuswap returned north, the enmity persisting."[1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 82 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

[Northern Okanagon War Dance] Northeast Salish NE12 Northern Okanagon

S 726 The Sinkaietk take no scalps and have no war dance. Mary Curden stated that the Blackfoot, who were met when buffalo hunting, were the only people who scalped.

N 726 778 The Northern Okanagon, however, have a dance preparatory to war and a scalp dance on their return. A warrior keeps scalps with his power emblem in a medicine bundle: they are kept for display. The scalps are decorated with feathers and porcupine quills strung on the hair. They do not take heads of the slain as trophies.

N 726 535 796 For the preparatory war dance, warriors paint their bodies solid red without designs and wear a small breechcloth. All trophies from former skirmishes are brought out. Garments and ornaments from slain enemies are worn at this time. A war leader with an enemy scalp on a short stick starts the dance by stamping the lower end of the stick on the ground when the drum begins to beat. Then all the men, and as many women as choose, dance with the war leader. At intervals during the dancing and singing, each warrior describes his war power, states what his power has told him to do and how many times he has saved his people. At this time power songs are never sung; only war songs are used. Great warriors ask their people to test them for war. These men have so much power that arrows and bullets cannot penetrate them when their people shoot at them. The war dance continues until the last warrior has told his story.

N [722] 727 535 796 There is no dancing in camp while the men are away fighting, but when they return they hold a scalp dance. People from many neighboring villages come to dance with the returned warriors. At this time, the warriors one by one relate their deeds in the last fight.

N 721 David says that the Shuswap are the greatest enemy of the Northern Okanagon. Whereas the Shuswap come down to fight the Northern Okanagon every spring, taking advantage of the high water to float their bark canoes, the Northern Okanagon go to Shuswap country to fight every fall. This would indicate a degree of formalization.

RELATIONS WITH THE WHITES

S 177 181 The Sinkaietk tribe was well disposed to the whites in their first contacts, according to the accounts of white men as well as their own. Ross Cox found them friendly at the beginning of the last century. Wilkes,[28] in 1845, says, "The Okonagan tribe of Indians are supposed to number about two hundred, and are represented as quiet and

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 83 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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28 Wilkes. Narrative, IV, 434.

29 Lane, in Message from the President, 170.[1]

30 Shaw, Estimates for Indian Service, 113.[1]

31 Craig, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 171.[1]

peacefully disposed." In 1850, Lane"[1] reports, "The Chalnegans inhabit the country north of Fort Colville; are well-armed, and number about 300. They are well disposed toward the whites." 177 181

The Sinkaietk deny that they ever participated in battle with the whites, but in the governmental reports concerning the difficulties in Yakima country in February, 1856 the Sinkaietk are mentioned. At this time, Major Haller took one hundred infantrymen to punish the murderer of a Mr. Bolon. The party was defeated by the Yakima and some ten persons were killed. 177 648

"The result of the blunder on the part of the military was instantly heralded to all the tribes west [east] of the mountains, inviting them to join and exterminate the Americans. This message took like wildfire with all the Indians, and immediately after the following tribes decided to go to war: The Cayuses, Walla-Wallas, Umatillas, Des Chutes, Tigh, John Day's River, Pelouse, Isle-de-Pierre, O-kin-i-kaines [Sinkaietk]; and on the east [west] of the Cascade mountains, Nesqually, White River, Dewamish, and Washington Lake Indians....

"The defeat of Major Haller by the Yakima caused these tribes to commence hostilities sooner than they intended."[1]

In May, the Sinkaietk still took part in the general unrest, according to Craig, at the Lapwai agency (May 27, 1856).

"... There is a cloud of Indians collected in the Spokane country, they say to cut out the few whites and Nez Percés that are here.

"There is very little doubt that the Indians in the direction of the upper Columbia have joined the war party, as they have received their horses as pay for so doing. There are now Cayuses, Pelouses, Spokanes, Okin-e-Kanes [Sinkaietk], Coeur d'Alene, and Colville Indians, a part of each of which are now on this side of the Spokane prairie. They say they have made all the whites run out of their country and will now make all the friendly Indians do the same. They have sent to the Snakes, and a party has already joined them."[1]

In the same year, Stevens reports,

"The whole interior is ripe for war. One-half of the Nez Percés are about to join the war party. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Colvilles, and Oki[n]akanes [Sinkaietk] have accepted horses as the price of their service. They say to the friendly Nez Percés, join us in the war against the whites or we

[1] [For footnote, see p. 83 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 648 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes have joined them."*[1]

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 622 619 648 The relations of Tonasket with the whites illustrates how the whites even in the early days affected Indian political regimes. In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the Kartar band.

These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 102 or 112 years ago."[1] Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselver and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."*[1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), card 116.-- Analyst]

177 622 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other Sinkaietk informants. She said,

619 648 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 361 619 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."*[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 361 619 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

32 Stevens, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1856, 190.[1]
33 Susan Timentwa, informant, has grossly overestimated the time, but this manner of expressing the time element is interesting.[1]
34 Ross, Samuel, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1870, 26.[1]
35 Stevens, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... for the Year 1854, 445.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 84(A), 84(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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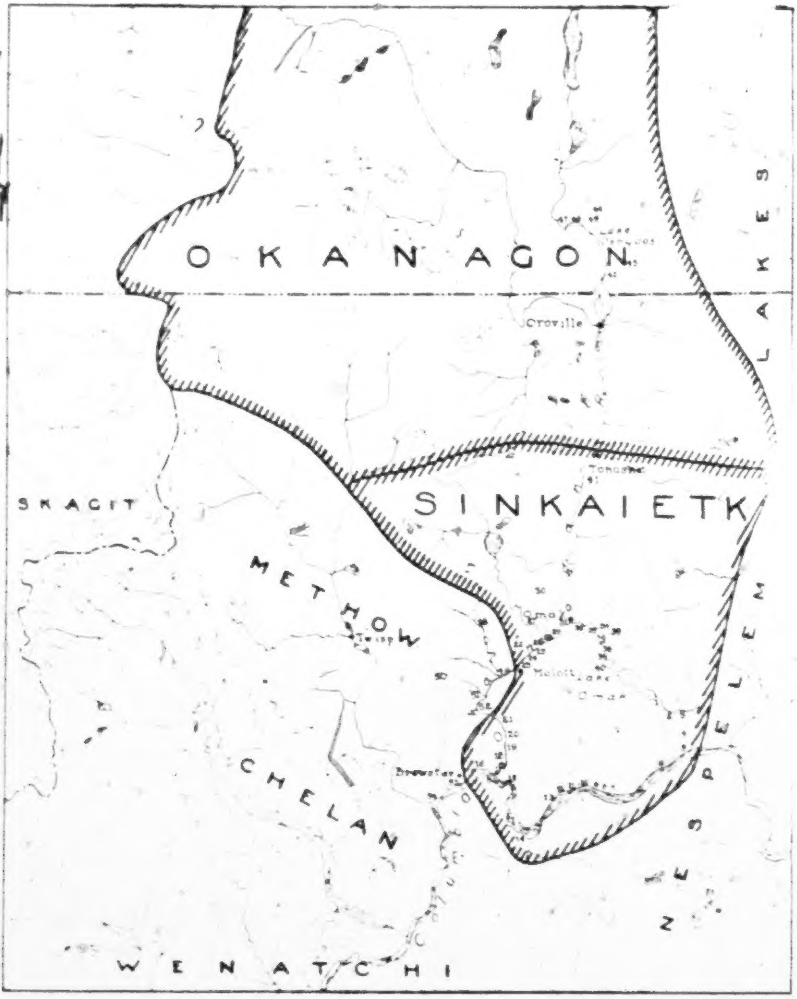
OKANAGON
LAKES
Oroville
Tonasket
SKAGIT
SINKAIETK
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Omak
NESPELEM
CHELAN
Brewster
WENATCHI

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

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The Tukoratum (stEkōra''t^{ûx}) have winter sites from Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to about four miles above Monse, Washington. This band is sometimes called the snEkEkûm'tcī'n^{aûx}, "people at the mouth of the river."

6."[1] Enkukcī'ptEn (Wenatchi word), "driftwood in the water."
7. akītâtqwEtá'n, "tules by the mouth of the creek."
8. sqe'tastûm, "rocks ready for a tipi."
9. nitá'p, "driftwood around the rocks."
10. tuxtiatá'ks, "rocky point."
11. kalī'tsman.
12. ya'kiâmalâmō'l·^{xû}, "brúsh at the mouth of the creek."
13. sīûxtī'na, "below the cliffs."
14. spûkpûkōmī'n, "scattered rocks."
15. tûkōra''tûm.
16. Enīōxtcī'n, "below the mouth of the river."
17. nEkEkûm'tcī'n, "mouth of the river." This village is divided and built on both sides of the river.
18. sīnkáspi'tlûxtEn, "old camp sites." This is one of the best winter sites belonging to the Tukoratum band. It is very old.
19. stsōsīxûwō'x'ûx, "fish hawk." This site is so named because birds called tsī'ōûk catch fish there.
20. sxa'lxkalûktEn.
21. skûpkûpû'naûx^{û}, "sand point."

The Kartar (skata'r^{Ex}) band have winter sites from the foot of Lake Omak to the Columbia River."[1]

1. ya'akspī'tsEn, "place where Indian hemp grows."
2. kata'r^{ûx}, "strip of brush."
3. kalFīEu'l't, "trail between the cliff and the brush."
4. Ensûpsûpōxwe'nk^{u}, "holes in the cliff."
5. EnÁkaka'iûxstâmxōlaû, "between two rocky points."

The Konkonelp (skû'nqwûnīEp) band have winter sites from about three miles above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak.

22. Enxasxasī'tk^{û}, "good water."
23. Name forgotten.
24. kaûōqânī'tx^{û}, "snowdrift marks."
25. nixwītī'tk^{ûx}, "little creeks."
26. qō'nqōnīp or skû'nqwûnīEp.
27. paka'ûotcī'st, "white rock."
28. smōqâtcī'n, "swallows."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 86 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

Sinkaietk; Methow
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

S
103 29. katā kłāk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
361 30. katōma ŭk^{C}, "one hill on the flat."
619 31. łaamī na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpī tsa.
33. Enaqetkā tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nxuxalī nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca ktkułp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa tqłp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi nt.
38. sūmŭkwa aqa in, "snow on the brush."
39. nē aōmEn.
40. sīnal aleqwaī'i p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or scwaŭxōlō s band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaŭxōlō's.

N
101
361 The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of end on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. tłatsEnī tk^{ŭx}, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwal e nīk^{ŭx}, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxŭwī ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inłEl łamEltsī n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamī p, "at head of the lake."
47. pŭstīntsē ntEn.

S
103
101
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361
619 A group of Methow (smē txaŭ^{w}īx) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Melott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci'lōxwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

103
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619

36 Numbers refer to sites indicated on the map (Figure 36).½

37 In 1853 Gibbs mentioned the Saht-lil-kwu band as though resident at the lake between Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413). This must be Omak or Goose Lake and the band the Kartar people. Teit lists a Southern Okanagon village SAłł´lx̣^{u} ("heaped house") situated "near the mouth of Similkameen River," according to his Northern Okanagon informant. The informant may very well have said "near the mouth of the river," meaning the Okanogan River, but which Teit took to mean the Similkameen. Immediately following he gives another village "TEkwora´tEm - On Okanagon River, close to .sAłł´lx̣^{u}" (our no. 15) Teit, Salishan Tribes, 208). SAłł´lx̣^{u} must be a Kartar village and the same as Gibbs' Saht-lil-kwu. —L.S. ½

½ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 86(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86(c)

48. carī´pa.
49. lū´plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnī´kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lōxwist.
52. ənlāxūlāxswa´tkū, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lá'x.
54. snxEncī´naᵘˣ.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a 361
recognized head whose authorization is from 621
his spirit power. 622

After the fall hunt the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single 342
row along a creek or river (sometimes there
is more than one row), their long axes running 361
parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

All working together, they build first 342
the chief's house, which is the largest, and
then the others. There is some question as 476
to whether others than those who are to
occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. 622
Yet cooperation is essential for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

In each house live a number of people 342
who are not necessarily related but who are
congenial. The house group is not formed 592
casually, but by special invitation. Actually,
the winter house is composed predominately
of the same group from year to year, 621
stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

When all the houses are finished, and 342
then only, individuals move into their private 574
dwellings and store their provisions.
The following day the chief's wife selects 796
women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

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592 place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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361
621
592 Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (circa 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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601
N
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601 Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instences functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

Sinkaietk		Northern Okanagon	
Tonasket[39]	Konkonelp[40]	Inkamip[41]	
yēR			the sixth generation removed and all preceding ancestors or succeeding descendants, beginning with great-great-great-great grandparents or great-great-great-great grandchildren.
tsōmī´n	cūmī´n	tsūmī´n	the fifth generation removed.
qō´psa	kō´psE	kō´pcE	the fourth generation removed.

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38 See also Individual Life Cycle.
39 Informant, Andrew Tillson, Tonasket.
40 Informant, Suszen Timentwa, Konkonelp.
41 Informant, Tom Martin, Inkamip.

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

SN 601

Tonasket	Konkonelp	Inkamip
taEtōpa	tatō'p'	tatō'p'
sxa'xba	īcxa p'	īcxa'p'
k!ē'k!wa	kī'qwa	kī'qwa
ka'qEna'	ka'kna	ka'kēna
stEmtī'ma	tumtī'ma	tumtī'ma
snē'mat	cūnī'mat	sūnī'mat
lEī'ō	lī'ī'ū^x	lī'ī'ū^x
mī'stEm		mī'stūm
sk!ōī	kūl	kūl
tōm		tūm
sqsī		qūsī''i
stEmqEī'lt		tūmqī'ī'lt
ʔqa'ksa	ʔqa'qca	ʔEka'ksa
ʔtsī'sEnsa	sī'cēnsa	cī'sEnsa
ʔkī'kha	ʔkī'qxa	ʔEkī'qa
ʔtatsiō'ps	cEcaū'p:	sEsūō'ps
sEntxōs	cīntū's	
swawa'sa	tata kwa^a	suwá'wa'sa
sk!ō'qwe		
stata'kwa	cEwaūwa ca^a	sqō'kwē
sEsī'	cEcī'	sEsī'
sxīʔ	camī'tʔ	sumī'ʔ^x
	ʔūī'ctEm	
sʔEʔEwilt	cʔEʔūwī''lt	ʔEʔūwī'l·t
cxēlūwē	xa'īlūī	xa'īlōwel
naxnūx	na'xánax	na'xōnax
	kEtūlmī'l^ux	kūʔūnī'l^ux
	pōcx'ī't	
	pōçaliū'ūs	
	pōctīū'ūt	
ʔtsītsk	cītk	si'tsEkī
sxaxa	saxa'	xáxa''

÷ [*For footnote, see p. 89(c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 89(A)

the third generation removed. The above reciprocal terms are applied to all individuals of the specified generations, including in both maternal and paternal affiliations direct and collateral ancestors, and direct and collateral descendants of both sexes.

fathers father, father's father's brother, father's mother's brother, man's son's child, man's brother's son's child, man's sister's son's child.

mother's father, mother's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, man's daughter's child, man's sister's daughter's child.

father's mother, father's mother's sister, father's father's sister, woman's son's child, woman's sister's son's child, woman's brother's son's child.

mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, woman's daughter's child, woman's sister's daughter's child, woman's brother's daughter's child.

inclusive term for all grandchildren.

father (man speaking).

father (woman speaking).

mother (man speaking).

mother (woman speaking).

son.

daughter.

elder brother.

younger brother.

elder sister.

younger sister. All cousins (both parallel and cross), including all collateral relatives of the speaker's generation, as well as step-brothers and sisters, half brothers and sisters, and adopted brothers and sisters, are called by the four terms above. Also, in speaking to unrelated people, these are often used in place of the term cEla't, "friend."

sibling..

mother's sister and her cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage; step-mother and father's wife other than one's own mother.

father's sister and his cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage.

mother's brother and her cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

father's brother and his cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

deceased parent's sibling.

inclusive term for niece and nephew, and husband's or wife's sibling's children.

husband.

wife.

first wife.

middle wife.

newest wife.

mother-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal aunts.

father-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal uncles.

000

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42 Suszen has evidently confused the terms for mother's sister and father's sister. ÷

÷[For context of this footnote, see p. 89(4), category 116. -- Analyst]

1024

Tonasket	Konkonelp	Inkamip	
eqI´lp			deceased mate's parents, deceased son's wife, deceased daughter's husband.
atImtn	ntImtên	ntI´mtEn	son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents.
cnIklU	sEnI´kEl^{xU}	sEnI´kEl^{xU}	daughter's husband.
sIpn	cI´pEn	sI´pEn	son's wife.
nkülEmöt	nkÜlEmö´t	nEkÜlEmÜ´lt	relative-in-law living in samé house.
	nata´mtEn		relative-in-law living apart.
etsIxt	tcI´´Üxt		wife's brother, sister's husband (man speaking), wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's husband.
nEsklö	nEsqë´ö		wife's brother's wife, husband's brother's wife, husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking).
saatEm	casta´m	cácta´m	wife's sister, sister's husband (woman speaking), husband's brother, brother's wife (man speaking).
aqö´ltstên	nqö´ltstEn		brother's widow (man speaking), deceased husband's brother.
	nqö´ltstEm		brother's widow who has married another brother, husband's brother after the woman speaker has married deceased husband's brother.
nkülümtö´öc			reciprocal. wives of cousins.

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3: Cline E-6 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

[71] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

601 768 587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

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[43] Spier, Kinship Systems, 76.
[44] Spier, idem., 74.

7

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
which is also applied to the parents-in-law
601 of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-law living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
621 near Kertaro, there were five house sites.
She does not remember all the inmates of the
62 houses; but all were in some way related to
151 her. KEīpūqtsī nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna'lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa'sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (īkī'ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi'st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē'lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwaīk-
624 Enma'lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwaīk-
159 Enma'lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

p. 10 (4)

621 gwe'kEnme lüxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also." She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartero and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Karter. Her maternal grandfather, sl'pa's, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe'n, where the people danced.

At this village, kErpüqtse'nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julia
[221] Josephine was never a sisixō mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu'vpu'x [?].

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe but all friend-
[19] ly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. All other property is strictly personal. Hus-
422 band and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information. 428

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another. 428 553

Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power. 428 778 787

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation. 626 685

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or women.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46] 525 626

This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person. 626

[45] Compare Individual Life C[illegible]

[46] Cox, *Adventures on the Columb*[illegible] pp. 20[illegible]-207.

682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murder of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a handful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone: then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

539 628 had shot him. He leaped up the bluff, with the arrow in his back. Quinmusq shot five more arrows into him and killed him.

His sister came straight for him with the knife. He told her to stop; that he would shoot her if she did not. She said, "Shoot me if you want to," and kept coming. He shot her through the heart and shot five more arrows into her body. There he left her and ran back to camp. The baby was there on the cradle board. He took it up and smashed its head against a tree.

Then he went back to Colville. His people asked, "Where are your sister and her husband?" He told them that he had got tired of staying with them and left them; that they would be back in the fall sometime; that there were lots of camas to dig there.

Just a week later, the sister's dog came back to Cusick. The Cusick people recognized it. The dog's face was all greasy. They thought he had been eating bear. Then the dog made motions as if he were going to throw up. He did and a long black braid of hair came up. The people went to see what it was, and some of the brother-in-law's relatives knew the braid was his. They thought some enemy tribe had met the four on the way home and killed them. They did not suspect Quinmusq.

Finally about fifty good fighters started out. They came to the flat where the four had camped. Pretty soon they found the baby with its head smashed by the tree. They saw the woman's body and then the man's down by the river. Now Quinmusq's big toe was crooked and turned back on his other toes. Everywhere were Quinmusq's tracks, but no enemy tracks. So they knew that he had killed the three. They followed his tracks.

The Spokan went back and told their chief. He said, "All you warriors, go and kill that fellow. He killed his own sister as well as one of our people." They knew where Quinmusq hunted every year in the fall. So the chief sent them to kill Quinmusq and all his people. He told them to wait for Quinmusq where he would go to hunt.

The Spokan started. Early in the morning they arrived and asked the people for Quinmusq. The people told them that Quinmusq with his three brothers was down by the river sweating. The leader of the warriors said, "We just want Quinmusq's people. We won't hurt anybody else. He killed his brother and sister in the summer." So they killed the mother and father of Quinmusq.

Quinmusq was way in the back of the sweat house. He was so fierce that he always had his big knife in the sweat house just inside the door. The Spokan called to them. Finally the first brother jumped out and was killed with spears and bows and arrows. The second went out and was killed. The third sang his power song. Then he went out. When they shot at him they missed. He

fell down and jumped up. They chased him 539
but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think
he could jump over it. He could not. He 628
jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back.

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Kalispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

No payment is ever accepted as compen- 684
sation for adultery. If a man is sufficient- 626

ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered 684 liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge. 626

If a man kills several people, he 626 achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon.

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest man sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

According to Suszen Timentwa, the 681 present chief, in pre-white days the chief ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on 304 the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a straight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound.

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

If a chief found in the old days that 93(8) Indians were killing animals for fun, or wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

681 304 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 693 797 Punishment of crime has become much more rigid since the advent of the Catholic priests. They are said to have introduced a simple judicial system with policemen (cūlEnka´m), trial (cqwakwe´llckIm), witnesses (sIn´mipe´lˣ), a judge, a whipper (cō´ItsEm) and a counter of the strokes (tsEka´m).

696 625 The policeman, who carries a stick when summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to the chief. For doing this work, he receives no payment. The only punishment meted out is whipping. The people all assemble in front of the village to hear the trial and to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man as judge to determine the number of strokes to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 696 From fifty to one hundred lashes are given for the first offense of murder, adultery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. — Analyst]

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47 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 292.

48 *Ibid.*, 293.

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Okinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47] 1

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48] 1

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

1 [For footnote, see p. 94 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94 (B)

622 554 the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says that a son of a chief is chosen as his successor because he knows how to be chief, having heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits.

The members of a chief's family are not known by a distinctive term. Terms of a purely descriptive nature, such as, wife of the chief (pōl lmixūm), or child of the chief (nkałelmi xūm) are used during the life of the chief. Even the eldest son, who is recognized as the one who will most certainly succeed to his father's position, is not designated by any distinctive term.

622 581 In selecting a wife, the chief need not choose a girl from a wealthy family; it is more important that she be a chaste and industrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste.

622 554 The wife of a chief works just as does any other woman, but her suggestions are received by the other women with respect and are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band.

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

622 555 Power was not a necessary attribute for holding the office of chief. Reputation as a warrior was not considered essential. The ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says: "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense."

622 Informants from the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the

÷ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 95(B); category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.
50 Spier and Sapir, Wishram, 212.

7

man and woman chiefs, divided between them. 622
They use what they need and keep the surplus on reserve for the people until time of want.

Chilowhist Jim, a Methow informant, says of chiefs, "They do little work, just stay in the house all day and talk and smoke. But they care for their people well, keep track of everyone, where each person is, what he is doing and how successful he is in everything. A man, before making a trap or taking a trip of even one day, talks it over with the chief." The Kartar agree with the Northern Okanagon tribe in saying that their chiefs work just the same as ordinary people.

Suszen Timentwa insists that there may be two or three chiefs at one time in a band, each with equal authority, and that they take turns in directing tribal affairs.

"Each nation or principal tribe has 622
generally two chiefs; one for the village,
and another called the war-chief. The former 624
is the head of the tribe; and, as already observed, holds his office by lineal descent: the latter is elective, and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people."[1]

All other informants deny that the Sinkaietk bands have more than one chief at a time. The war chief referred to here by Alexander Ross is probably only the war leader, described as an individual possessing great power and respect but having no permanent official position. Each band has one chief, who, in accordance with the loose social organization of the group, functions as a tribal manager rather than as a despot controlling life and death, as did the chiefs of the tribes to the south on the Columbia River.[1] Even though he prove selfish and inefficient, and meet with serious disapproval on the part of some, the group will continue to respect him as chief.

According to Mary Carden, all four of 622
the Sinkaietk bands as well as the Methow
and Chelan tribes have chieftainesses 562
(skü malt, women of great authority) as well, who serve in an advisory capacity.

The chieftainess is officially elected. She receives formal appointment at a council meeting just as the chief does. Apparently this office is hereditary through the male line; these women are always related to the chief, and at death, the office passes to another female relative, and in no recorded case from mother to daughter.

There are apparently differences in the status of such women in the several bands. In the Tukoratum band, whereas the chief served as the group manager, the woman skümalt was a consulting adviser only in cases of murder, revenge or emergencies. If her decision differed from that of the chief, the

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 95 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

622 people were free to follow either. Amity
might be advised but could not be enforced.
562 Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skü malt are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation[1] with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women.[52]

563 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of
the equality of women is not unexpected.
184 Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

> "The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

> "There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o'mA'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o'mA'lt and the Sinkaietk skü malt. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 In the old days, among the Konkonelp
and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a
554 chief could wear an eagle feather headdress
clear around the head. A "mean" man, that
622 is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition,
might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116 -- Analyst]

52 Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

53 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

54 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings.
Such men were not criticized by the people.
554 In later days, anyone can wear such a head-
dress, but the chief's is always the most
622 ornate. The woman skü malt has no special
dress, but she is better dressed than any
other woman of the band, and always wears a
[304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of
wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"* bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."*1

292 622 The Kartar chief, on special occasions, wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the seams and carries a fan made of the wing of a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

276 622 The new chief of the Kartar band is always given the tribal pipe which belonged to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special fringed buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sinaí-ostn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaí-ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his oldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce the chief's wish to everyone. These forms of appointment seldom occur since most men die a violent death. [165]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 16 (C), category 116. -- A.

p. 16 (B)

1 [For context of these footnote see pp. 96(A), 96(B), category 116. — Analyst]

p. 96(c)

51 Michel Brooks says that the Kartar feel that the Nespelem belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.
52 Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.
53 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.
54 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.
55 Higua is the bead-like shell money ground from clam shells.
56 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 291

Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion. 622 765

On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. 623 [584]

The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly. 622

These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for women officials were eliminated before the latter. 173 622

Cīyé'qwEkEn was chief (yīlamī'xŪm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmÉna Os, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kùxkùx̣ta'skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

97(A)

Sī nt^{kū}, a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn and his cousin, was a chieftainess (skū mált) of the Tukoratum band. She was followed by klaftsiapī tsa, a cousin. The latter was not formally appointed at sī nt^{kū}'s death, but she had much wisdom so the people called her skū mált and went to her for advice. She died a few years after the death of kūxkūxtá-skEt.

Txwīsta skEt was chief of the Konkonelp band and a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married two Konkonelp women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by his son, nōxta-skEt, who married a Nespelem woman. Kūmkūmī-Epō sEmEn, a younger brother, succeeded nōxta skEt, and married a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, EntaktcEnīxū, who also married a Nespelem woman. The latter's son, EntáktcEnīxū, is Johnnie Frank who now lives at Nespelem. Johnnie Frank has been appointed chief by the Government as well as by the people.

Sqwal īpa ls was chieftainess of the Konkonelp band, contemporaneously with txwīsta skEt. She was succeeded by her niece, tcūtcūwé l ks, who was the last chieftainess of this band.

Xwīstásūmxa ī'kEn (Walking Grizzly) was chief of the Kartar band and a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married two Kartar sisters and a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, xwīstásūmxa ī'kEn, whose mother was one of the Kartar women. He married two Kartar women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by a son, sūwīpūka'ln, who married a Kartar woman, a Nespelem woman, and a Similkameen woman. He was a contemporary of Chief Moses of the Moses Columbia band, and died in 187?. Sūwīpūka'ln was succeeded by a brother's son, sōyī mát'kEn, who married a Konkonelp woman. Suszen Timentwa, the present chief of the Kartar band, was appointed by the Government with the people's sanction. His grandmother was a sister of sōyī mát'kEn's father. He is now living at Malott on an allotment.

Mary says that the entire Methow tribe was under the rule of one chief only, who usually lived at cī lōxwist, on the Okanogan River. Sqalō'ska sket was a contemporary of cīyá qwEkEn. He married a Chilowhist woman, a Tukoratum woman, and a lalaé la'x woman. He is the only chief whom Mary knows about who depended on his spirit power in managing his people, rather than on "good common sense."

Of the Chelan tribe, kanī mt·kū was chieftainess during the days of cīyá qwEkEn, and was a distant cousin of the Chelan chief who was her contemporary. She was followed by an unappointed skū mált woman. "There were government laws by this time and chiefs were not necessary."

p.97(B) Mēla'inEm was chief of the Stwkaqai'ī'ūs during the days of Cīyá qwEkEn.[57½]

[½] [For footnote, see p.97(C), category 11½. -- Analyst]

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57 An account of the Moses Columbia chief Sulktasku'sum will be found in the section on Religion. 1

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 97(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 97(c)

5

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tū c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group [555 787] for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skōlsti ckūm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwitłatłacūmi ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa m) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo, 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cōxqōłoqwe łlt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

[58] Compare the house leaders

[59] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.[1]

p. 98(A)

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating approbation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[34] 1/A

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556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

1/A [For footnote, see p. 98(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

In war, enemy men are killed and their women 567
taken as wives (sqwé'nExEn, "wife who is captured"). 727
There is no word in the Sinkaietk vocabulary for slave.

Mary Carden says that the chief some- 622
times cares for wounded enemies until they
are well. Then such men work with the chief's 727
family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is
a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask 582
the chief to let him marry their daughter.
At these marriages, the chief acts as the
captive's father. It is hard to believe that
captive enemies would prove so amenable, unless they had been taken very young.

60 See the Dream dance. [a]

[a] [For context of this footnote,
see p. 99(B), category 116.
-- Analyst]

p. 99 (A)

David Isaac says that in a raid, some Northern Okanagon people kill captive children; others adopt them. He has heard of children being roasted to tantalize the enemy. He recounts the capture of a woman in recent times. 171 727

After the whites came a man put red flannel on his moccasins and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went up and avenged him. While there they captured a nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back. She married a Douglas Lake man.[40] [1] 668 796

[1] [For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99(B)

[p.100 is blank]

[illegible] 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

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4

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy:
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their requests,
but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging
and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned,
the adolescent spent his time learning
techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some differences
in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position,
less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

764 768 The body was then buried in the earth among stones and was mourned for some time. When the relatives were once more pure, the property was divided among relatives and friends, and, except for perpetuation of the name in a new individual, the place and soon the memory of the individual was gone from the community.

STATUS TERMS

551 561 601 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms to distinguish the place of the individual in the developmental sequence. They were not the ordinary terms of address. Personal names and relationship terms were more commonly used as vocatives, and status terms were used, even as terms of reference, only when there was some reason for stressing the status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do the, represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	ōxtī′lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xī′xōtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqōcqōcē
crawling	q̧Elkētc′xī′nux
unweaned	wai′q′ɫxap
running about	xōxwēɫuc
little child	qwūqwē′ō′ma
big child	tētExa′p
run about outdoors	qu̧ɫcqē′tcilix
big enough for chores	q′ōtcqu̧tsqwē′lix
boy	t′tūIt
girl	xI′xōtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiI′tx
second oldest child	q!ē′ōc
youngest child	ctEē′ōt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEē′ltc
several sons of one father	ɫckōcē
just before puberty	xēlqē′lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	sɫiɫxō′mxax

561

adolescent	staqumê´x^{u}
man	squtEmê´x^{u}
woman	t'EkɫtEmê´lx^{u}
pregnant woman	tqwê´ltEm
newly married boy	taŭxɫna´xEnux
newly married girl	wê´xux
married couple	naxEnŭxwê´ôs
spinster	sEmamtŭ´lŭx^{u}
bachelor	swIEnô´mpta; ka´ltŭmxŭmI´ct
father of many children	twaxô´êlt
old man	tluxEtɫExa´p
woman at menopause	kIaq^{u}xa´n ("ceases menstruating")
old woman [after menopause]	pôptuwI´naŭx^{u}
old couple	sEnôqôɫExɫExa´pc
grandfather	tluxuxpôê´lux
dead person	tEla´l; wa´ik'lal

For most of these terms all the informants were in agreement, except Billy Joe who gave several terms quite different from those listed here. Many of them were transparent compounds such as wa´Itlsɫ Iska´ltEmêx^{u}, widow, "one whose man is dead," and wa´Itklaɫna´xŭnax, "widower." Such terms may have been perfectly acceptable, but could not be so considered without further check. We were unable to discover whether the compounding was a fixed or a free process.

Unfortunately a great number of the terms were obtained from informants from the northern groups. They have not all been checked for the Sinkaietk proper. Where there was duplication there was no particular difference to be noted. Johnny sometimes gave variants, presumably Colville. The alternatives for bachelor and dead person here listed are his.

NAMING AND CHANGING NAMES

553 The infant made his debut when he was but a few days old, at the end of the period of enforced seclusion for his mother. A feast took place, to which only a small number of relatives and friends were invited. According to Chilowhist Jim this was an occasion for merriment and rejoicing, with a special name, cqwIkwaI´malt. Cecile said that the affair was so informal that there did not even need to be a feast, but the others agreed that though it had no specific name it was called, descriptively, "we are going to eat."

The child was passed about among the assembled company, and each person present held it, greeting it with some such common formula as waɫktskI ts, "You are here," and wishing it luck. There might also be a temporary name given it at this time for use until the regular naming feast.

Billy Joe and Mary Carden contended that this ceremony was held for the first-born of a couple only.

553 853 574 The naming feast took place about a year later (when the baby ate solid food for the first time). It was at this time that the full introduction of the infant into society took place. The ceremony was more elaborate and on a larger scale than was the blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ———. That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of camas, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

sons. He might do it in honor of a newly deceased relative, at the suggestion of his power, or merely for variety or amusement. 553 Sometimes a man's parents would wish him to change his name, taking that of a relative recently dead. The parents would give a feast like that described above, then either the parents or the man himself would announce the new name. It was said that if someone wanted to give a man a new (ancestral) name, they gave him presents; but if he wished to take a new name, he made the presents (as described below).

It was claimed that men often changed their names, but women, and men of great repute, did this less frequently. Only when the new name was in its turn that of a deceased relative did it come into regular use and supersede the former one. Others were regarded as supplementary and less formal names, more in the nature of nicknames. However, it was said that some people never changed their names, e.g., great warriors. Sqts'sx̣ō'sūm and sūx̣sūxpk!ə'n, both Moses-Columbia (?), were cited as examples.

Among the Sinkaietk the assumption of a new name seems to have been accomplished very simply, by asking a friend to use the new name at a gathering: thus it came into use among a few friends. The friend might be paid for this service. Among the more northern groups it was a more formal affair.

The following is Andrew's account of the ceremony among the Northern Okanagon as it took place when a brother of his changed his name. In this a pattern for the use of wealth is evident, which does not seem to have been present at all in the Sinkaietk form. 553 574

Andrew's brother was given the name nplūxtcī'n by his mother when he was about fifteen. There was a little feast and then everybody knew him by that name. Then his mother died and he was sad. He wept and said; "I take pity on my name. My mother gave it to me and she is dead. I want to change my name, because she is dead and can no longer call me by it. My older brother had a name and I am going to take the name he had." Andrew told him to do as he thought best. [593]

Then all the Indians, the Sinkaietk and the Penticton [Northern Okanagon], and those from the Kettle River and the Similkameen, gathered at his invitation. He bought a lot of provisions and killed two steers. To all the Indians that came he said, "I want you to stay with me for three days." He hired two men and two women as cooks. The next morning after breakfast he said, "I want you to know what I have in my mind." He wrapped himself in a blanket and a shawl, and took ten dollars in silver in each hand. He stood up and said, "There are four of you different tribes, and I want one of each of you to take one of these things."

For an hour they tried to get one an-

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtIō cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it. 553 574

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians. 553 778

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions. 553 522

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother [illegible]tsaa'c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cilnwapawckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu. 551

A name given in childhood was called ckwIct; a power name, cinōmuxckwIct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

551 by two individuals at the same time. This was a situation favorable to the development of family ownership of particular names. Among the more northern groups David says that parents would sometimes have to pay other equally interested relatives for the privilege of giving a particular name to their child. Ross's statement that names could be given and thrown away also indicates a feeling for names as property, though we could not corroborate it exactly.[1] However, there was no fixed system of names belonging to each family, for a child might be given names assumed as supplementary names by his ancestors, particularly power names.

FORMAL ASPECT OF NAMES

There was no difference in the form of names thus variously acquired. Not all names had meaning.

551 562 The only formal difference was between the names for men and those for women. Women were never named after animals or birds (or plants), and the majority of their names end in the suffix -elks or -ēlks, meaning "dress" or "robe," or in -atq^{u}, "water." Michel stated that all women's names referring to dress or blanket were power names. Some examples of the names for women are:

clēma tq^{u}	whirlpool
sīntq^{u}	perfumed waters
wōq!pē tq^{u}	toward water
cilxē mtq^{u}	toward rough water
tsE xtsilt^{qu}	telling the waters
q!a nankt^{qu}	twisting waters (as a meandering stream)
sEmalEmtl t^{qu}	slow waters (?)
qwl'qwa e t^{qu}	black waters (?)
smExm lEqs or sUn ha lks	war-dance dress
qwelxU nmElqs	something went dry about her dress
qwal'kla lks	red dress
talE ta lks	—— dress (?)
sīnumta lks	perfumed dress
ts!Om ta lks or tsutsUa lks	fringed dress (?)
x!sux ta lks	nice dress (same as preceding?)
salElla'lks	lost dress
sawa le lks	blue dress
tsExExEna lks	snow dress
cxqō tE lkc	yellowjacket dress
chwictImnE lkc	walking dress
cqētE lpc	walk on the dress
cklōtElkc	set on her dress
sōkapExne lks	—— dress (?)
kwalxEnma lks	dusty dress (as by kicking up the dust)
sEbEpa lks	horizontal strips around the bottom of a dress (?)
sluxumta lks	——

1 [For footnote, see p. 106 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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-51- A few of the other names end in -pitsa, "blanket."

-52-

[illegible]tsa'	shouting blanket(?)
q'.pI'tsa'	red blanket
hictamI'tsa	walking blanket
cikomEnI'tsa	part of the blanket is floating
nctEpI'tsa	———

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals, or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged from the form they would have as non- human names. They never have plant names, "because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -[illegible]xn, -ö'xn, -Exn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snkalI'p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'lEpstsI'nExn	coyote's ankle
spEpEII'na	rabbit (a men's name, though the mythical creature is female)
skm'xst	bear
Imtimtamilö'pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqölaünI'tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwaxwaqE'n	fox head
cqlekin	deer fat
sn.kstI'a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yIxoI'xö'txn	badger
spük'mI'x	swan
[illegible]'xl	loon
[illegible]laqö'xn	a bird picking its back (?)
s,Ema'ütkEn	(swan's ?) long neck
kutclixcqölExEn	running crane
pikmpE'lExqEn	white horse
tciq!ulpa'öc	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

stclö'lp	lower intestine
tEmtI'kEn	rotten on the mountain (?)
[illegible]I'qEn	lost on the mountain
tnmachwi'ct	keeps walking

-p.106 (B)

1

[1] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325. Teit remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson. "Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do not seem, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented" (Thompson Indians, 290).

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1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 106(A), Category 116.
-- Analyst]

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562

[illegible]	iron head
tixwista'skēt	walking in the sky (?)
slō'pāxĒn	moccasins no good (?)
ma'hqs'n	big eddy
paxunīī'tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunnītsa	something went dry around his blanket
xslīks'xn	twisting his arm(?)
huntōxsĒnī'lhQ	tipi door
tclxa'xīlix	they've been driven
hicha'ca	don't know how
ntsĒnĒckwa'ct	no name
xīlīka'xĒn	round wing
nīrqō'ctsin	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstīlla'ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstilīāōt)
cpaqĒō'l^{a}	two smokes
nxē'tĒmqin	serrate head (like a saw)
chīlxa'lt	daylight
cōqē'm	moonlight
sinōā'c	sunrise

"Burning back" (nōlā'qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cīl'quīp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwĒsta'xn, s'aī'Laī', ōla'pkĒn, kinĒmī'lx, qalawī'ta, k!lō'pakn, kwa'alĒxnī'tsa, ckī'ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4] 553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash- 854 ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.'[1] 854 [853]

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[2] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
[4] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
[5] See also Childbirth below.
[6] See Adult Life below.

p.107(A)

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day. 855 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.'[2]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

[For footnote, see p. 107 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of projected visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the house. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

p. 108 (A)

866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."*[1]

[illegible]	kcâltc	hlcpôo'cEn	IsimErI'm
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
[illegible]cqwacI'atit	kstlaxpEmèha		
our children	grow.		

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.'[1]

865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabus. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 108(B)

the religion of its elders.

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of [illegible]wilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqóllšū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'l^{ūx} and up to [illegible], which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any more. They were afraid in those days.

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One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

[231]

Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalI't'sman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

p.109(3)

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169 [illegible] times, the men could not catch any [illegible]. The next day the men built corrals
221 behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going to different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to [illegible] tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks. They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children [illegible] get poles and build winter play houses. The little children were the play children; the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tkora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsuwi'st^{n}.

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831 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the southern asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this [illegible]. Even [illegible] who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

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135 For Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to
886 twelve years old.

841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also [illegible] rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung down on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, or pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According
881 to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even overnight. She took frequent sweat baths,
[722] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants
881 said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

p. 110 (B)

any rate not the general pattern." 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:
qEnqEqüntEmI'' n   sEnqEqÜlüxtsI' n
Help me   Twilight
leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:
qEnqEqüntEmI n   sEnq!paqEtsI' n
Help me   Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath , and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote." 825

p. 111 (A)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving,
nine of them were saved merely by sniffing
at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as
to allow these to fall out. This sets the 881
pattern for ease in delivery which her future
children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women, [343]
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill ~~across~~ the Columbia from Brewster 773
are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

10 Compare the myth of this area concerning the people who had no mouths, who ate by sniffing. — L.S.
11 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 282.

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 111 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

111 (c)

783 841 [296] 841 man's luck and power her pollution would be permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with green grass on which to lie were put in a pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute for the customary sweat bath. They were not allowed to take back to the village the clothes they wore during this time. These were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought them by girls to don after a sweat bath and a bath in the river, taken before returning to their ordinary life. They were not allowed to cook, even for themselves. Food was brought to them from the village, and none of it might be left till the next day or brought back to the village. Anything but bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten, and possibly the first of the camas or berry crop. They were not supposed to drink directly from a stream, lest it dry up. The drinking tubes used were made by pushing the pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should not comb their hair during the period, but could scratch the head with their fingers. Women in their periods could not help men in any way, nor would men look at or talk to them. Should a man eat anything cooked by them, he would sicken, lose his power, and game would flee from him. While a woman with a small baby might take it to the lodge with her, older children were left in charge of the husband or some relative or neighbor. At the lodge a woman busied herself with making mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. These women were said not to have children. (L.S.) Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 883 [524] After the return from seclusion the boys accompanied the men on their hunting trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits. The first kill of a deer (and of a bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed by the community and ceremoniously treated. He himself did not eat of it, but all the old men did (or at least he did not eat until the old men had partaken). This was for the sake of his future luck in the hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned by some older female relative, except early in the morning before the boys were up when they went to sweat, swim, and get the water for cooking. They were supposed to swim every day. They became acquainted with

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. [538] This happens often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

p. 112(B)

584

The usual pattern for the marriage proposal was for the father, uncle, or some older male relative of the boy to ask the parents of the girl for her in marriage.[15] It would be insulting, thought Dave, for a friend or a woman to be dispatched. The boy was always consulted, and the suggestion might come from him. Sometimes the boy did his own proposing, but this was not considered quite the best form.

There was apparently no set form for the occasion. The father sometimes made a speech, speaking of such things as any friendship that may have existed between himself and the father of the girl. If the request was refused, no hard feelings were aroused and the man left without more ado. If the parents of the girl gave their consent, she went off with her husband and his father immediately, or he joined her family group. She was expected to assent to her family's choice without hesitation, as her former seclusion had prevented her making a choice of her own. If for any reason she refused, the man might make a determined effort to win her by a prolonged courtship. Mary Carden's first husband, whom she had at first refused because he already had two wives, courted her for about a year, visiting with her family for long periods of time. Julie Josephine, on the other hand, said that the man whom she married came to ask for her himself, and she went off with him immediately. In her case, her father being long dead, her mother arranged the affair. If the girl did not like the man approved by her parents, she might elope with someone else. Old Harry insisted that the chief was frequently called as consultant by the family searching for a mate for their child. If this was so, it was probably a local pattern of the extreme south.

Several of our informants spoke of the possibility that the family of the girl make the advances. A particularly good hunter would be selected, for example, and the girl sent to him. Should he not desire to marry her, he was free to send her back, with no stigma upon her. Others scorned this idea, but agreed that a younger sister, as she became mature, was sent in this fashion to join her sister as co-wife. Curtis mentions the proposal by the parents of the girl as a regular Salish institution, which was passing out of favor at the time he made his survey.[13] Teit speaks only of the proposal from the suitor to the parents of the girl, directly, or by means of a relative or the chief.[14]

Sometimes the parents arranged for the marriage of their children while the latter were yet infants. This was known as ckhiómict. There were exchanges of presents from then on, mostly of food, the parents of the girl giving things like roots and ber-

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[13] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73.
[14] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 287.
[15] See also Household Arrangement

p. 113 (A)

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nine-
teen or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately re-
ceived a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would inter-
fere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live to-
gether. There was no feast, for the Okana- [574]
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visit-
ed back and forth until they had accumulated 591
enough to build their own home; the necessi-
ties might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instruct-
ed the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be wel-
comed back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforc-
ed without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern in-
formants, particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carmen, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

[16] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

p.114 (A)

583 The [illegible], separate households for
587 [illegible] wives, [illegible] betrothal, and
595 [illegible] gift exchange are mentioned
[illegible] in the literature."[1]

Ceremony

585 The information with regard to the ceremony of marriage is in rather a confused state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist, a completely informal affair. "It was not marriage; it was just taking each other." This seems rather to be a voicing of the contrast between its formlessness and simplicity and the ceremoniousness of more modern forms of marriage.

583 It is difficult to say exactly what sort of variations our diverse accounts are indicative of. Probably they were all recognized patterns, among which the situation, or the individuals or families concerned, might dictate a choice. Possibly Suszen's explanation is to the point, that when a marriage was with another tribe that practices the potlatch, the Okanagon carried gifts, otherwise not. Some sort of local variation as to the most highly desirable of the possibilities may be represented. The system was certainly never very formal and fixed, and it is natural that newly introduced changes and contrasts should have made the solution of the confusion rather impracticable. Certainly not all the types indicated were of equal validity or age in the culture.

The various patterns which were claimed to have existed here are:

Arranged betrothal, with subsequent exchanges between the parents, and unceremonious consummation.

Payment by the groom, to be repaid later, but not so ceremoniously, and not in full. Mary Marden's husband gave four horses for her, and about a year later her family returned two to him. Half of the marriage price was given to her mother's brother. This was not a unique case, but was a rare one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or unattractive man, particularly with a girl having a reputation for chastity. Cecile told of a chief who had paid eight horses for a girl, and when her sister came of age, desiring to marry her as well, he paid another ten. This was, however, a modern case. There may have been return payments of which she had no knowledge. She said that an old man told her that such purchases would never have been made in the old days, but this may have been a reflection on the size rather than on the fact of the payment.

583
582 Many of the informants said that it would be particularly in the case of an intertribal marriage that such external ratifications were necessary. These took place

[1][For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took place occasionally with all the surrounding peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon speaking people was not classed in the same way. This occured very commonly. David Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1] 583 [62] 582

[1] [For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's parents. Returning with the girl, he carried presents from her parents. Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro Local pattern. 583 585

Information from the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders. 171 585

Commonly the group was notified of the marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents of either bride or groom. The girl's father announced to the guests that his daughter was married. There were no ceremonies, no gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[17] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting. 171 585 574

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[17] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

p. 115 (A)

Then there was a feast, according to Ross a rather formal affair. 171

"When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. In arranging the purchase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" David Isaac. 585 574

There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Suszen, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and Nez Perce. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkaietk only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi. 171 585

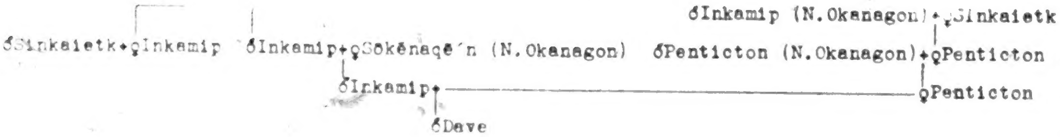
The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maidcI nOx and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?" 584 585

At the meeting the people sit in a big 585

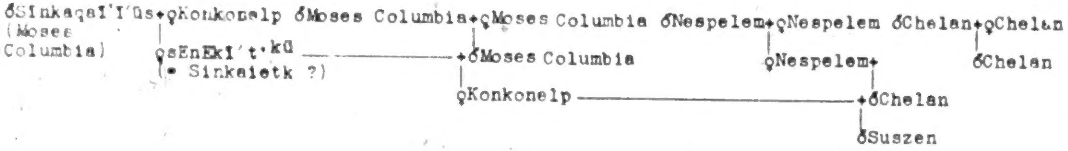
p. 115 (B)

[David Isaac's genealogy]

p. 115(c)


♂Sinkaietk+♀Inkamip
♂Inkamip+♀Sōkēnaqē´n (N.Okanagon)
♂Inkamip (N.Okanagon)+♀Sinkaietk
♂Penticton (N.Okanagon)+♀Penticton
♂Inkamip+
♀Penticton
♂Dave

Suszen's genealogy is also instructive from this point of view:


♂Sinkaqai'I'ūs+♀Konkonelp
(Moses Columbia)
♂Moses Columbia+♀Moses Columbia
♂Nespelem+♀Nespelem
♂Chelan+♀Chelan
♀sEnEkI´t·kū
(= Sinkaietk ?)
+♂Moses Columbia
♀Nespelem+
♂Chelan
♀Konkonelp
+♂Chelan
♂Suszen

585 circle, with the presents in the center. They form two groups: the girl's family and presents representing one half the circle, those of the boy the other. Speakers were appointed for the occasion, who took their places in the center of the circle. First the one representing the boy and then the one for the girl recited the list of the presents on his side. Then they said to the young people, "Will you be good to each other, and live always together?" The young people were shy, so the speakers answered for them, saying to the group, "These young people are now married."

Then the parents exchanged all the gifts. Little boys carried them across the center line dividing the two groups. Each party redistributed its receipts among the contributors. The fathers gave things to the men, the mothers to the women. If one of the parents was dead, a relative served as proxy. The parents usually profited little by the transaction, and the others treated it pretty much as a gamble. There were no reproaches for those who took or were given more than their share.

A feast followed, although it sometimes preceded the distribution of gifts. Young men and women assisted with the cooking and the serving. It was given in the largest house in the village, or, if the weather permitted, out-of-doors. After this there was a dance, and a chance for the mingling of the young people.

All this ceremony was held only for the taking of a first wife. For this the people wore their most elaborate headdresses. The boy wore one of eagle feathers, which he borrowed if he did not own one. The girl wore two feathers fixed to a deer thong, at the back or the front of her head. They were in honor of the creator (Kwulencolten) and were removed after the ceremony. Those of the woman were fastened close to each other, for they represented herself and her husband. [Chilowhist Jim denied that such feather bonnets were worn at marriage, indeed that they were worn at all until introduced by the Nez Perce.]

While this account differs from that presented by other informants, it was confirmed in essentials by Chilowhist Jim (of Methow affiliations). He stated that at marriage presents were given. "This shows that the relatives are pleased with the match." All sat in a great circle, indoors or out, according to the season. The chief asked the youth if he would be a good husband and faithful, to which the spokesman for the groom's party replied. A similar question was put to the bride. "The people there act as witnesses to this."

The other aberrant account is that of Billy Joe. It includes several pre-nuptial visits performed by the bridal pair and both sets of parents. Each time the visitors brought gifts. The first payments were made by the groom's parents. This is a common Southern Plateau pattern, but all the other

p. 116 (A)

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

684 837 [illegible] the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man; a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps [629] would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after separating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

wives or his female relatives. 000

587 If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son: of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother."

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

159
595 The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage.

Mary's brother was married to k'alôp'kEn's sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alôpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This man and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alôpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

p. 117(A)

to marry him. K'alōpa´kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa´kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa´kEn one horse. 159 595

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ŭnqwŭnŁEp people. K'alōpa´kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan. Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa´kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa´kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were seperated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkŭmcI´n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa´kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpa´kEn was always good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved 591

P. 117 (B)

591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have seperate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart.[1] But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives usually left each with her own family. Co-wives shared equally economically, unless the husband particularly favored one. Each [601] cared only for her own children and was swa wa sa (mother's sister) to all the others, whether really related or not. As there was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies often arose. Several informants said that the wife most loved by the husband had authority over the others; David Isaac, a Northern Okanagon, said that it was always the first wife. The informants insist that most men who were married had at least two wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters often had more. The only explanation, and a very probable one, is that there was a very high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as follows. In the old days a man who was a good hunter would have many wives, as many as five. Several sisters would marry one man. All lived together in one house. The husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives, one each night. There was no jealousy be- [843] tween the wives. The husband did not stop sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant, but after the baby was born he had no intercourse with her for quite a few days. The wives divided the food he brought home and took turns cooking it for him. When he died they might continue living together, or, each taking such household articles as she had made, build little separate houses in which to live. After the mourning period of a 587 year or so the man's brother, who was the best hunter and had been chosen to care for 595 them, would come to the house. If he was already married he might visit back and forth between his other wife or wives and these women. If he had but one wife and there was only one widow, he might establish

587 joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595

There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

Each family in a mat lodge would have
592 its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated fami-
264 lies ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that
831 larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'ämamtó'lu^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

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*8 See also Social Organization.

such a one was wi´öwxIna, literally (?) "she 831
don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody."
These girls never learned to be good. 836
There were never many of them. They never
worked but were supported by their own people,
even though these did not like them. If
a girl was always bad, going with many men,
she would not have a chance to marry well.
In fact, girls who had many illegitimate
children would never marry. If a father [684]
found he could not halt her and tired of the
disgrace, he marched her out to the woods
and shot her with arrows, leaving her without
burial. Not every boy would have dealings
with such loose girls. The sons of
"nice" people would be "nice." But every
boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse
before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848
shame of them was lived down. A girl who
had already had a baby married, and brought
up the child with her later children. There
was no way of forcing the men involved to
marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination
mechanism to determine his identity,
and if accused he had only to deny the allegation.
He might, however, have married the
girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847
it was considered rather shameful, and was
so felt by the girl involved. Therefore
girls who became pregnant as a result of an
illicit affair attempted to produce abortion
by violent pressure, as by falling on their
abdomens across a log. If this failed they
were said sometimes to kill the child if the
fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently
secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842
brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget 824
Sound tribe. She would arrive in the
Wenatchi country every summer in the days of
Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed
the women to eat the leaves of a
bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The
bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark
green, shiny leaves are small and pointed,
and in general shaped like those of a tobacco
called sqwull´s.) This plant was said to
grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was
male, the non-blossoming variety female.
Women who did not want to have children
would eat these leaves after menstruation
for a year. This assured permanent barrenness,
but its effect, or barrenness from any
other cause, might be counteracted by eating
the leaves of the female or non-blossoming
plant. The point of the leaf was opened
with a sharpened twig; it was then blown
full of air and swallowed. If the leaf
could be blown up without bursting, the woman
would conceive. For example, Mary's sister
was married many years, but had no children.
A year after taking this cure she had a
child and later two more. Some women who
were barren always burst the leaves when
they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon
women learned which bush was used, they would
get the leaves themselves, asking the bush
for help while picking them. In the days 842

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant "[1] it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, [791] she might smoke, if she was one with power to smoke. A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 120 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies en route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help [791] yourself, or you will die." Should these efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

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1^ 19 Possibly the grouse is meant. Several varieties of pheasant have been introduced on the reservation and, in common with local whites, the Indians now use the name for birds of the grouse type. — L.S.

1^ [For context of this footnote, see p. 120 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 120 (c)

845 ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations.

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

853 ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned,
both were nursed, as were twins. No pre- [845]
cedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

846 For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

842 There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such charac-
ters as sex and left-handedness. If the 737
child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

845 Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

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[20] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

p.121 (B)

845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcô ps, of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcô'ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby. This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

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[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).*

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made. It was said that formerly infants learned to [856] walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper, a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks. On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 304 854 Most of the informants denied that there was any intention of flattening the head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpl'liakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 854 A flat stone or other hard substance was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 854 The stump of the umbilical cord was sewed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

*[For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

854 846 The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sEsan'I´stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong.

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

854 A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks.

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material.[22]

855 When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load.

ADULT LIFE

462 Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All

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[22] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

462 cooking was done by women. It was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose.

512 This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day:

The women arose early; in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

512 264 [782] Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in the river. Soon the meal was ready;this the family ate off tule mats spread on the ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kūlênsō´tn; some old man would ask for help for them all through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits.

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

512 521 During the day the people might be busily engaged either at camp or away from it, or

512 521 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snêl mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (GiakI m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?"; a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculierities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa´st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n kwEskwEstsI´n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TExaI lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TExa'pI´ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522 571

There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: ntlupqō´pc, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; kciltEmĪ´lt, "bastard"; kEkōwa´p, "dog"; kcqwě´chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa´rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud." 578

Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waĪ xĪ'wĪ´ł, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waĪ (waĪ is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waĪ ktstsEkĪ´ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waĪ. 576

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waĪ ktskĪ´ts, "Well, I am here." This the other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waĪ qEnqłhō´Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waĪ qōqłhū´Ia, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waĪ. 574 576 [203]

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa´I kūskĪ´tsEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa´I kEnskĪ´ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The women of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden). 585 431

574 If the guest remained for any length of time he was given food, and if he stayed overnight at a strange camp he was given a good place to sleep. He was fed during the length of his stay, however protracted, and even a whole family was so treated if it came visiting. The women might help with the cooking, and other womanly occupations. Families might eat together in this case, but at all other times except feasts they ate separately.

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431 Men and women alike had particular friends whom they called "partner" (sEla´x̣t) and whom they visited frequently. Lucy Joe, in describing this relationship, said, "Sometimes I just think suddenly 'I'll go see —.' Then I get a basket of cherries or something and take them to her. Then she is very glad." This partner was almost always of the same sex and served also as a confidant. To Chilowhist Jim it seemed that women did not have such partners as frequently as men; further that the relationship between any pair lasted only a few years.

To David, a Penticton, this seemed an absurdly simple pattern. Though in the north there was this exchange of gifts informally between friends, there was the feeling that anyone in the group might have anything he needed from the others. Begging was disgraceful, but gifts of food or even such things as moccasins were given to a man leaving after a visit should he need them. The recipient would probably feel obligated to make some sort of return, but the gifts were not given with this in mind. However, to David, the institution of the gift-exchanging friendship had reference primarily to men of the various neighboring tribes. They would help each other, particularly if one of the pair should become bankrupt through gambling while on a trading trip.

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431 David's statement is as follows: People visiting friends do not bring food. Hosts always give them food to carry to their children or parents. Friends seldom buy from each other while visiting. If a host sees that his guest is in need of moccasins, clothes, etc., he would try to find some to present when the latter leaves. Begging was considered contemptible, however. A guest presented with moccasins, for example, would feel that he owed his host a present in return, but the donor would not think so.

572
431 Suppose a Wenatchi was visiting and had bad luck in gambling. Some man would give him clothes and the like so that he could get home. Later, when this generous person was in the Wenatchi country, he would be invited to stay with the man he had befriended. The latter would treat him well and give him gifts when he was leaving. He would say, "We'll be friends all the time. When you come to my country you will always stay with

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[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p.126(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

23 On trading friends see Social Structure. [1]

24 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250. [1]

572 431 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinûqôɬhwltstûê´h, "giving-partner" (-tûê´h, reciprocal). A partner is stôq!ûê; a gift chwltsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like [527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people [584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 126 (B)

as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities. 885 554

It was known that women sometimes died at menopause. 886

Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow. 158

Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes." 762

DEATH AND BURIAL

As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids 764

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25 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

were cut off, according to Lucy Joe, but those of a girl were buried with her "because she would like the porcupine quill ornaments in them." The deceased was then laced in his own blanket (a buffalo hide, fur side in, if he had it), or a buckskin; the sides of the blanket being first laced together over him, then top and bottom turned down and fastened. Should the persons preparing it let tears fall on it, their eyes would "rot" and water as the body rotted. (Johnnie thought his eyes were watering because he let tears fall on his mother's body.)

The burial took place the day after the death. The body was slung by its wrapping of Indian hemp rope from a pole, and carried out either side of the mat lodge, the mats being untied. If it were a tipi, the corpse was taken out at the back, not as a preventative of the return of the ghost, but because the wrapped body was too large to carry through the doorway. Those in the village who were accustomed to take charge at funerals did the transporting. Two men at each end carried the pole on their left shoulders. The body was buried either under a rock slide, or some other place where the grave could be covered over with rocks. The hole was lined with tule mats, or these were wrapped around the bundle. The body was always placed in the hole under the rock slide on its back.

How general was the practice of placing objects with the dead is not clear. At least at the southern end of our territory, according to Mary Carden, personal belongings such as grinding slabs, tanning tools, power objects, bow and arrow, and the like, were placed on the body before the grave was filled with rocks. Among the northern peoples the possessions of the deceased were destroyed at the grave, and the hides of valuable horses stretched over it. Curtis says that valuable articles were actually buried with the deceased, but some of our informants denied this.[25][1] A peeled cedar pole (or two or three), undecorated, was set up on the grave; cedar because it disintegrated slowly. If the deceased had had much power, his power emblem was tied to the pole. According to Mary the carrying pole was broken in several pieces to be set up at the head of the grave. The same informant stated that branches of rose bushes and Oregon grape were placed not only on the grave, but around the walls of the house and around the mats on which the individuals had died, to prevent the escape of his ghost. There was no canoe burial.

It was stated by Michel that in the vicinity of Arrow and Okanogan Lakes a canoe was left on the grave.

If the death took place in the winter, when there was no means of breaking the ground, the body, properly wrapped with thongs and a tule mat, was placed in a tree

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 127 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await
the thaw. Once it was properly buried it
was never touched again, as interfering with
a grave was believed to bring dire conse-
[769] quences, particularly bringing storms and
cold. For this reason all burial places
were avoided as much as possible."[1]

Children were buried by their own par-
ents, but in other ways their burial corre-
sponded with that of the adults. (Cecile
[834] said that there were no food tabus for the
parents.)" The parents were not forbidden to
sleep together and might have another child
during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped to-
gether, the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial."[1] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to re move this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

765 lodge, and wore bound around her ankles and wrists strips of buckskin which she was not to change or remove. On rising in the morning she went to the grave alone to wail for a few minutes; every day at first, but with dwindling frequency. If her home was too far from the grave, she wailed just outside the house. Her posture while she was so engaged was crouching with her feet flat on the ground, while she bowed her face in her palms. A widow would mourn in this fashion for about a year, when she might think of re- [587] marriage. Should she marry too soon her abdomen would swell until she died: her husband would not be able to hunt successfully, would lose his power, and would sicken and die. For a month after the death other mourners, on meeting, wailed: "as soon as they saw each other they would cry." None of the mourners might eat fresh meat or salmon lest they endanger the supply. If a newly bereaved woman picked berries it was sure to ruin the crop for all. A man in mourning could not hunt for a month after the death, for the animals would be frightened of him.

768 Sometimes when a person died the house of death was razed, its poles burned or abandoned. A whole village might be abandoned at this time. Destroying the house was not always done, but was said to have been a matter for the family to decide. It was not done in severe weather. Instead, the house was surrounded with rose bush or Oregon grape branches, and the spot where the deceased had lain covered with fir boughs, or surrounded as was the house. The boughs were changed as often as they became sear, until, when they remained fresh, purification was known to have been accomplished. This was a precaution against the return of the ghost, which was dreaded. Alexander Ross' account gives the razing of the house as the only proper pattern.[28] [1] The old women of the camp came together to wail and to burn the mats on which the dead person had slept, and such of his oldest clothes as were not wanted.

There was little property to be disposed of. There were clothes and, for the man, his weapons, horses, dogs; for the woman, her blankets, mats and household utensils. Under the supervision of the mother, the brother, or other close relative, the strictly personal property of the deceased, such as was not in common use by all the household, was divided on the day of burial. The undertaker's helper (for whom there was no particular designation) was usu-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

+[For context of these footnotes, see pp. 128(A), 128(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 128(c)

+[26] There is some difference of opinion among us as to the Sinkaietk attitude toward the dead and their graves. Miss Mandelbaum had originally written that the horror was such that it was unlikely that mourning widows visited the graves, as described below. Miss Walters took exception to this, noting by way of illustration that recently young men of the Tukoratum band have helped local amateur archaeologists exhume the skeletons of their own ancestors. The older people were fully aware of this and did not express their disapproval. – L.S.

+[27] It is not known whether the reference is to women dying away from home or while gathering these seeds specifically. – L.S.

+[28] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 321.

ally asked to hold up articles, saying who they were for, and make the presentation. Much of the property went to the family. The mother of the deceased, especially if she disliked her daughter-in-law, or some other close relative, might take the lot. But while it was usual to keep most of it, some was given to relatives and friends. Such articles or animals as were reused had first to be purified by a sprinkling of rose-leaf water. The fir bough test was used with these too, to discover when the process was completed. (Cecile Brooks stated that while a dead man's property was washed in rose-leaf water, that of a dead woman was cleaned only in clear water.) As has been mentioned above, some people destroyed some of the property at the grave. This tallies with the account which Ross gives. His description of burial of property, and Teit's of the use of canoes and effigies on the grave,[29] were not recognized by some of our informants.

Michel said that the property of the deceased was sometimes given away to non-related members of the community and to strangers. The purpose was said to be that of ridding the family of any reminders of the deceased. The older informants insisted that this had but newly been taken up by the Sinkaietk. This they said also with reference to the ceremony now practiced about a

[29] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 288.

768 year after the death, when things are given away at a large gathering and feast.

765 Cecile's account of this was as follows. About a year later a second feast was held by the dead man's people. This was a feast held so the people would pray for the dead. The man giving the feast selected a man to pass around the gifts (baskets, dishes, tools, etc.) after they all cried. They cried for the particular dead person for whom the rite was held, but they also thought about their own dead. After this the chief rose and spoke to those about to receive gifts: "No matter if these things are not good, when you take them don't throw them away, because the dead want you to pray for them." This is apperently the paying ceremony described by Teit.

173 765 If this pattern did exist among the Sinkaietk in the old days it was about the only formal recognition of deceased members of the community by the survivors, except the occasional immediate reuse of a name, or inheritance of a power. Even persons who had played unusually important roles during their lives would probably be remembered only by the immediate descendants of their contemporaries, for there was no pattern for the careful retelling of historical tales, or even such purely mechanical formalizations of history as genealogies.

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RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

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RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

POWER

771 776 778 The religion of the Okanagon expressed itself in the affiliation of the individual man or woman with a material object or class of objects, usually with an animal, bird, or insect. Their word sūmix refers to this relationship, as well as to anything which functioned for a person in this way, and to the physical and spiritual potency which one possessed by virtue of this affiliation. When speaking English, the Okanagon translate sūmix as "power." I shall use the word "power" for each and all of the different meanings of sumix; and, to avoid tedious repetition, shall often refer to the source of power as the "guardian spirit."

776 Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. When it manifested itself in his power-song, his whole body shook. One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or the mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid. Mary Carden explained that though the power remained with its possessor, its "spirit" wandered far. She called this "spirit" of the power, however, by the same word as the power itself, sūmix. The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.

The guardian spirit seems to have been an individual rather than a class; a single beaver, for example, who built his dam on a certain stream in the woods, rather than all beavers embodied in the power vision as one. Numerous instances support this idea. Our informants explicitly stated that the same individual animal or object could endow with power several different people. But this individual usually represented the class to which it belonged, and the duties and privileges which it conferred on its human protege extended to his relations with all members of its class. A man who had power from a rattlesnake regarded all men and women who had rattlesnake power as his friendly associates. His affiliation with one visionary rattlesnake affected his attitude toward all rattlesnakes: he was immune from their bite; he could cure other people who were suffering from it.

In dreams and visions the Okanagon saw the guardian spirit more often in human than in animal form, and heard it speak their own language and sing their style of songs. In a conflict between guardian spirits, the lat-

776 ter were visualized as animals, birds, or whatever they happened to be. When captured and being destroyed by a shaman, the power seemed distinctly material, since, after cutting it to pieces with a knife, the shaman could show its blood on his hands.

The sex of the guardian spirit was seldom specified. It appeared as a man or woman to the power seeker, and seems usually to have had the same sex as the latter, though this was not definitely stated by the informants. At the winter dances, the dancer sometimes remarked that his guardian spirit was female.

The explicit conception of power as a divisible quantity seems to have been peculiar to Suszen Timentwa's religious scheme, though the idea was perhaps implicit in Okanagon thought. With his characteristic tinge of Christian cosmogony, Suszen explained that God originally gave his power, his "breath," to the animals, commanding them to give half of it to man, and that man therefore had half as much power as they. All of the informants agreed that a parent could direct his guardian spirit to confer power on his children or grandchildren without decreasing his own supply. Chilowhist Jim said that if one died without giving his power away, it simply returned to the animals from which it had come.

776 825 I have listed below some of the guardian spirits, with remarks on their relative and specialized strength, and have indicated in parentheses the names of the informants from whom we obtained the data in each case.

Guardian Spirit	Remarks
Coyote	gave power for killing deer, because it was carnivorous (Cecile); gave power for gambling, because Coyote in the folktales was a smart gambler (Cecile).
Dog	(Michel).
Otter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
Bear	gave the were-bear faculty (Johnnie); made one rich, because it was a strong power; "made bears mind you like a dog" (Chilowhist Jim); made one as resistant to arrows as a bear is (Chilowhist Jim).
Eel	gave power to escape from enemies, because it is so slippery (David).

776
825

Rattlesnake	gave immunity to rattlesnake poison (Johnnie); gave power to cure rattlesnake bites (Johnnie and Suszen).
Cougar	one of the strongest powers, because the cougar is so strong (Cecile); gave power for killing deer, because the cougar is carnivorous (Cecile). (Johnnie, who said that he had the cougar power, claimed that cougar power was very weak.)
Wolf	gave no power, because it was weak and knew nothing (Suszen); gave power for killing deer because the wolf is carnivorous (Cecile).
Grizzly bear	one of the strongest guardian spirits, because the grizzly itself is so strong (Cecile); gave power to acquire riches, because of its great strength (Lucy Joe); gave power to kill grizzlies (various informants)
Deer	gave power to kill deer (Cecile; Johnnie); gave weak power (Michel); gave power to cure by sucking, because the deer was often shot (Cecile).
Mouse	gave power for foot-racing (Suszen).
Small birds	have the most power (Michel), when associated with hailstones, give immunity to bullets (Michel).
Hawk	gave power to cure rattlesnake bite, because the hawk ate rattlesnakes (Suszen).
Fish-hawk	not as powerful as the eagle (Johnnie and Billy Joe).
Buzzard	the best bird for giving power for curing.
Eagle	gave power to kill deer, because the eagle is carnivorous (Cecile); one of the strongest powers, because the eagle is so strong (Cecile).
Bluejay	(The Colville believed that the bluejay gave special power for finding lost articles, but the Okanagon said that this was not so with them [Johnnie].)
Western horned owl	gave power for seeing clearly at night (Cecile).
Sage-hen	gave power for foot-racing? (Suszen).
Any insect	(Cecile and Lucy Joe).
Worms	gave power to cure consumption.
Horse fly	gave power to cure blood-poisoning (Suszen).

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776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
776 821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
324	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling (Johnnie).)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

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Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxs	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

776 From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object.

776 778 Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects.

776 825 Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite.

776 773 A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa'qEne is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tclptcaptIkł tIcqa'qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInŭhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power.

776 826 825 Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants.

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steel them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song [424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor 578 was not within hearing. People sometimes 533] ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinŏx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 554 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

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778 622 [791] memorized by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protegé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's 431
power angry. The spirit might command a
girl to dance and give blankets to the peo- 782
ple even though she had none to give, and if
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her af-
fectionate father or uncle helped her by cut-
ting a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as reli- [838]
gious worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with im-
punity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one in-
stance where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in ques-
tion, whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-
weir, an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, 776
and to lead ~~in~~ communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians ad-
mired, feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either
by accident or design, was called sûksûmix. 857
The word for the power quest was tsûntsût or
tsôntlôt. A child might make repeated at-
tempts for as long as a yeer to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power un-
less a house-fly or some other thing at home [177
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory. [823]
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825]
as guardian spirit, that animal or some
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsÜntsÜt, but was also called xôtsêxîl, "giving power to the son," or, sôxtsExîltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. Davis stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cher- 787
ished for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
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776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. In old peo-

776 428 ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

776 787 857 Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of 776
the girls at puberty or on the quest, and
made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote 787
was transformed and banished to the ocean,
the girls have not had to do so when hunting 857
for power.

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child
built a fire at night to make his presence
known far and wide to the animals. We neg-
lected to ascertain whether the attraction
of a night campfire for animals had suggest-
ed this idea. The powers "took a liking" to 776
the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The fol-
lowing bit of folklore will illustrate this 787
attitude, though not a normal form of quest,
and though the hero forcing the animals to
give their power may perhaps be a farcical 539
treatment of this serious subject. Cecile
tells the story.

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

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"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up through a little canyon and shot. He went up there and found a big buck lying dead. He cut it up and packed it back to his wife and child. From then on he could kill a deer anywhere. His people wondered if he and his wife and child were still alive, and came to look for them. They found that they had all kinds of meat. So he called all his relatives and stayed there and became an important man.

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The power quest had a moral value for the child's future, as well as a religious and practical one. A lazy child, or one indifferent to the aim, might fail to receive power because the animals knew his character and did not like him. Suszen said that if the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school."

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 even if you are shot through the body." A tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at 787 my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." 857 Animal character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Suszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

776 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to
him from every mountain, and the spirits of
787 animals and birds came and talked to him.
Each one came as a man, and gave him its
857 song. "It seemed only a little while," said
David, "but it was a whole night, and when I
awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of these people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Omak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage. 776 787 857

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nxaxaëtx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protégé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

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POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance.. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power. 776 787 857

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmalÜk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep: on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tell, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involunterily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A baby girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

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tain lake where the women wished to gather stürtsin roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stürtsin root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 787 857 They had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 787 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 778 787 825 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used as a power emblem (cla´Ot). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

[821]

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

Sinkaietk

Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.	776
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.	778

787 825 [293] The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblems when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another woman, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla´ût). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

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power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sinlaŏta'kc. However numerous his
guardian spirits, only one of them told him 276
to have this. The animals which usually issued
this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert
worker in stone, who received a price for it. [324]
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation
531 in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 The shaman often had a special stick as
an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appear-
787 ed carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never
778 had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he paint-
791 ed it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or
[822] healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he would augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 A shaman might fix his power emblem to
a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by
791 a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told
538 by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

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778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protegé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protegé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

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animals told their human wards not to eat 776
certain parts of their bodies, for example, 784
the brisket. Such restriction applied only 262
to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

If a menstruating woman came too near a 784
man who had power, he punished her by pro-
longed menstruation. When he finally "took 776
pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

The spirits became very angry at dis- 776
obedience and if the offense were repeated
they might desert their wards entirely. By 784
failing to obey his power, one might incur
the worst physical afflictions; might become 753
ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1] the spir- 796
it commanded the individual to distribute
gifts among the people and to give his first 776
winter dance. It is not clear whether he
always fulfilled both commands at the same 787
time. He probably did, for gifts were al-
ways exchanged at the dances and we heard of 431
no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct 776
of the individual after the dream. As soon 787
as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang
his power song, in which his family might 574

[1] [(p. 142.) [illegible] for reference to the [illegible] Analyst]

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join if they wished. An old man or woman 776
then asked him about his dream experience.
He replied, "I want more people to come and 787
sing my song in two or three days." He felt
somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing 574
the song at intervals for a number of days.
His relatives invited friends to come to the
house for his first winter dance. People
were glad to attend, to learn about the new
power and to accompany its master in his
song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed
them, sang, and gave them various gifts in
return for saving his life by helping him to
control the power.

Mary Carden's account of one's first 796
winter dance emphasized his critical health,
the preliminary singing, and the importance
of the master of ceremonies as a leader of 776
ritual and as the neophyte's religious guardian
and physician. 787

The account proceeds thus. When the
power acquired in childhood returned to the
young adult, it told him that it was lonesome
and ordered him to sing, to give a
dance, and to distribute property among the
people. This "brought luck" to him, for in
a short time he would receive even more property
back. At this time he fell ill. Apparently
a shaman was called in to diagnose
the case, for we are now informed that a shaman
told the individual, "Your power has
come and wants you to give a dance." If this
happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the
neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll
have to wait till winter." The shaman's
power told that of the patient to wait till
winter. When winter came, the neophyte had 796
a power dream, from which he awoke singing.
His family then sent news of this to their
neighbors in the valley, and sang his power
song with him, while the shaman, as master
of ceremonies, came and planned the dance
and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to
the central post. The guests arrived in the
evening. For as long as the dance would
last, they would be provided with food by the
young man's family. The neophyte had been
singing "every night," probably every night
since his recent dream, and the shaman sang
to guard the neophyte's power from theft.
Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay
down or sat while the shaman, with closed
eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After
dark they both began to dance and sing in
the center of the room. Having danced for a
while, the neophyte called for his stick,
which was handed by a member of his family
to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then
gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied
it to the stick and silently handed both
back to him. The song and dance were then
resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped
the center pole with both hands, the neophyte
grasping similarly above him, and both
slid their hands down singing xʷûû xʷû′yûû.
"When people call this sound, they are bringing
power from the mountains. Power is with
a person all the time, but the spirit can go
far away." Any guests arriving after the
dance had begun were stopped by the doorkeeper,
who announced them to the company.

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796 The neophyte or the master of ceremonies waved his stick in the air, struck it on the ground, sang for a moment, and then said, "Let them in. Tell them to walk two or three times around the room." Men were placed on one side, women on the other. The master of ceremonies stood with the dancer and his interpreter in the center of the dance formation and prompted the neophyte in singing. When the latter had finished his dance, the master of ceremonies announced through his interpreter that anyone else who wanted to take the floor might do so. The neophyte told the master of ceremonies what he wanted the audience to do and the latter told the audience. Mary believed that the master of ceremonies acted as a kind of intermediary between the dancer and the guardian spirits. In general, the company followed the song and dance of the young neophyte or whoever was dancing individually at the time.

THE WINTER DANCE IN GENERAL

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796 The dance in which people displayed their power was called sEnqEnI´m strq'a´m, "sing-dance" in the local English, the "winter dance," the "medicine dance," and, in its later seasonal phase, the "Chinook dance." At the beginning of the dancing season the people said waI köksEqUnI´xa, "We're going to sing." The dance had several different functions. On this occasion the host, who was also the chief dancer, discharged an obligation imposed on him by his guardian spirit in a dream. He displayed his power by singing its song, by painting or dressing himself in a special way, by dancing, and by performing various feats. He enjoyed the cooperation and support of the community in their reverent attendance and in their united singing of his power song. He enhanced his social position by feeding and entertaining a large number of guests. The other dancers shared these advantages. Those who possessed power gave vent to their own, as well as rallying to that of their host and helping him to "tame" it. As a reward for their aid they received blankets, skins, food and other gifts at the end of the dance. They undoubtedly vied with each other in fervor and religious claims, but they did not often attack each other's power on this occasion, and the guardian spirits which a man scarcely dared to mention at other times he could now reveal with propriety and some degree of safety. The spectators not only enjoyed a social good time and the excitement of the power show, but participated in the dancing and singing as a kind of outer circle, thus uniting themselves for the moment with the most influential members of their society. To the possessors of great power they made their most vital wishes known, and from them received some hope of aid, if not the promise of fulfillment. It was the one time at which the religious resources of the group and its friendly neighbors were pooled for the common good.

1/1 [For context of this footnote, see p.146(B), category 11b. -- Analyst]

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1 Compare the midwinter sacred period and ritual of the coastal tribes. — L.S. 1/1

796 The dance was organized and led by a single person, usually a man, whose guardian spirit had instructed him in a dream to do so. If he failed to comply with this command, as with other commands of the spirit, his health was endangered. The spirit might order him to give several dances in the course of his life. The dance seemed to imply considerable power on the part of the leader; at least, a person with very weak power — that is, with a guardian spirit in which he felt little confidence — would hardly attempt an exhibition of this kind. At whatever time of the year the dream came, the dance was always held in the winter, usually in January or February, when the people had already passed two or three months in winter quarters. If he received the dream in the summer, the individual announced that he would give a dance "when the snow comes." This limitation applied only to the formal dances, not to the singing of power songs, nor to power dreams, shamanistic curing, or other manifestations of the guardian spirits, which might occur at any time. Though the Okanagon did not believe that guardian spirits went away in the summer, to return in the winter, they had a vague feeling that power was stronger or more closely present in the winter, and that sickness, against which the dance was largely directed, was more dangerous at that season. The real reason may lie in the greater concentration of the community in the large winter houses than when fishing, hunting and food-gathering in the warmer months.1/

[789] In the early spring a power dance was held to make the rain come and the Chinook (south) wind blow and melt away the snow. The local whites call this the Chinook dance. This was essentially the same as the ceremonies held during the winter, but was always led by a man with power from some kind of bird, which had told him to sing for rain and wind.

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574 The winter dance was usually held in the largest house in the village, or in the house of the dance leader if that were large enough. In aboriginal days this would have been a mat-covered long-house or a semi-subterranean earth-covered lodge(?). Occasionally the village headman lent his more commodious dwelling for this purpose, though someone else were giving the dance. One always gave his first winter dance in his own house. The leader provided most of the food and members of his family did most of the cooking, but others might contribute and assist. Chilowhist Jim said that the food for the guests was cooked by three men and three women, who were all young and strong, and that this was one of the few occasions on which men did culinary work. These cooks, he explained, were appointed by the chief. Each family coming to the dance contributed some food to the common supply and also loaned some utensils, marked so that they could later be reclaimed by their owners.

1/ [For footnote, see p. 146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn. 796 574

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

Among the properties used in the dance,¹ the central and most conspicuous was the post called nil'pōs or tèkīkstèn or yelpostn. Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was removed to the woods and placed upright against a tree, where it was abandoned. 796, 778

1 [i.e, the Winter Dance. Analyst]

Mary Carden said that among her people the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient 796 778 177

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

778 In more recent times, at any rate, the post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called cēl'acxin, [177] which were carried individually by the dancers. Mary Cerden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow.

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.[1] People never smoked them while actually dancing, 796 but shamans watching the ceremonies passed 276 them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. 791 Only those who had taken a leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit.

[1] [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

p.147 (B)

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

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[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

796 535 and determined how many nights the dance should last. He and his power were the center of interest. Apparently two people could act as hosts on the same occasion, for Michel described a dance given by a man and a woman, at which the woman was the first to sing.

The interpreter (cōxqElpItEm or tlspItum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte.[1]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called c'Inōūcōltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxōulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 533 535 When they had gone around the room once in this way, the host stood up, grasped the central post and danced around it, holding both feet close together and advancing slowly forward in short jumps, with knees slightly bent and feet falling flat on the ground. In doing this he shook the post rhythmically so that the rattles hanging on it were brought into play. As he danced, he sang. Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

[1] [cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

796 533 535 etically, the songs of no two shamans were ever alike. The dancer sang "whatever his power told him to sing," the songs taught him by his guardian spirits in his previous visions and dreams. He declared in more or less veiled terms the identity of the spirit and its sex if it were female, named the mountain or other locality with which it was associated, and exalted the spirit's potency He also sang short prayers for the people's health and success. He did not mumble, but spoke or sang clearly, and his interpreter repeated his words to the congregation in louder tones. When he had finished he called out, "All right. You can dance now, if you wish." Another man or woman then came forward and performed in a like manner.

796 535 Through most of the night the congregation, except for those who danced individually and their interpreters, stayed in their places at the sides of the room and simply kept time to the dance by jumping up and down. As long as the leading dancer was standing, they stood; when he sat down, they sat down also. People entering the house joined the congregation at once, sitting or standing as the latter did. They did not enter while a dance was actually going on, however, unless given permission to do so by the dancer, since such an intrusion might frighten away the dancer's power and cause him to faint or die, as well as endanger the intruder. By dancing in this way and singing with their leader, the people helped him to control his power. As morning drew near they danced around the room in circular formation, with the same jumping step, each holding his feet close together. Following the instructions of their guardian spirits, they moved their arms in various ways while dancing, some holding their hands to represent horns or feathers on the head, and made noises to imitate their power animals or birds. All the people "who had their song," that is, who had achieved the initial power experience, might dance around the post in the throng, even the young people who had not had the dream authorizing them to dance individually. Those who had not had even their first vision danced around further from the post.

Mary Carden knew of four possible dance-patterns, any one of which the host might choose, but she had never heard of more than one being used at the same dance in a single night. In all of the dances, the leader and his interpreter, with the master of ceremonies if it were the leader's first dance, stood together in the center. In one, they were surrounded by a half-circle of men on one side and a half-circle of women on the other. In another form, a line of men danced in one direction on one side of the central figures, while a line of women danced in the opposite direction on the other side, the two columns reversing their directions at every few steps. In a third form, the two columns progressed in the same direction and reversed at the same time. In the fourth pattern, the dancers simply jumped up and down, without leaving their places

where they had sat, the women remaining on one side of the room and the men on the other. Mary said that there were three intermissions during the night, of about ten minutes each. During these, any guests who so desired might leave the room or go home, but they did not do so at any other time. To announce the intermission, the host told the door-keeper to call out, "Everybody can take a rest now." When the dance was to be resumed, the door-keeper cried, "The dance is going to begin." There was, Mary said, a door-keeper for every outside door. 796 535

Suszen's description of the dance was somewhat unique, mainly in including drums as an important element. He said that the people formed a circle around a central fire, or, if the house was long and narrow, formed two straight lines with the fire between them and a drum at one or at each end of the formation. The leader of the dance sometimes beat the drum while the people sang his power song. If two men were conducting the dance and there was only one drum, they took turns beating it. The congregation jumped rhythmically up and down; some remaining in one place, others dancing around the group in no particular direction.

One's actions during the ceremony depended largely on the inspiration which he received from his guardian spirit at the time. These spirits were closely present. A shaman felt his power and heard its song from within. Michel said that one saw his guardian spirit and conversed with it, though other people could not hear his voice as he did so.

When a shaman in the crowd felt his power come to him, he "went into a trance," became stiff, and was unable to dance with the others. Inspired by his power he began to talk. Anyone who wished to volunteer as interpreter came and sat beside him, repeating his words to the congregation. When the shaman who was then dancing at the center of the floor had finished, the newly inspired one arose and stood beside the post, followed by the interpreter, and continued to talk for a short while. He then sang his power song and danced around the post, accompanied by the congregation as described above, until he ceased to "hear" his power, when he suddenly stopped. Then the congregation stopped dancing and sat down until another shaman took his place at the post, when the performance was repeated. Between ten and twenty of these individual dances took place during the night. This probably means that each shaman talked, sang, and danced individually for not more than half an hour at a time. If one's power came to him and he did not stand up and dance, he was like one dead or in a trance; blood entered his mouth and choked him.

The shaman's grasping the post and shaking it brought his power to bear on the public welfare. Male shamans invariably did so, unless they used the individual dance-stick; but for female shamans this was op- 791

711 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with in-
sufficient power touched it, his hand "froze"
to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sinkakiūs) would
leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
shamans at the offense. The latter pre-
ferred to leave the soul on the post to give
himself the opportunity to cure the victim
later on. If another shaman saw the soul's
predicament, he might say to the shaman who
had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take
him away from there." The victim then stood
beside the post and the shaman drew out the
soul, rubbed it once or twice between his
hands, and blew it back to its owner, who de-
parted whole. If no one saw the soul on the
post, or if the shaman declined to take pity
the offender was doomed. When the dance had
ended, the post was taken up into the hills
and left standing against a tree. As it
dried up in summer, the person whose soul
was attached to it "dried up" also. He be-
came ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew
weak, and finally died. If not too far gone,
he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid
by the sick man or his family. The prac-
titioner came to the patient's house, placed
his hands on him, and sang his own power
song. As he sang, his power went out into
the hills, drew the soul from the drying
post and brought it to the shaman, who blew
it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
stick instead of the central post held the
535 stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Story

796 Rock because a myth was associated with the
place, said as he danced, "Nothing can in-
535 jure me; my power even swallows the sun."
776 The hearers all knew that this referred to
the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to
display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 One of the shamans presiding at the
522 dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 In an interval between performances, if
the congregation was thirsty they made a
535 noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that
they were thirsty, he might sing as he danc-
[271] ed, "Go and get water from such-and-such a
mountain." The interpreter repeated this
791 loudly. Someone then fetched water from
near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted. 796 535 791

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this. [776]

At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (ca. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution 796 431

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of blankets was already customary; but that she saw a gift-giving of the old style at sqwent when she was a little girl, so long ago that it now seemed like a dream. Mary Carden said that this type of distribution began after trading posts were established by the whites.

In its modern form the power potlatch consisted of an exchange of blankets or skins, contributed by all who were showing off their power at the dance, to all who were doing likewise, or to those who, having power of their own, accompanied the shamans by singing. Anyone who intended to take a leading part in the ceremonies had to bring a blanket, buckskin, or bearskin to be given away. He handed this to the host on the first night, and the host gave it to the interpreter for deposit on a thong or pole hanging from the wall. A shaman would not dare to conduct a part of the dancing if he had not brought this gift, lest he incur the anger and desertion of his power. The host seems to have contributed more to the fund than anyone else. Members of his family wanted him to make a good showing, so they brought all the gifts that they could afford. While a shaman danced and sang on the last night of the ceremonies, his friends threw upon him blankets, handkerchiefs, and the like, and his interpreter took these things and hung them on the pole or the thong. By the end of the rites the hanger was loaded with gifts. Early the next morning the host, the shaman, or the interpreter appointed by him distributed these objects among the deserving. The articles were gathered at the center of the house, where the interpreter handed them as the host told him. Those who had danced best and longest in accompaniment to the shamans, or those who had come to the assembly from the greatest distance, received the largest share or, if there were not enough gifts to go around, were the only ones rewarded. No one received the object which he himself had brought, and gifts contributed by people from one neighborhood were given preferably to people from another. Sometimes in recent years, but not in the old times, a gift left over after the division had been made was gambled for by the dancers with playing cards and stick-counters, the first player to win all the sticks obtaining the gift. As the objects were distributed the congregation sang the power song of the host. The gifts were used by the receivers as ordinary goods.

The host gave away, as we have seen, far more articles than anyone else. Though these were a reward to the people for helping him to control his power, they were likewise regarded as gifts to his guardian spirit. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 773 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right! " Then I came back.[1]

789 796 [184] The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElslŭ ? (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpĒpqölĭ'tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

789 potent. A band of Colville held only one such ceremony each year. If they intended
796 to go out to fight in the spring, they wanted the power and the advice of cpEpqōlī´tc, and his forecast of defeat would prevent them from going. The seance was held as part of the winter dances and transpired among the Colville as follows.

Before the people began to dance, three or four shamans hung up within the house a large mat, partitioning off a small space against the wall. A special door for the spirits opened into this compartment from the outside of the house. Nothing in the compartment was visible to the audience while the mat hung in place. The mat had been specially made before the dance and painted with human figures. Only the shamans handled it.

The seance was held after the people had danced for two or three nights. In preparation, the cpEpqōlī´tc shaman bound his waist tightly with a rope. His thumbs were tied behind him, and his big toes were also tied together, so that the animals could carry him conveniently by their tump-line. The other shamans then threw him under the mat partition into the sanctum. The congregation, having stopped dancing, sang his power song. When they heard the toot of a little whistle from behind the mat, a whistle which the shamans had placed there or had tied to the top of the mat, they knew that the performer had been cut in two by the rope around his waist. They heard cpEpqōlī´tc come into the compartment and take him away, but they continued to sing his song. With the spirit of the "big ling fish" entered those of other fish, animals, and so on. The people could not see these, and with the exception of cpEpqōlī´tc the spirits did not address them, but could be heard "thumping around." The ling fish, whom the congregation called by name, responded in a thick muffled voice, like that of a toothless old man, and answered their inquiries with regard to lost articles, lost relatives, or the prospects for the immediate future, such as success in a war expedition. After about an hour of this, he told them that he had to hurry away to a seance at another Indian village.

[787] CpEpqōlī´tc knew everything in the world. His special activities in locating lost things and lost people remind us of the Colville bluejay power. This emphasis on finding lost objects distinguishes the shamanism of the Colville from that of the Okanagon.

A large pipe of tobacco had been placed

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2 Some say that Fox was Coyote's partner when he danced, others say that Porcupine was. This is the first time that Johnnie Louie [the interpreter] has heard that Porcupine was Coyote's partner. Margaret [Sereepkin ?] says that Fox was always Coyote's partner.

3 This is the conventional ending of a tale. — L.S.

4 Compare skalsi'ulk, the name given the Upper Kutenai by the Okanagon groups according to Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 202. — L.S.

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 152(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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781 796

in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing.

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

778 787

Papalöt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papalöt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papalöt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sumix, not papalöt. Though Cecile stated that papalöt came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost.

One who heard or saw the papalöt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papalöt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papalöt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the papalöt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papalöt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papalöt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

the papalöt was very "mean" these treatments 778
did no good and the patient died. David ex-
plained that it killed one by stealing his 787
power away, taking it under water or into
the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

Papalöt demanded offerings more urgent-
ly than did other kinds of guardian spirits. 778
It might, for example, tell a girl to give
away many blankets, even if she had none, and 787
unless her relatives supplied her with blan-
kets to do this she would die. It liked to 782
see blood; a man might help his daughter or
niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting 431
a cow's throat and letting the blood flow
on the snow. After one had danced and given
away things at two or three successive win-
ter dances, he had his newly acquired pa-
palöt under his control. It was then as
much his own as if he had got it on the pow-
er quest, though it could be stolen, just as
could his other powers, by a sufficiently
strong shaman.

In one account by Suszen, a dead ances- 778
tor's guardian spirit took a more amicable
form. An old person who had never received
power might dream that a deceased relative 787
came to him and gave him his power and song.
Since in this case the guardian spirit was
brought by the relative himself, it seems
doubtful that it was truly papalöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papalöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

Power could not be bought or sold; our 778
informants laughed at the idea. But one per-
son could steal it from another if his own 424
guardian spirit was sufficiently strong.
With the stolen power the thief obtained its
song, which he sang when using the power for
curing or other purposes. He could increase
its potency by giving away property to the
people at the winter dances, just as for
power acquired in other ways. Power theft [153]
always resulted in the illness or death of
the victim. A female shaman treating
Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to
this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papalöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papelōt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papelōt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

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doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suszen said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

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A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, Swipkin, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqê'n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqê'n was curing the patient, Swipkin's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqê'n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suszen declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not cooperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

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times when two shamans were jealous of each other they dreamed of this as they slept. Then the less powerful one was ill when he awoke, for his enemy had taken him by surprise. If one had the eagle and the other had the hawk as guardian spirits, the eagle seized the hawk by the middle of its body, and the hawk caught the eagle by the neck. The two contending shamans felt each other's grip in their sleep, and cried, "Let me alone!" He of hawk power lost a lot of blood around the waist; one could actually see it. The other made sounds as if he were being choked. Such injuries, however, did not leave scars. If the two powers were evenly matched, both shamans survived; but if the guardian spirit of one was killed, he himself died within two or three days. One who had thus lost his power and was about to die was called pq!éntm.

Sometimes a stranger's power came to the winter dance intending to destroy that of a local shaman. When the latter saw it approaching he told some of his professional friends and secured their aid. During the dance the battle between the powers raged. A storm came, thunder, a high wind, and intense darkness; then snow or rain fell. The people, observing this, said, "Shamans are fighting." But they continued to dance.

Shamans could assail each other in this way while sitting together. When a member of a shaman's family had been killed by a hostile guardian spirit, his own power came to him in a dream and revealed the murderer. He then went to visit the latter and during the interview the powers of the two men locked combat. They fought each other under the ground, or, if they were birds, in the air. That night one of them went to sleep knowing that his power had been defeated and slain, and within a few hours he died.

When smoking, a shaman might "put himself right in the bottom of his pipe." If an unfriendly shaman came to harm him, the smoker's power closed the stem and the bowl of the pipe, capturing the other's power within. As a challenge to power contests, shamans often passed their pipes to each other for a few puffs.

Johnnie's Colville grandfather dreamed that a certain Similkameen shaman had caught him in his pipe. He went to see the supposed offender, who suggested that they have a smoke. They sat down. The Similkameen shaman turned his pipe to the sun, puffed three times, and lit the pipe from the sun. When he passed it to Johnnie's grandfather, the latter put his thumb over the bowl and puffed three times and the bowl split in two. He said, "I'm sorry that I broke your pipe. I couldn't help it." That ended the contest.

The same man had the Story Rock power from a hole in a bluff where he had spent a

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night on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock.

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans cooperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku'sum, destroyed the power of that hero."[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

Suszen's story of Sulktasku'sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. 159
Sulktasku'sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes.

Sulktasku'sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

[1] [For footnote see p.155(c), category 116.-- Analyst]

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5 [1] But the whole procedure is in keeping with Southern Okanagon, not Blackfoot, thought. — L.S.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 155 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p.155 (c)

59 and lived there with his people. There were horses then, but he was poor and had none. He had a little boy. They decided to move, so he and his wife carried their things in packs on their backs and his little boy sat on top of his pack. Coming over a hill, he felt queer, like a horse. So he bucked like a horse and his little boy fell off. Everybody laughed at him.

Two years later they decided to go to the buffalo country. There he met the Blackfoot hunters. They motioned for a smoke and the Blackfoot agreed. They traded goods there on the prairie. Sulktasku sum had a white horse which he wanted to trade for a Blackfoot horse. They talked sign language. The next day, Sulktasku'sum and his seven-year-old boy went alone to the Blackfoot camp to trade at the invitation of the day before. The inviter had not told the Blackfoot camp that Sulktasku'sum was coming. A Blackfoot watcher saw them coming and the camp attacked him, chased him, and shot him.

Finally the Blackfoot chief, whose feathers looked good, came close and tried to catch Sulktasku'sum's horse with his hand. Sulktasku'sum shot the chief with his gun and killed him. He was surrounded by Blackfoot, but they were amazed that their chief, who had never been shot before, was killed by this stranger. Farther on, he dismounted, poured his bullets on the ground, held his horse at the end of a hair rope while the horse ran around him in a circle, and Sulktasku'sum fought with them.

The seven-year-old boy, who had gone ahead, reached camp and told about his father back there fighting. Sulktasku'sum's people went to his rescue. He was wearing a red shirt. It was all torn by bullets, but the bullets never touched his flesh and when he pulled the shirt-tails out, the bullets fell on the ground from underneath. That was his power: like the rock. He was not a chief then.

He got his power when a small boy. Once he saw some boys shooting with bows and arrows at a magpie nest. Magpie nests are strong: arrows will not go through them. When the boys went away, Magpie told little Sulktasku'sum that he would have magpie power, never to get hurt from bullets.

So his people thought he had good enough power to be a chief.

They used to go every year after the salmon run in the fall to the Blackfoot country. They stayed there till the middle or end of winter before returning. After this, the Blackfoot were enemies.

When the Blackfoot danced in the winter their doctors tried to find what Sulktasku'sum's power was, so they could kill him easily. They saw his power sometimes but could not catch it. Finally an old woman told them that they should put feathers in a hole in the wall and when his power came they

159 should cover it up and put it in a basket of water and talk about what to do with it. The old woman said, "My power told me we have to put bullets with the feathers, not pretty girls: he doesn't care about them nor good clothes." So Sulktasku sum's power went right there and was caught. The Blackfoot knew then what his power was. They cut it all to pieces and killed his power.

The next summer when Sulktasku sum went there, they had a fight with the Blackfoot. He had one arm shot off. His people said, "Let's go." He said, "I've fought a long time. I will fight until I die." His people left him. The land there is level. His people watched him from a long distance. Soon his leg was shot and broken. Finally he was out of bullets. The Blackfoot cut off his head, his arms, his legs, and his flesh. They did a dance there.

In the evening the Blackfoot left. Sulktasku sum's people went there and saw him all cut up. His guts moved around until the next day, before they stopped. The Blackfoot danced until his guts stopped moving. Then their doctor said, "He is dead." After that Moses Columbia did not go to the buffalo country because they had no good leader. There were white people at Portland in those days, but the fort had not been built at the mouth of the Okanogan then.

Though this story is not entirely clear, especially as to the way in which bullets were used, it may have some value as an Okanagon's conception of a native hero and of Blackfoot shamanism.

754 In the old days shamans often bewitched people of whom they were jealous, or who refused to give them what they had demanded, such as food. The night following the provocation, the offender's child or wife might become ill and die within a short time. Just before death, the victim was possessed by the shaman, who might say through the victim's mouth, "If you had given me the food I asked for, this would not have happened." A stronger shaman could avert the death if he could "draw out the sickness." After extracting it he held it in his hands and asked the bystanders, "What shall I do with it?" Then he threw it into the fire, and the shaman who had caused the sickness died, while the victim recovered.

Cecile gave the following account: she had known the characters in the story. Joe Leo's mother, Suzanne, had grizzly power, one of the strongest of all. She also had other powers. If anybody got hurt, she could save him. Once, when at Okanogan, she was out of whiskey. There she met a woman from Nespelem, rich and handsome, with gold teeth. Both women were on horseback. Suzanne said to the Nespelem woman, "Give me a little drink. I'm all out of booze." But the other replied, "I don't drink with people like you. I drink with my own kind of people. I'm rich, and I'm good-looking besides. I don't drink with poor people like you."

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Then she rode away. But Suzanne called after her, "You won't be having a good time all the time. You won't be rich and you won't be handsome. Before very long you will die." The woman rode back through here (Disautel) to Nespelem.

It seemed as though she did not know what she was doing. At Nespelem the peopl prepared a nice place for a war dance, and sprinkled water all over the ground. No women were supposed to walk on the dancing ground, but this woman walked on it, and they wondered what was the matter with her. They went to her lodge to see her, but she was already dying. They got four Indian doctors: xômas (who is still living at Nespelem), sEnōtenik, hEntEpŪlamsū, and a woman called tôlEmalat. These tried to cure her, but they could not find out what was the matter. They took turns drawing the sickness out of her. While they were doctoring, she sat up and spoke Okanagon, which she had never spoken before. She said, "I thought I was the head of all the Indian doctors: I always did think that." This was just what Suzanne thought of herself. It was Suzanne speaking through this woman. She went on: "What can you folks do with me? You think you are ahead of me [i.e., stronger], but you are not. You could not do anything." She laughed at them; talked and laughed just like Suzanne. The woman doctor asked her, "Well, who are you? Tell me your name." She answered, "I'm from nqaëtqū. I've lived there all my life." She did not tell her name, but they all knew it was Suzanne. She said all kinds of things to them before she died. It seems, added Cecile, that when one is bewitched in this way one speaks a foreign language plainly. (Though this incident occurred only eight years ago, only one of the four shamans is alive, xómas. He is very old, wears his hair in braids and talks like a little old lady.)

They finally got the best of Suzanne; that is how she died. It was a Yakima Indian who did it. He had killed another Indian doctor at Yakima and gone to Similkameen to live. Michel's sister, Nancy, was sick at Similkameen. Suzanne went up there to cure her. When Nancy got a little better Suzanne came back to Okanogan. But she left one of her powers in Similkameen to take care of Nancy. After Suzanne came back to Okanogan, Nancy got even more sick. They called this Yakima Indian to cure her. While he was doing his doctoring he looked up and saw Suzanne's power there. He thought it was somebody else trying to kill Nancy. So he grabbed that power right there. They had a fight, his power and Suzanne's; they flew up in the air fighting. Another Indian doctor saw them. They fought all the way to Okanogan. There they fell into the river, because Suzanne had some power in the water, but the man's power was stronger, so he tore her all to pieces. Then the Yakima shook himself and went back, leaving her there. This was in the autumn. In February she was killed by a train and cut all to pieces. Of course, after the Yakima's power had killed

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

[578] A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 778 791 ting them into his pipe." This probably means that he put their powers there. In one of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 778 Stories of endurance against fatigue, hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, wher ice was floating down the Okanogan River at its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the canoe. He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelan became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 754 Some shamans, both men and women, had a special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō´lx. The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 it caused only a painful swelling, which a
791 shaman might cure by one of the usual methods
for disease extraction. If the intended
754 victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 Power helped people to play games. When players of two tribes came together for a
778 match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while
526 thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. 789 791 Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house building. 342 When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men 791 of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. 825 For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

A shaman with special power for hunting 224 deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sasīə's kêláspī xEm. Women did not customarily hunt 791 deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this 562 purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

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off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening. 224 791 562

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwəlhŭmést, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō´s, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill. 224 791 789

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot. 224 778

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation,

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It 224 776 778

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224 776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwist's grandmother, Sikŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stârês) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sikŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sikŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sikŭntalŭqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

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In the "very old days," long before Suszen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

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In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many methods of employing power in war.

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In a story told by David Isaac, the hero ktsasłkwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." Ktsasłkwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still later in the tale, when ktsatsłkwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

them high up in his lodge, and no one, not 726
even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder
had told him to make these arrows for use in
such an emergency as this. He now explained 773
to the people, "I don't want to fight. I
only want to try my thunder power with these
arrows. That is why I have never played
with them or used them for hunting, but have
kept them carefully for so long!"

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

When a little bird first came to a boy 726
as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the
bird tell him, "These hailstones are like
bullets and arrows." This meant that he 787
would be immune from bullets and arrows in
war. In the account of Sülktaskü´süm given 789
by Suszen, the hero had received his power
from a magpie when a child, and no bullets
could harm him.

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. Sërsëpkin, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which Sërsëpkin came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies Sërsëpkin and two of his warriors, qôwëcElExkin and sqElüxtcô, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. Sërsëpkin and qôwëcElExkin left their guns with sqElüxtcô and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. QôwëcElExkin's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qôwëcElExkin recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had
deer power, pulled her dress over her head 726
and ran away naked like a deer; while her
daughter, whose power was the eagle, took 787
some eagle feathers from the inside of her
dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 784

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs 773
us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy.

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding in- 726
stances, the following seems more dramatic
as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys
and their mother were camping on a ridge be- 778
tween Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mos-
quitoes. One of the boys had been sick and 789
paralyzed for a long time, so that he could
hardly move. During the night, when the old
woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap 537
warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy.

776 778 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the great hero [illegible] had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of qulnmusq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special porer of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 778 539 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spokane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known as the Red Shirt People. The former had with them as allies some Nez Percé braves from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 776 791 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people, and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

778 776 791 back of another. The horses escaped, but the [illegible] was bound, fumigated with xecxac root, and restored to normal life. David, the narrator, knew of no other instance of this kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior of Colville bluejay shamans when they went out to find lost things, and the repeated statement that they "turned into bluejays," indicate a much more violent form of spirit possession than occurred among the Okanagon. Johnnie recounted that those with this power turned into bluejays at a dance, which no one was allowed to leave. They would fly out through a crack in the door. They would stay naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyás (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot; reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named q!al íyá would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaiôt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 791 Of all the purposes to which a Southern Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tła kwilEx designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tła kwilEx xal'sła pEm or tła qwi lEx xEl sxExElôs, who cured by sucking; the pöxpöxûmèlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pöxûmèmin, who cured by blowing; and the tła kwilEx xal'aspûxEm who

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cured by blowing and manipulation. The proportion of shamans to laymen varied greatly between villages. Both men and women could be shamans, but men probably predominated. 756 791

Though all shamans had some general curing ability, their powers were usually specialized. Thus, spider power and rattlesnake power were employed respectively to treat the bites of these vermin, but power from certain kinds of hawks and other birds which kill snakes also served against snake venom. A shaman with spider power could see a spider-bite, even through clothing, without being told that it was there. When a certain small boy had been bitten by a spider, his father went from the Omak district all the way up to Loomis to procure a shaman that he knew of, only to find that this practitioner could not effect the cure because he had not the spider power.

If a shaman had several powers and did not know just what was wrong with the patient, he tried first one and then another in his attempts to cure. A mistake in the treatment might bring the sickness on himself. In cases of very serious illness, several shamans might cooperate. Four, three men and a woman, struggled to save the life of the woman who had been bewitched by Suzanne. They took turns in trying to draw the sickness out of her, but to no avail.

Sometimes a shaman dreamed that a certain person was sick. On awaking he sang for a while and then went to the prospective patient and offered to cure him. He sometimes had to travel a long distance to his case, even in the days before horses when he had to go on foot. If the cure was successful, he received a small gift; if not, he gained nothing. The amount was not stated beforehand, but was as much as the patient or his family wished or were able to give: as little as a blanket or as much as a horse. The patient never gave his daughter to the shaman as a fee. Lucy Joe said that she would return the fee if her patient died. In recent years, since the white doctors are paid in ratio to the distance which they must come, some shamans require a large payment before attempting the cure. Despite the time they spent in visiting patients, shamans had to engage in the same everyday occupations as did laymen. Only Suszen declared that a shaman who refused to attend patients because of malice might, after due warning, be killed by the "chiefs and the people." They clubbed him to death, hanged him, cut his throat, or bound him, weighted him with rocks and drowned him. Arrows were not used for this purpose because many shamans were immune to them.

Aside from the more obvious cases of physical injury, the Southern Okanagon attributed sickness chiefly to the intrusion of a tangible and more or less animate object into the victim's body, to power-theft, to soul-loss, to insubordination to one's power, or to violation of a religious taboo. 755

Intrusion was the most common cause and was often traced to the activity of a malignant shaman. Cecile related that a certain old man went three times to a family, asking for food, but they gave him nothing. "Well," he thought, "because they are so stingy I'll fix their little boy so they won't be happy all the time." That night the boy fell sick and they implored the old man to come and cure him. He refused, so they obtained another doctor. When the latter drew the sickness from the lad he had to pull very hard; it was so strong that he could scarcely hold it. Soon it became more quiet, and he pulled it out until it was about eighteen inches long. It was soft and as white as paper. They cut it in two and saw it bleed. This killed the old man who had sent it. 753

The intrusive element was sometimes a magical dart, such as I have described above. Nose bleed and headache, as well as local congestion, were symptoms of this affliction.

Rattlesnake bites belong in this general category. The toxic element was sometimes a small object, pointed at both ends, which had entered the body of the patient and caused swelling; sometimes two of these "teeth" entered at once. A rattlesnake shaman extracted and displayed them. The swelling might also be caused by the snake's poison, without the intrusion of the "tooth," and could be healed by the shaman touching or massaging the afflicted part "to kill the poison." He did not suck the affected part. 755

Blowing, massage, and sucking were the most usual means of cure. The word pôxpôxûmêlh for a professional curing shaman refers to the belief that he could, by blowing on or toward the patient, either expel the source of the complaint or project into the patient the later's lost soul. Sick people were heavy, but when doctors blew on them they became "as light as a feather." A shaman might cure "summer complaint" (sunstroke rather than diarrhea ?) and other diseases by blowing on the patient's head. One cured Johnnie's sister of a toothache by blowing on her sore cheek, after which she took from her mouth a little yellow worm. Sickness caused be extreme grief (papasi´lEx) was also amenable to this treatment.

Blowing was often combined with manipulation or massage. Fly power enabled its possessor to cure scrofula by blowing on the afflicted part and subsequently extracting the "worm" by the motion of his hands. This was done also for toothache. When a malignant shaman had blown a magical dart into his victim, the doctor employed for the cure would blow the dart out of the patient, catch it between his hands, plunge it into water to cool it, and afterwards show it to the people. To restore the soul to a person who had lost it by foolishly touching the central dance post, a shaman drew the soul out of the post, probably by manipulation, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back into the patient's body.

755 A cure involving both manipulation and blowing was described as follows by Cecile. The doctor first sang for about ten minutes, presumably his power song. Then he worked his hands over the reclining patient from feet to head and grasped the sickness over the head in both hands. One or two bystanders seized him "to prevent him from dying or being carried away by the strength of the medicine," and plunged his hands, which still held the sickness, into a vessel of water. When the sickness had become quiet, the doctor took his hands out of the water and "threw away" the sickness by blowing on it. He repeated this process four times, twice working his hands up from the patient's feet and twice down from the head.

For rheumatism the shaman blew on the sensitive place and rubbed it with his hands Then he caught the illness over the patient head, rolled it between his hands, and displayed a slender dark object which he said he had extracted. Josephine, the interpreter for Mary Carden who described this method believed that this object was only dirt which the shaman had rubbed from the patient's skin. But Mary insisted it might have been projected into the victim by an enemy. When placed in water it moved like a worm.

Another method of extracting blood, worms, general illness, poison, or other injurious things was that of sucking. Shamans proficient in sucking blood wore a tattooed line from each corner of the mouth down each side of the chin. Certain guardian spirits gave power for this, notably such blood-sucking insects as the mosquito and the horsefly, and animals which were often shot or speared, such as deer and salmon. The shaman sometimes sucked the patient's blood between his (cupped ?) hands placed over the heart or over the afflicted member. After the treatment he deposited the blood or other cause of trouble in a vessel of water where it would cool down and become quiet, and where people could see it. No visible break remained in the patient's skin as a result of the sucking. Among ailments cured in this way were wounds and hemorrhage, appendicitis, a fish bone in the throat, bloodpoisoning, toothache, extreme grief.

Fifteen years ago, when a man called Sam George was at the Omak agency, he suffered a severe internal injury. The white doctor held his wrist for fifteen minutes (fifteen was apparently a "pattern number" for Suszen, the narrator) but Sam died anyway. A shaman then sucked poison from close to Sam's heart and put it in a cup of water. The agent and the white doctor looked at the poison. There was no hole in Sam's skin where the doctor had sucked. Sam got well and still lives. Harry Timentwa and Old Harry's grandson both testified that they had been cured of illness by the sucking treatment.

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791 Some shamans sprinkled water on a patient as they walked around him. If he show-

755 791 ed no signs of improvement at the fourth round, his case was hopeless. Billy Joe told of a cure performed by his wife, an old Wenatchi shaman, by this method combined with blowing. A man had been stabbed all over his body, and lay motionless and unconscious. His friends sent for Billy Joe's wife, who at once saw that the patient was nearly dead. Singing her power song, she sprinkled water on him as she walked around him three times. Still he did not move. She said, "If he doesn't move when I sprinkle water the fourth time around, he's hopeless." For the fourth time she walked around him sprinkling the water. This time he moved. She blew on him, his friends took him and bathed him in the Columbia River, and he got well.

A shaman with tobacco power smoked his power pipe and blew the smoke on the patient. A girl who had this power kept secretly a little pipe as a power emblem. If she were very ill, her guardian spirit told her to smoke this pipe. She did so, using tobacco and kinnikinnik: the smoke went all through her body as a medicine. When the community heard that she had cured herself in this way, her services were demanded for the benefit of others. Even if she had never smoked before, but was told by her spirit in a dream to go cure a certain sick person by smoking, she took her little pipe to the patient's house and smoked it there. The patient's relatives then understood and offered her money for the treatment. She refused the money, but agreed to perform the cure. This she did by smoking the pipe and blowing the smoke on the patient.

Sometimes in such cases as poisoning of the blood one touch of the shaman's fingertips sufficed for the cure. One old woman with spider power saw a horse bitten by a spider and said, "He's been bitten right by that rib." She then put her hand on the bite and healed it. Rattlesnake bite could sometimes be cured by a rattlesnake shaman in the same simple way, though the poison had even infected the bone.

One old woman who had power from the largest of [illegible] the deer could cure a sick baby by simply carrying it about. Johnnie's sister had had several children, all of whom had died shortly after birth. When her last child was born this old woman made a cradleboard and placed him in it and he survived.

To treat a sickness caused by power theft or power loss the power had to be recaptured. We did not obtain specific information as to how this was done. Presumably the shaman who was employed for the cure projected his own power out and enticed the lost power back into its owner.

The tail feathers of a robin, prepared as described for power capture on an earlier page, might also be used in curing. At night the shaman put one of these feathers in his hair. In the morning he found the feather back on the mat. Then the patient recovered.

Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. 756 791 Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mekimên. 757 There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came 164 753 They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entåq'qûI'nIk was dried, steeped in water, 757 and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; 278 if confined to his bed, whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (êntåktåkqwaIn^{xû}) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. Xaxaê'lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called xwaIt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds.

Tuberculosis (xqExôhôm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. [753] Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning.

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqålqålstsI'm, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcêxtcûxtcq!êlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci'nûk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the [787 odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this 825] disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered.

p. 165 (B)

757 278 For "summer complaint" (perhaps sunstroke), called cintca'xqē'n, symptomized by headache and bleeding at the nose, a plant called tEwatē wa ("wild peppermint" in the local English) was administered.

For stomachache the roots of a plant called t'sIt'sIxa'Ilp were boiled and the infusion drunk. Water in which rock sagebrush had been steeped was also drunk for stomach trouble.

Headache (cqē'lqin) was treated by binding "some kind of a weed" against the temples and stuffing it into the nostrils. Michel said that "any weed" was used for this; Johnnie stated that one sometimes used red willow (ctiktikstcxwI'lph). Also the root of a plant called xwa'It was chewed.

For constipation the following remedies were taken internally: tea made from the grass called xaxalahō'pc, or the bush known as tēptēpcalqūh; water from Omak Lake or Goose Lake.

Swooning, fits and other losses of consciousness or control were treated by burning the root of a plant called xacxac and blowing the smoke on the patient. A fragrant fir bough (mErIIp) was also used to revive one who had fainted.

Nose bleed (ckwatsks) was treated by bathing the back of the head with cold water.

To boils was applied the foul juice from a smoker's pipe or a poultice of hot pine pitch.

Sores were treated by applying warm rocks or dirt.

Skin irritations caused by poison ivy were smeared with the milky sap from a broken stem of sumac.

For wounds, a weed called xaRxARIEmA', which was something like pigweed, was mashed, dampened with water, made into a slimy paste, and applied as a poultice. Buckskin bandages were also used. Wounds on the skull were treated in the same way, no trephining or cautery being practiced for them.

Though many shamans knew how to set bones, it was not a professional art and relatives of the patient usually performed it. Flat splints were bound to the broken limb with buckskin bandages. Sometimes the pulp of the inner bark of the red willow or the pine was placed on the limb, which was then wrapped tightly with a small twined tule mat and held in cold water for as long as the patient could bear it.

Sore eyes were bathed in water from Omak Lake.

Toothache (snEk!ēlic, from k!ēlic, "it

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6 See Individual Life Cycle.

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxēntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret. Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
278 gation with cērtain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
789 flower and the plant from which love medi-
cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or plał) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever car-
ried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by
the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snēna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaōwīl) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

[illegible] The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to 821
stop lest the wind start to blow.

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwalá) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

761
If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect.

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi´lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition 773
justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when
they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer:

yaĭ yaĭ yaĭ yaĭ qwi´lstEn [539]
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa´ksEn qwānēnmĭ´nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlaūtiksq'ūal
Let me live to be old,
kūwá´kskĭnxĭ´tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c); category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167(A)

nōkānspâlsq'ō´lxwn
So I can kill deer, 515
Iati´sak'latsi´nEm
Deer. 788
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. 515 783 Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences.

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. 776 177 Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.[1]

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkali´p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qōlūncō´tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qōlūncō´tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 167 (B)

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1 7 See Individual Life Cycle.
^ 8 This historical interpretation seems doubtful to me. — L.S.

1 [For context of footnotes, see
pp. 167(A) - 167(B), category 116.--Analyst]
p. 167 (c)

776 177 ianity, was called chwallEmEn(or sxwélEmEn), "something thrown away or discarded," because he had been cast out of heaven by God. He therefore lived under the earth, where it was hot. Suszen's account of the attempted conversion of Chief Moses illustrates the foreign nature of this divinity. The Government had taken Moses' land away from him and had sent him to Nespelem. There the priest wanted to baptize him and teach him to pray, and a government officer told Moses that unless he was baptized he would go to hell, where the Devil would burn him. Moses denied this, objecting that if there were fire inside the earth the water in the white men's wells would boil. He was never baptized, "and never went to church because he didn't believe in the Devil."

774 The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost.

Of the first, the thinking element, we have only a scrap of evidence. It seems to have been identified with the heart (cpŏŏ′c or pŏŏ′st); the phrase hacpŏŏ′s, "your heart," being used to express approval after a suggestion had been made. One sick from extreme grief was called "broken-hearted" (maŏ′ts pŏ′ŏst), but this conception may not have been aboriginal.

The shadow of the individual or his reflection in water represented his soul, the cqaqElaŭh. This word meant shadow in the ordinary physical sense, but in the present connotation it signifies the vital principle. Though a corpse cast a shadow it had lost its cqaqElaŭh. Various precautions were taken to prevent the loss of this element. One should not sleep in the late afternoon lest the sun carry his shadow down with it and thus shorten his life, and if a child developed this habit he would die in his next illness. One incurred the same danger by allowing his shadow to fall in an open grave. If one walked close behind a person who was smoking, eating, or drinking, his reflection or shadow might fall on the smoke, food, or drink and be swallowed with it, especially if the consumer had strong power. The spirit of a child was particularly liable to be consumed by a shaman in this way and within a few days the child would succumb. Power plays a part here, since, if the father of the child were near him and had stronger power than that of the shaman, the latter would choke at the mouthful and might even die. This applies to any case where a person of strong power walked behind another who was eating, drinking, or smoking and whose power was weaker. If the former took pity on his victim, he could save him from choking by striking him on the back, bringing up the smoke, if he had been smoking, in a

774 little ball of blood. Sometimes the informants spoke of this situation as if the individual himself entered the other's mouth and choked him. It was dangerous for a person who was eating to be frightened by someone from behind.

The cqaqElaûh seems to have been closely connected with the sweat, spittle, hair, underwear, and other materials intimately in contact with the individual, for these, as well as the shadow, should not be allowed to fall into an open grave. One person could bewitch another by throwing such personal leavings into a graveyard and beseeching a buried corpse to keep them until the victim was as "poor" as the corpse itself. The victim lost his property, fell into consumption, and died.

The shadow soul was apparently not a widespread belief, for neither David nor Chilowhist Jim knew anything about it.

The breath (slExEntcôt) was sometimes mentioned as if it were also a vital element, similar to the cqaqElaûh. If one slept facing west in the afternoon, said Johnnie, the sun might take his breath down with it.[9] Animals and birds probably lacked such a soul: though a chicken's breath was called by the same term as a man's, "it was not the same." The primary connotation of the word tlal, "dead," was "can't breathe any more." David said that the priests told the Indians that their "breath" went to another world where God judged it.

Whether the "breath" or the "shadow" was regarded as the vital principle, a general belief prevailed that a dying person would expire either at twilight (sInsôxôtcIn) or at dawn (sInpaktcIn). This weighs slightly in favor of the shadow soul.

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177 The soul most commonly referred to in relation to life after death, to soul theft, and to dreams, was called sInaxpê'ôs or sInkakIû's. SInaxpê'ôs was derived from the Okanagon naxpêôsnt, which meant "to lay something over itself, to fold over once," and was said to have been more or less coined by the white priests. SInkakIû's, a Spokan word adopted by the Okanagon under Christian direction, meant "something between two folds." Neither of these words was in use among the Okanagon before white contact. The soul concept itself may have been imposed upon the Indians by the Catholic fathers, who were ignorant of the indigenous types of soul, or found them unsuitable for Catholic doctrine. Since the Dream dance faith, however, had emphasized an element in man which could dream and survive death, it probably led to the development of the primitive cqaqElaûh (shadow soul) idea into a more active soul. Lucy Joe said, "You have a shadow when you walk, and there is another little shadow, the sInkakIû's." Later the

[9] For the belief regarding sleeping in moonlight, see elsewhere.

priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sĭnkakĭū´s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuêpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests. 774 177

774 778 The relation of sĭnkakĭū´s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sĭnkakĭū´s came from qōlūncō´tn (God), and that the sĭnkakĭū´s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former.

754 774 778 A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sĭnkakĭū´s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sĭnkakĭū´s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its 'going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sĭnkakĭū´s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sĭnkakĭū´s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case.

774 787 Each individual had only one sĭnkakĭū´s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost.

775 The land of the dead (stqema´skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife

and killing. David claimed that before the white priests introduced the concept of the soul, the Indians knew nothing of life after death and thought that they just died like animals. He was probably right.

The ghost (tŭqtŭqEnĕŏ'laŭh or tŭk'tŭk'ŏnE'ŏna) was similar to those in European tradition, having a few vague and general traits not standardized in detail, and widely open to foreign suggestions which make a "better story." Therefore any attempt to separate the aboriginal ideas on ghosts from those which have been imported seems quite futile.

The ghost was not the disembodied shadow (cqaqElaŭh), but was sometimes identified with the sĭnkakĭŭ's of a person not good enough to "go to a good place" after death. Ghosts were usually of the dead, but some emanated from the living who were about to die or who were absent and thinking hard of home. Suszen explained that when a dead man's guardian spirits restored him to life, his ghost returned to him. The ghost of the dead lingered near his house or his grave, where it might appear in several ways: sometimes as a flame which came out of the grave with a rattling sound and pursued the beholder, sometimes as the double of the deceased, which disappeared as it came nearer. Ghosts often indicated their presence by a rattling sound, as of dried deer hide or tin cans. They laughed, shouted, screamed, whistled and coughed. Suszen said that they talked, but Michel denied it. Sometimes they even threw stones. They moved as fast as a man could run, yet without moving their legs or leaving tracks. They were all feared, but especially those of suicides, which were visible every night near the scene of the tragedy. Ghosts pursued people in lonely places, deprived them of their wits, frightened or froze them to death, or made them ill. Whistling might attract them and was avoided by timid persons when alone at night. One pursued by a spectre along a path could evade it by stepping aside from the path and letting it pass. Recurrent troubles in a house were often ascribed to a haunting ghost. For this reason a baby was never left alone in a house where someone had died, and a fir bough and a sprig of wild rose bush were hung in the room of a dead person to keep the ghost away. Rocks were piled over a place in the woods where someone had been frozen to death or had perished by violence, perhaps to lay the ghost, perhaps as a warning to passers-by. A few anecdotes will illustrate the variations of the ghost theme in more detail.

Mr. Richard Post has a good one. "One dark night at Chilowhist Jim's, just after we had said goodnight and the Indians had retired, I walked silently by their tent on a bit of sandy ground. A boy of eleven saw me and called out 'Who's there?' I made no reply, but hurried right on without turning my head or changing my direction. He called two or three times and, when I disappeared, returned into the tent.

T75 "Next morning when we were talking about ghosts, he told me that he had seen one the night before. At daybreak he had looked for tracks, but seeing none (except my own, which were numerous anyway) he was convinced that it had been a ghost.

"He said that he had never feared ghosts, and had seen many, some of which he had chased and pelted with stones. They were neither good nor bad, but were merely wandering spirits of the dead: spirits of people who were not good enough to go at once to kal'ntcöltn, and who had to serve atonement on earth for a while, but who were not bad enough to go to the Roman Catholic hell. He called this form of spirit the sinkak'lū's."

Johnnie was about to start on a journey with another man, who had told him to whistle when he was ready. Johnnie stood near a fence where a rocky trail went by, and whistled. Something whistled back. Thinking it was his wayfellow he called to it to stop, but instead of answering it whistled again. He finally came to the top of the trail where the other man's horse was tied, and called, "Here's your horse; where are you going?" Only the whistle replied. Johnnie got cold in the spine and returned.

Living people who were absent could sometimes be heard talking. One evening when Johnnie's uncle had been away and was expected home, his people heard him singing outside the house, but as his voice came nearer it died away. He did not return for two or three days. Johnnie explained that the uncle must have been thinking "strong" of coming, but was unable to return so soon.

The woman who made the poison wit which the jealous shaman was killed in th incident related above, later became a co vert to Catholicism. A light shines in th deserted house where she died six years ago her ghost still lingers there. Sometime. people deserted a house because of recurrent deaths, for the ghost of its first owner might be seen around it, looking and acting as he had in life.

Once Mrs. Louie's brother heard the ghost of a woman screaming in the woods near Kettle Falls.

After a boy had committed suicide near Curlew, his father killed the boy's horse and spread the hide over his grave. On the next day, and for many years after, the ghost of the boy was seen riding on this horse.

One night Johnnie heard an adult weeping in the next room which was supposedly empty. On the following morning it became known that the owner of the house had died.

One night near a graveyard Johnnie heard someone sigh behind him. He heard

1/^ [For context of footnote, see p. 170(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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10 I.e., French-Canadian. 1/^

p. 170(A)

775 this four times. When he had made a light to discover the source of the noise, he thought he saw a man in white confronting him. It was a Holstein cow with a white face. This was the only ghost he had ever seen.

He once saw a blue flame rise mysteriously from the ground about twenty feet high and change into a ball of fire (probably marsh gas). He felt that this was supernatural, but did not claim that it was a ghost.

VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776 Giants (tswainaltEm) lived in the mountains. They measured about twelve feet in stature and clad themselves only in bearskins. Those of the Shuswap country, at least, smelled like burnt gunpowder. They carried little flutes, by blowing which they mimicked the sounds of birds, squirrels, and other small creatures. An old Okanagon and an old Wenatchi man once saw a giant's den, which was made of sticks.

In the wilderness dwelt also a race of dwarfs called ntsItsimasqolaūh. Though seldom seen, they were known to have long beards, to dress like Indians, and to live in rocks or in caverns as large as log cabins. Sometimes the Indians found their tiny footprints in the woods, but to see the dwarfs themselves presaged death. They might appear suddenly to the traveller in the wilderness, who saw them jumping around and heard them singing, but they would quickly vanish as the beholder fell into a dream. If a man wanted rain, he might induce it by throwing stones into the caverns inhabited by dwarfs, but as the dust rolled out of the hole he ran away lest the dwarfs deprive him of his wits and capture him. StlElqa (stlafka or stl!alkh') were a separate race of female dwarfs inhabiting the streams, which could be heard talking and laughing there.

In the hills there wandered a supernatural person called sEm'ō'laūh (sama'ōlaux, from sama, "Frenchman,"* and ōlaūx, "land") or skəlEōlaūx (from skə'lūx, "Indian," and ō'laūx, "land"). He was not a dwarf, but seems to have had light skin, so that after the Indians had seen the French they called him sEm'ōlaūh instead of skəlEōlaūx. Michel denied any knowledge of him, and said that the above words meant only "Frenchman's land" and "Indians's land" respectively.

It may have been this "Frenchman" that a Colville man, a relative of Andrew Tillson, encountered many years ago when he was hunting. Having followed a deer for nearly a week, the exhausted hunter made a fire and slept. When he awoke a man with a gun appeared and said to him, "Your deer is not very far from here, but you won't kill him. I'll follow him myself and you'll hear me shoot: in the morning you'll find him lying

*[For footnote, see p. 170(A), category 116.--Analyst

[p. 170 (B)]

dead." The speaker had a gray horse; he gave the hunter power to get gray horses as well as to kill deer. 776

TsEatlEmQx was an old woman who travelled through the tree tops with a baby on her back. Wherever she passed she left the trees scorched as if by fire. Her baby cried ceaselessly. Sometimes she descended to the ground, climbing on all fours and head first down the tree trunk, while neither her long hair nor her infant changed their position. Many people had seen this old woman. She did neither harm nor good, but simply moved on through the tree tops as she would do till the end of the world.

Water-monsters of unknown form infested Lake Omak and perhaps other lakes. Michel and Johnnie referred to them as "sea-cattle," though they may or may not have had horns. Michel reported that about twenty years ago some white people saw a large dog-like animal rise out of a lake and drag down a goose which they had shot. Fangs projected from its lower jaw up over its upper lip. This animal, said Michel, had never been seen by Indians. Michel's father once "saw something" under the surface of a lake, which appeared to be an animal about twenty feet long.

More specifically, a large moose with enörmous horns dwelt beneath the water. He was called simply papala'tsa, "moose." He played a part in the myths and may still be alive. 776 825

Children might receive power under the water from animals called nExaxa'itka, but this word may refer to all animals living within the lake rather than to any particular kind.

Nhithitwulh was a large bird about the size of a condor. No one ever saw it, but the trees rang with the great noise which it made, and when people heard it they became numb and did not feel right again till it had flown overhead. It could transform itself into any large bird, such as an eagle, or into a deer, etc.

In several instances rocks or groups of rocks were regarded as petrified people. Just below McLaughlin's Canyon, between Tonasket and Riverside, lies a large boulder or outcrop of curious shape, the remains of a man and woman who, asleep in each other's arms, were turned to stone "when the world turned inside out," that is, at the end of the mythical age. This landmark is called kitleqölötpacxin, literally, "lying by a rock." The same thing happened to a number of people who were trapping fish at a place beyond Nespelem. Two women among them were fighting; they, as well as all those who were with them, can now be seen as rocks. This occurrence is, like the previous one, as 776 823

p. 171 (A)

cribed to a reversal of nature which took place at the beginning of the present world era. On the summit of a mountain between Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called naamtüc, literally, "set on top of a ridge." This is the woman who came bringing camas from the east, over whom the mountains fought in the mythical times when mountains were men. Indians sometimes made offerings there. 776 823

DREAMS AND OMENS

Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow. 787

Most omens foretold death. Seeing a flying squirrel (sxü'phüp) was interpreted in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter once went way up in the hills, cut down a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground-hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ö'hö'lEm (prairie dog ?,[1] a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Kartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Suszen was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow. 787 763

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116.--Analyst]

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11 This is doubtful, since the [illegible] is not on record from this region. — L.S. 1

1 [For context of footnote, see p. 171 (B), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 171 (C)

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 177 The Dream dance complex, at least so far as it incorporates elements derived in recent decades indirectly from Christianity, seems to have taken a less consistent form than that of the indigenous cult.

169 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

169 39 187 The following account of such an experience dates from the days of Suszen's great-grandfather. Suszen, who related this and couched it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

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[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. --Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. [1]

p. 172 (A)

769 539 787 These things are at the side of the road. A little way beyond some dead people there said, "Come on. We're killing people here." These are murderers, fighters. I never heeded them, just followed the road. A little beyond I saw on the road a man and woman in flagrente delicto. I saw an unborn child in the woman's belly. These two can never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 796 821 About 1840[1] a substance resembling "dry snow" (m qwew xlôqûlahû, "snow dirt") fell from the sky so heavily that it covered the ground to a depth of several inches. Deposits of this may still be seen in the earth. It frightened the Indians very much. There is a question whether this led to the performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy Joe said, "The people just danced and danced until they had nothing stored away for the winter." This was the only summer dance of which she knew.

787 792 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as the result of a dream in which God talked to him, prophesied the coming of the white men. He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as the later prophets did. Shortly before he died, God promised him that he would receive him. This seems to be our earliest hint of the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening fifty years ago.] A young man called qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought 787 up by his grandmother and who suffered from rheumatism in the hips. One autumn when his 792 band moved from their camping ground at sinak'a'ilt, above Keller, qwEleskEn was too ill to accompany them, and they left him there with his aged guardian. In November he died. His grandmother, after covering his body with blankets and letting the tipi fall over on it, started out alone in search of people. After two days she found some Indians encamped near Whitestone and told them of the death. Seven days later a party went out to get his body. As they approached, they heard him singing. Not knowing whether it was he or his ghost, they asked him if he had come back to life. He answered, "Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crippling him permanently, and he was brought to camp on a horse.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 172 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Thereafter he prayed and sang continuously, and exhorted the people to prayer and 787 to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. At 792 first they laughed at him, but in the winter about Christmas (or in the fall) — 823 according to Cecile they were then at Kartero — occurred a severe earthquake (hi mompEn, lit. "the world moved"), which so terrified them that they ran to his tipi and asked him what he had seen during his death. He answered that God had warned him of this earthquake, and that if they failed to believe in God and to pray, the world would come to an end in forty days. They believed him, and following his wish to be taken to a better and more populous location they conveyed him by horse to Whitestone.

A few days later came another earthquake (two days later according to Cecile), and a great mass of rock fell into the Columbia River and caused it to overflow.[1] Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and joined a still larger settlement at EnɔuxwE'lq^x. Now they believed: rich people asked to care for him.

God used to come to qwElaskEn every 787 night in his dreams and tell him what to do 792 on the following day. QwElaskEn assured the 776 people that Jesus Christ was right, that he

[1] [For footnote, see p. 173 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 173 (A)

himself had been to purgatory to do penance 787
for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had
returned to life to teach mankind. At one
time he told them that the end of the world 792
would come ten days later, or if not then, in
eight years. He advised them to build a 776
long house for nightly congregations, and warned them that if they did not know how to pray when doomsday arrived they would turn into birds, rocks, and other non-human things. They were very frightened and obeyed him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased by the loss of a girl who had run away from fright at the time of the earthquake and had not since been seen.

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven
young men and seven young women. At night 792
he taught them prayers and songs — prayers
somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; word- 159
less songs which resembled Catholic hymns — so that they could teach them to others during the day. Every night these fourteen disciples carried torches of pitch pine when they accompanied the master to the big house.

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls believed him in spite of his practice.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy rip-saws for this work. The laborers suffered

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13 We have the following to date this quake. Cecile, now (1930) about fifty-eight, had just been born. (The quake was felt in her own country, the Kalispel.) Lucy Joe, now over seventy, said she was then fourteen and married about that time, but Cecile stated that Lucy Joe had told her she already had children. (Lucy Joe said the earthquake rattled houses and continued for a year.) Julie Josephine, probably about eighty, already had a child at the time. These data place the earthquake in the early eighteen-seventies.

The best identification of the earthquake would seem to be the very strong shocks of December 10 and 11, 1872, centering at Helena, Montana. This fits best with the statement that the shocks occurred on two separate days about Christmas. There are two other possibilities: the destructive quake of March 26, 1872, centering in Inyo County, southeastern California (which was felt as far away as Mexico City, Oregon, and Missouri), and the widely felt shock of November 22, 1873, centering on the southern Oregon coast (Heck, *Earthquake History of the United States*, 49; Holden, *Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast*, 88-92, 96).

The fall of rocks on the Columbia which accompanied this should be dateable, but I have been unable to find adequate references. William S. Lewis states that it occurred in 1874, but without citing his warrant (Coone, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman*, 20). No severe shocks in this area during 1874 are listed in the authorities cited above. - L.3. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 173(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 173 (C)

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned various parts of the construction to
159 groups of men, and appointed a policeman to stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was sūlpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
792 band."[1] A few years before the priests came into the region, sūlpEqēn dreamed that they would arrive and that the Indians would re-
177 ceive money from the Government. At that time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use
159 the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūlpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."[1] SūlpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who,
792 after the whites had arrived, decorated his moccasins with red flannel and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It
796 involved three main conceptions: falling stars (see below), earthquakes, and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 eous and God-fearing life, and these prophets
led special dances and song concerning
the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy
796 of the coming of the white men (such prophecy
being called qEpĕktsa) and the downfall
of Indian culture was a minor element and apparently
of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmlpEnŏmt; the dreamer was s'malp'nŏmpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qŏlŭncŏtn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

776 The "white chief," explained David, was
called sEwImstwItl'n, meaning "already made,"
and was believed in long before the whites
787 came. He had created everything, and to Him
all good people went when they died. Sometimes
796 people saw him in trances, without
being called on to give the Dream dance, and
they prayed to him wherever they were at any
time. Most prayers to him, however, were
rendered at the Dream dances. They were called
sqwai lIp (this may be the name of the
dance), and were wordless songs which had
been heard in dreams by the prophets leading
the dances. This "white chief" was probably
identical with Qŏlŭncŏtn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR29 Sinkaietk

1 [For contexts of these footnotes, see p. 174 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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14 This was when Lucy Joe was a young unmarried girl, that is, in the 1870's. She said that the earthquake occurred a year after his dream. Cecile said it happened soon after the earthquake and about the time of the qwElaekEn affair.

15 See First Fruit Ceremony.

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ing very low back and forth over them. Ce- 776
cile said it was almost always a two-headed
goose, but that it might be bodiless with 787
two heads and wings, or might have a body
and a very long tail. 796

Lucy Joe's statement was that in the
time of her grandmother, before the whites
came but after the fall of "dry snow," a 787
goose with two heads and four legs flew from
the southeast, the direction from which the
whites were supposed to appear. They shot 796
it. It had two crops which they discovered
were filled with wheat, which the Indians
had never seen. They said, "The world must
be coming to an end." This happened at
nkaé t^{ku} in the neighborhood of Okanogan.
They gathered no food, so they starved.

As soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving nor the dancers changing their positions. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance, explained David, followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky, before their great white chief. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally someone had a prophetic dream during the ceremony, and at once uttered his prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight, steal, lie, commit rape, or sin in other ways, and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching, some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers.

Dancers who had come from neighboring villages returned home to eat and sleep when the dancing was over for the day; those who had come from a distance often encamped at the site of the dance. No one ate in the daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days, till the dancers, observing that the world did not come to an end, "forgot about it for a while" and resumed their normal life. Cecile stated that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer, and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended; no one hunted, fished, or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. In Johnnie's boyhood, some people became so enthralled in the dance that they did not eat for several days at a time; and once, in his great-grandfather's day, they danced for so many weeks that they neglected to lay up food for the winter, and many of them starved. But David, who had never seen a Dream dance himself, said that he had never heard of one which lasted for more than a few days. Dream dances seldom occurred in the winter. When they did they were stopped in time for

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the ordinary winter dance: the two were never combined. 796 787

Suszen described a "prayer-dance" or "thanksgiving dance" called skŏŭm, which had a somewhat special character. 782 This was held at any time of year when the people wished to pray and to solicit help from God, or after a plentiful season of hunting, fishing, 796 and food gathering. The prayer was sung, and had the following content: "Qŏlŭncŏtn, you helped me in the beginning and gave me everything in the country to live on, with the medicine of my body to follow your words all the time. I'm glad of that. I'm always think about you, to follow your good words. I'm always trying to do good and not to be bad. Help me to be good and not to forget your good words to me. You gave the creatures full power before me." After the prayer the participants ate and a few of them stood up and talked about the good old days. This may have been a phase of the first-fruits ceremony described under the food quest.

There was also a "confession dance," distinct from the prayer dance and the ordinary Dream dance. It was called sqwal'ilŭx. Mary Carden said that when her grandmother was sixteen a star fell to earth with a noise like thunder. This suggested to the Indians that the world was coming to an end. They gathered in the largest house in the village, where the chief, with a stick in his hand, exhorted them to lead better lives, his sermon being repeated to them by a man selected for this purpose. Young and old stood in a circle around the chief, swaying rhythmically with loose knees and moving their right hands from and toward their bodies. As the chief confessed his own sins, the spokesman repeated his statements to the people. Then, pointing to each individual in turn, the chief cried, xŏ'yanŏwi^x, "Now you!" and the person designated also confessed. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights, with short intervals for rest. It was the first "confession dance." Thereafter it was held whenever an earthquake, falling star, or other strange cosmic phenomenon frightened the community, or when a man had dreamed that doomsday was near. It was continued "till they got over being scared." Mary declared that they might "set aside a certain day each week" for the dance, till the panic had subsided, and that such an occasion might arise at any time of the year. Suszen said that each dancer in turn stood in the center of the circle, holding a handful of twigs or little sticks. (Mary denied knowledge of this.) As he threw each of these to the ground, he said, "This sin (naming the sin) I have no more. I will do such-and-such no more." Suszen illustrated this phase of the dance by strutting up and down, throwing his head back as he cast each twig to the ground and repudiated each of his sins — which, however, he did not specify. David, of the Northern Okanagon, had not heard of the "confession dance," but admitted it might have been held in the southern part of the valley, and suggested that the

782 sticks might have been cast away to avert 796 the end of the world.

The Dream dance prophecies functioned 796 in a special way during the smallpox epidemic. A certain man who, it was specifically stated, had no power, dreamed that he 751 saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog" over the villages, killing people as it passed. Then he sang, though he did not dance, and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to prayers (sk'aûm; compare the word for the "prayer dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said people prayed to Qōlûncōtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these prayers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qōlûncōtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

773 The Southern Okanagon believed that the universe had been created by the supreme god qōlûncō'tn. This idea, however, may have 539 come to them from Christianity. They had no story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale, assumes the existence of qōlûncō'tn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story, these beings received from qōlûncō'tn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qōlûncō'tn) first finished the world and had made everything in it, nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth. Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid

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that he was bound to sleep. So he thought that he would take little sticks and prop his eyes up. He did this. As soon as he had put these sticks on his eyes he went to sleep with his eyes open. As soon as it was getting daylight, Fox came along and saw him sitting there. Fox was a great friend of his and thought he would wake him up, but decided not to do this, for it is dangerous to awaken people. So Fox went to God, and God told him, "You can go through the world and fix anything you want." He was the first thing that got a name: xwaé lôx, the fox. The second one that got there and got a name was the grizzly, kelaune. All the other animals then came and got names. [The narrator enumerated them one by one.] When Coyote got there, there were only two names left. He asked to be chief, but the Great Man said, "You can't be chief because it's already been given out. There are only these two names left, 'Coyote' and 'Sweat house'." Coyote said, "No. I won't have either name." The Greet Man said, "Coyote would be a good name for you. If you take the name Coyote, I'll give you power to be a powerful man, to be smart in every way. I'll give you power in your faeces. Now I'll show you how and you can try it for yourself." After Coyote had let it out [defecated], the Great Man said, "Now turn around and talk to it." And just as soon as he spoke to them, the faeces asked him, "What do you went?" There was a mountain there, and Coyote told them, "I don't want that mountain to be where it is: I want it to be over there." His faeces answered, "Look at that mountain and make a motion with your hand to move." And just as soon as Coyote looked at the mountain, the mountain moved with the motion of his face [hand?]. Just as soon as he had done that he thought that he was greater than this Great Man. As soon as Coyote thought that, the Great Man told him, "No, don't think that. I'm just giving you this power so that you'd have more power than anything else." Then Coyote said, "All right, I'll take the name Coyote." Fox was a long way ahead of him [more important]: he was supposed to be chief. But Fox did everything that wasn't fit to do. He was killing people and doing things that were not right — the chief! Fox was going along and making man-eaters: that is what Fox was doing as he was going along. There was only one name left, so old Coyote started out on his journey. Great-Man told Sweat House, "You're going to be liked by all people, and be in one place. Wherever there are Indians; you'll be there. That'll be your name, 'Sweat House.'" That is the reason that there are sweat houses all over the world among the Indians. [The conclusion of the story relates the banishment of Fox and Coyote, and the end of mythical times. I give it below.]

Thereafter came the mythical era, the "story times" (tsapEtl qt, lit., "stories"), in which the animals lived as Indians and did the things recorded in the folk tales. In this alcheringa (to borrow a familiar Australian term) at least one kind of every ani-

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mal existed, though there are not stories about them all. There were many deer, who lived together in a long house; five wolves, four brothers and a sister; five grizzlies, a mother and four cubs; one eagle; and one coyote (sĭnkElĭ´p). Coyote had a gopher (pŏtlüa^{xu}) to wife whose personal name was pElīahalks and had four sons, called in descending order of age keɫtEt!a´ɫalq^{u}, sEngagale´ɫ^{xu}tEn, patskɫqwa´üst^{ɫ}En, ts!atsĭ´nixEn. They held power dances, each animal with its own kind or family, used sweat houses, hunted, and lived in other ways just as Indians. They were visualized in no stereotyped forms. More often they were thought of as human in shape, especially when performing human activities, but some incidents require them to assume their animal guise. 773 539

How the creatures of the myths were thought of is indicated by the following statements of Suszen. They looked like animals when the story speaks of them as such, but when making laws for the people-to-be, they looked like humans. In the tale of Coyote bringing salmon, wherein his face was stretched by Wolf and Fox, he had not been a man before that, but something like a coyote-like animal with a somewhat human face. But when he transformed himself into a little boy, he was a boy. The two bird-sisters who dug camas by the first salmon trap were human like women today, but were thought of as birds. They were birds: they had power no Indian woman would have. 773

Chilowhist Jim said that qŏlüncŏ´tn put the creatures and man on earth at the same time, and Suszen brought Adam and Eve, Christ, and other humans into the mythology; but the aboriginal versions, with few exceptions, admitted only animals and other non-human characters, all of whom, however, are generally referred to as "people" in the stories. The story of the origin of camas from the east, though ascribed to mythical times, apparently belongs in a different category from the rest of the tales, for the principal characters are a woman and the mountains who do not occur in the other myths. Another exception was given by Cecile, who believed that during mythical times, "when Coyote was alive," some people turned into rocks which can still be seen.

Some are east of Nespelem, Michel said. People were trapping fish there when two women began fighting. "Something happened to the world" and they with their people were transformed into rocks. Again, between Tonasket and Riverside, are two rocks which were a man and woman lying together: these are called kitliqŏlŏtpē´cxim, "lying by a rock."

Coyote was the most prominent figure in the mythology. As we have seen, he played a comical part in the naming myth, and occurred in other tales as a trickster and buffoon, whose wiles and audacity often led him into absurd situations. Sometimes the Okanagon claimed him as their ancestor (nxa´tsin), just as they said that the Canni-

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bal-woman (spaɬa) was ancestress of the Wenatchi and Dog the ancestor of the Nez Percé. 773 Coyote's old house-pit can still be seen near Penticton.

At the end of mythical times and the begining of the present epoch, "the world turned over;" the animals assumed their present forms and multiplied and from them human beings were somehow generated. Andrew's account of the end of the mythical period, told 773 as the conclusion of the naming myth, proceeds as follows: 539

Coyote and Fox got together and went all over the world. The Great Man told them, "Well, you've come back. Did you fix everything that you wanted to fix?" He put Fox on a log or a boat or something, took him towards the north and put him right in the middle of the ocean. Then he took Coyote and set him on another boat, took him south and put him in the middle of the ocean. He told the Sweat House that he, Sweat House, would be with the people all the time until he himself, the Great Man, came back to this world that he was leaving. So this Great Man before he left turned the world inside out and the things that he had named turned into animals. He told Coyote and Fox and Sweat House to stay where they were until he came back, when he would give them all power.

According to Lucy Joe, Coyote had been chief of all the animals and had travelled all over the country. When "the one before him" (probably qōlūncō´tn) saw that Coyote was powerful enough to move mountains, he deprived him of the chieftainship, reduced his power, and banished him to a place in the ocean for all eternity. Then the "new people" came in. The discrepancies between the two versions are obvious, but we did not obtain enough folklore to determine whether they are cultural or only personal.

Suszen's account of the history of the world was so unique that it may best be presented in his own words, or as nearly as is possible from the notes.

God created the world. There were no oceans then; just rivers, lands, and little lakes. After Adam and Eve did wrong, God took away one land from the top and put it to one side for the Indians-to-be. God took the laws with the Indian land and left the other land without laws. Then God built an ocean to separate these lands: one land was for the Indians, another for the white people. Indians did not need books because they knew things in their minds that they learned from the creatures. About the time of Christ, God made the creatures. This was before Christ was born, so that Christ could preach about the other land. Then Coyote and two birds made a mistake just like Adam and Eve. After the world was burned with fire, the people were made. When the first baby was born, the creatures had to teach it. When the white people came to the Indians here, the priest told the Indians what they had forgotten. Christ was the baby that was

773 539 born to teach the world. The Indians have been searching all this time for the baby, but did not know it was Christ until the priest told them. That is why we believe the priest because he knew about this baby which was in the story and whom we have been looking for all this time. The Indians thought the baby might have been born in their land. In the story the baby is white. That is why when the white people came we thought that maybe they were people from the baby. That is why we first called all the white people qwÛlëncÛltën, because we thought they were from God.

The law-making activities of the animals during the mythical period was one of the leading traits of Suszen's mythology. God has given Coyote three chances to make the right law, and Coyote had "missed the law" twice. God then banished him to a house in the clouds in the north, informing him that he, God, would return to the world once again to superintend the making of new laws, and that this would be Coyote's last chance. If Coyote "misses the law" the third time, the world and humanity will disappear; but if he conforms to God's will, the world will be as it was when first created, before Coyote had "missed the law": that is, there will be no more work or hardship, and one will be able to achieve anything by merely thinking about it.

772 The Okanagon believed that the earth was flat and surrounded by a body of water called [illegible], or cëÛlxkw. Of this water, the Pacific Ocean (cqElpItlEmëtqÛ) formed only a part. The world itself, said Michel, had four corners and four legs "like a table." Michel had no ideas about the sky or the subterranean regions. Suszen claimed that the Coyote of the myths was left in his new house up in the sky, which he reached by going out into the ocean; that if Coyote should fall off the "sidewalk" which surrounded his house he would drop away into nothing, without touching land, water, or clouds.

The word xëatlnÛx meant either sun or moon; to distinguish between the two, the substantive "day" or "night" was prefixed. The sun and the moon were originally two sons of the mythical Coyote. Michel told the following tale about their transformation.

773 539 Long ago, before there was any sun or moon, it was dark all the time. The Indians all gathered and said, "We're going to make a sun and a moon." They chose the sun for the daytime and said, "We'll get Crane for the sun." So they made Crane the sun. When this sun was coming up, his beak came over first. When his beak had come up, it would be noon before his feet came over. A little after noon his beak was out of sight and his feet were still in the middle of the sky. It took a long time to get dark; the sun was

1 [For footnote, see p. 178 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

16 This is the formal ending of a tale. — L.S. 1

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773 539 too long. There were long days and short nights. Newly married people did not like this: they wanted to go to bed, but the sun was still up. So they took Crane down and put Coyote in his place. Coyote was an awfully good sun: he did not make a very hot day and he did not make a very cold day. He was just right. But just as soon as he had come over the hill, he started to tell everything about the people that he saw on earth. There was nothing hidden from Coyote nor from the people on earth: anything that went wrong, he told it. They got tired of that. Coyote also made a long day because he had a long nose, long ears, and a long tail. So the people decided they would take Coyote down and put somebody else in his place, because he made a long day and told too many scandals. They took him down and put Woodpecker up there. He was the sun. Just as soon as he came over the hill, it would be so hot the people could hardly stand the heat. They would go to the river to bathe, but the river would be so hot from the sun that they could hardly stand the river. So they took Woodpecker down. He was too hot: the people could not stand it.

Coyote had two nice looking sons. They were strangers there, and did not know to what tipi to go. A big female Frog saw them. She thought she would make it rain [to force them to come into her tipi]. It rained awfully hard, and everybody else's tipi was leaking just as if it was outdoors. These two fellows went to every tipi, but it was just like outdoors. They tried every tent they could see, but there were none dry enough for them to stay in. Finally they saw a little tipi quite a way from the others. They thought they would go into it. When they looked in, they found it nice and dry inside, so they went in. It was Frog's tipi. As soon as they entered, Frog told the younger to sit across on the other side, and told the elder to come and sit beside her. He did not want to sit by her; he wanted to sit by his brother. But she would not let him. She leaped up and bit him on the cheek and hung there. He tried to get loose from her, but he could not do it. After it had stopped raining, the Indians tried to cut her off with a knife, but they could not cut her loose. They finally decided to make the moon out of him. They made the younger brother the sun throughout the day. The people were then satisified with the sun and the moon. The sun was not very hot through the day and the moon was not very bright at night. Michel and I [Johnnie, the interpreter] expected to be the sun and moon ourselves, but we could not, so we came back."[1] [Johnnie later said that the incidents of this story took place at Brewster Flat. One can still see the Frog hanging on the moon's cheek.]

821 An eclipse of the sun or moon indicated that the weather would turn cold. Weather

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[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 178(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

forecasts were also made by counting the parhelia (sun dogs) to the north and south of the sun.

The moon had no special affiliation with women. When it waxed it was said to be coming out of the sky, and when it waned the sky was hiding it. Its dark period was called tsésa pxēaɫnux. If one slept out in the moonlight, the moon drew his mouth to one side, and a child was never allowed to do so without a shade over his face.

The summer solstice (qElqàta'cq!) and the winter solstice (tqēqàta saq) were both recognized, though they seem to have had no functions in the calendar or ritual.

The word for star was ckEkō'cEn or skEkō'sEnt. Some of the distinctive stars had names. The north star was tûkwilEc and the Pleiades tûxûō's. Apparently there was no separate term for planet. The morning star was called kwakwicElεqEn, "has lots of lice," because long ago, before he had turned into a star, he had been lazy and afflicted with these vermin. When children were slow in getting up in the morning, their parents might say to them, "Look out for kwakwicElaqEn; he will bring you ~~a lot~~ of lice." The evening star was kEcilxEōs. The same two words were applied to morning and evening stars for every day of the year. Falling stars indicated that the weather would turn cold. When a child saw one, his parents might tell him that a star was defecating. It was believed that a noise like thunder used to accompany the falling of a star, and that the star dropped into the ocean.

Thunder was produced by an invisible bird called hûlahûlaskit (lit., "to have rain" or "live rain"), which flew very high. The bird had just to think and the thunder would fly out. People used to say to children during a thunder-storm, "Keep still! The thunder is flying around." This bird shot certain rock-like things through the sky, perhaps meteors or lightning. These were his power. They travelled as fast as lightning until they grew hot, and their impact with a cloud caused it to sizzle and break up into rain. Thunder, not lightning, did the damage; lightning was harmless. When thunder struck a tree it spiralled down to the ground, in which it deposited a small pointed stone. People sometimes dug up these stones and used them for arrow-points. They were more effective than ordinary points for killing bear and other big game. A tree that had been struck by thunder was called stk!ecElp and was very dangerous. At the base of the spiral which had been burned on it, there was a kind of sap mixed with splinters. This, when applied to people or animals, caused rheumatism, cramps, or withering of the limbs, and often death. If an Indian wished to impair a fast race horse, he put a little of this into each of the horse's ears; then the horse could not run. Foot racers could be stopped in this way by some of the stuff secreted in their shoes. It could also be used to make one blind. A man might kill his wife by burying some of her underclothes under a thunder-struck tree for a few days; she "drew up into a knot and died." As we have seen, wood from such a tree was one of the ingredients of arrow poison. One night Suszen Timentwa and his wife were coming along the Nespelem road and camped near Kartaro. They were short of firewood, and used some from a thunder-struck tree nearby. That night they both suffered rheumatism. 821

Though Suszen denied the existence of a flood tradition, Michel and Johnnie gave the following account. Once in the distant past, torrential rains caused a great flood which drowned all the Indians and left a cottonwood or poplar tree as driftwood lying on the top of Moses Mountain where no such trees grow. The tree was still visible there fifty years ago. Johnnie saw only its rotten trunk, but he had heard old Indians explain it as the tree left by the flood. The whole world must have been under water to this level. After the flood had subsided, more Indians came. We heard from Billy Joe, whose wife was a Wenatchi shaman, a myth concerning Marten, Fisher, and the Water Monster, in which the climax was a flood. The incident, he said, occurred in Wenatchi territory. It is probably a Wenatchi tale.

One summer or autumn about 1840[1] occurred a rain of ashes, now designated as n qwaw xlʕqulehu, literally "snow dirt." (This was during the lifetime of Michel's grandmother, before that of Cecile's father, and when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl.) The ashes fell at night in a dark haze, and were followed by something resembling hail and shining like stars, probably from reflected moonlight. The whole deposit covered the ground to a depth of several inches, and may still be seen a foot or two (?) beneath the top-soil. It frightened the Indians very much.

The four directions were designated as follows: 823

[1] [For footnote, see p. 179(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

17 The true date is about 1790. This is fixed with reasonable accuracy by members of Wilkes' exploring expedition, who in 1841 were told by a Spokan chief that the event occurred when he was about ten years old, about fifty years before (Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 439). Again, in 1853, Suckley referred to the fact that some Kalispel were still living who remembered the event (Stevens, Report of Explorations, 298). Teit dates the phenomenon inferentially about 1770 (Salishan Tribes, 291). Teit's historical information is on the whole much more reliable than ours. The only specific dating we have for the shower is that it occurred when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl. It is much more likely that her grandmother was meant. – L.S. ‡

‡[For context of this footnote, see p 179 (B), category 11b. -- Analyst]

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823 East: a shwītšpte'n, "the sun rises.
West: skēlōxte'n, "sunset."
North: ken' tlkt or kanētzqkt, "up the river."
South: kle'ōti ntk, "down the river."
Each of these terms was used for the entire quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkamc'ē; anything high overhead was qenwē'ct, while qalhō't meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, clxxīmc, the cold south wind, nxarēlux, and the warm wind, ctchaīxq. The North Wind was a character in the folk tales.

821 The Okanagon year (cpinkt) comprised twelve or thirteen months, which bore names referring to weather, plants, and food-gath-
805 ering. These were not grouped into summer and winter series, but there may have been
221 six general seasons: winter (piclctk), spring (picc'kētc), early summer (pichwū'ltk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcha'k), early autumn (picEntsūū'x), and autumn (picka'al). The early fall was sometimes called samsā'xaxwi'lEtc, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

p:180(A)

821 roughly equated with nameless lunar months, each extending from new moon to new moon, which were used in counting duration of time.
221 Widows, for example, observed mourning for twelve moons. Though the word for month was
805 xèaɬnùx, "moon," the months were not accurately adjusted to the lunar count, and the Okanagon showed little interest in the exact number of days in any calendrical period. There was no week and no count of years.

The first month of the year was cqea'l, that in which the large winter houses were first occupied, nearly equivalent to our November. It was preceded, however by one or two brief periods which were not considered as months, and which may correspond to the "between month" of the Masset and other northwestern tribes. This interval was called sEnqō'ɬxEm, "when one builds the winter homes;" or, when divided on the basis of the local salmon runs, pIcqEl'Ewēc and qtlèkamē'cItn, salmon time on the Okanagon and on the Columbia respectively.

In the following table I present the months as given by four informants, with translations and approximate equivalents in our own months wherever such were stated. Aside from differences in spelling, much variation appears in the month names and there are several discrepancies in the sequence.

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Sequence of the Seasons

Cecile Brown	Johnnie and Billy Joe	Chilowhist Jim	Andrew Tillson
sqa el: autumn, "when the tamarack and everything turns yellow and dries up"	sqac l: autumn	saEa l: November	sk!a e'l: fall, about November
	sil stk: winter	cEl'st'k: December	sil s^tk or sEl'st'q: December, "when the snow falls"
kamé qutEn: "when the snow falls"	qamé qötn: "[illegible] snow"		kamé kötEn: December
s?tsatsaltE n: "very cold time"	ksatsalxte'n: lit., "cold, cold time"		lEtsatse xtEn: January
		squacö'et: January	
spEkt: "when the snow is very white and the peoples' [illegible] [illegible]"		tpEst: February	
	tlaqwa'ex: "toward spring"		tlaq!Ua qrEn: February
	putcxElte n: "leaf time"		
			kEpEtskEE n: March
skEnt rEmEn: "buttercup time"	clime rmin: "buttercup"	cEné rEm'n: March	skEneé RimEn: April

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821
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805

[illegible]

[illegible] n. "leaf-budding time"

[illegible] "bitter-root time".

[illegible] "when the sunflower seeds are dry"

[illegible] "service-berry time"

[illegible] n. "wild-cherry time"

[illegible] "when the salmon turns white"

[illegible] "when the salmon spawn in the Columbia"

[illegible] n. "lots of water"

[illegible] "no more snow"

[illegible] "flowers on the ground"

[illegible] "toward autumn"

[illegible] n. "cherry time"

[illegible] n. April

[illegible] May

[illegible] June

[illegible] July

[illegible] August

[illegible] September

[illegible] October

[illegible] May, lit., "high water"

[illegible] June, lit., "snow is gone"

[illegible] July

[illegible] August

[illegible] September, "[illegible] time"

[illegible]

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The following were the divisions of day and night: 805
821
snpaktsi n, early dawn
chEtlpô laûh, early daylight, dawn
cq!éq!ôtlap, sunrise
ncôic, about 9 A.M.
ctlap, lit., "stop;" the time when the sun "stops" before noon
ntôxôxqên, noon
nlaqôqê n, early afternoon
mea n, late afternoon
kcaô cic, sunset
cnkwôkwôa tc, night
cncô hôtcEn, dark, late evening
cnqElôhtcên, dark, late evening
txwê ôcIn kôkôatc, midnight

Knotted string time records were sometimes kept, especially by parents after the death of children. Some people kept count of their age this way. To do this one might tie a knot in the string each day; two knots were tied close together at 200, three at 300, and so on; and at 1000 a small piece of string was tied around the main string. The conception of 1000 (ô pEnigst 'a pEnigstqEn) may have been derived from the Europeans (see also Material Culture). 802

p.181 (B)

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub- 000

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I submitted to the informant the color chart for house paints in the Sears Roebuck catalogue. 822 [125]

Twelve primary colors appear:
piq, white
q!wal, black, chocolate brown
p'ôm, brown (various shades)
pôm, buff
   micpô´m, russet brown
q!ôlx, beaver brown
   micq!ôlx, seal brown
lô´c, lilac, light pink
   miclô´c, leather brown, chocolate brown
qôrê´, Chinese yellow, tangerine, burnt orange
   micqôrê´, Colonial yellow
   hanicqôrê´c, light brown
pa', gray, buckskin, fawn
   micpa'', dark fawn or dark buckskin
txâlpc, gray
kwil, Turkey red, terracotta red, light fawn
   mickwi´l, dark wine red, oxide red, maroon
   hanickwi´lc, maroon
   lôcickwi´lc, maroon
qwai, pure blue, marine, sea blue, the color of the night sky; myrtle green, the color of the dark green leaves
   qwaicqwaic, dark blue, slate gray
   hanicqwaic, lead color
   miclocicqwaic, dark steel gray
   lôcicqwaic, dark stone gray

p. 181(c)

822 qwän, green, jade green, apple green
micqwän, Nile green
qElqe tElüh, meaning walnut brown or mahogany brown, is probably a comparative term, since philologically it does not seem to belong with the other colors.

My method in securing this vocabulary was obviously very poor, and I would not want to vouch for the accuracy of the re-

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822 sults. They show, however, the grouping together of pink and brown, of black and dark brown, and of the darker shades of blue and green. Mic and hanic were apparently prefixes to denote the darker and duller tones, and the primary term could be repeated for the same purpose (e.g., qwalcqwalc) or combined with another primary term to express an intermediate shade (e.g., lōcīckwīlc).

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DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

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DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling, but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[1] [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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1 See also Individual Life Cycle.[1]

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hand-game. Power for wrestling is indicated in the following anecdote.

A man once easily threw a much larger Blackfoot who had taunted him. He and his party then immediately ran off for home. He had the stronger power for wrestling, despite the Blackfoot's calling on his own power by acting like a buffalo. But the Blackfoot had other strong powers. The Blackfoot called after him that he would live only long enough to see his parents. When the party reached home, the river was in flood. The wrestler saw his parents, and then, jumping into a canoe to go to them, was drowned.

Though individual players had special powers which made them valuable to their teams, gambling was not ordinarily a matter of individual winnings, as in our poker games. The presence of a champion with a strong power strengthened a team's chances, but bets were placed by watchers or players on the success of the favored *team*, not by the individual on his own chances, except of course in games with only two players.

THE HAND GAME

525 The hand-game (ts!la'lEqEm· or stslalEkum) played by the Southern Okanagon is the common western game of lehal. It is believed by the Okanagon to be of great antiquity, and is the only pastime except foot racing which is mentioned in tales of the mythical period "when animals were men."

Two pairs of hiding-sticks were used. They were made from small sticks or bones, about two and a half inches long. One of each pair was plain, all white if of bone, or with the bark left on if small pieces of green wood were used. The second piece of a bone pair was wrapped around the middle with cord or a narrow strip of buckskin, which soon became black and served to distinguish this from the plain piece. In a wooden set, the marked piece had the bark removed in a narrow strip around the middle, leaving a band of lighter color. (These sticks were not designated male and female as elsewhere.)

To play the game, two long poles were laid parallel along the ground or floor, with a space of five or six feet between them. The players, in two teams of equal numbers, ranged themselves opposite each other behind the two poles, kneeling. Ten counters for each side, sharpened sticks about a foot in length, were stuck in the ground in the space between the poles. To begin the game, the two players first in line on one side each took a pair of the bones and, while the others of their side beat with sticks upon the long pole before them and sing a hand-game song (n·tsla'lEq^{EtEn} or k!EnqwEntsö't, person who starts song), the holders quickly shifted the bones back and forth from one hand to the other, concealing their movements as much as possible. They then held their clenched hands out before them, and the first player opposite on the "guessing side" guessed the position of both *unmarked* bones.

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The system of gestures by which he indicated his guess in pointing toward the two holders, was as follows:

Index finger moved to the right	Both plain bones in the opponents' left hands;
Index finger moved to the left	Both in opponents' right hands;
Index finger pointed between the two holders	Both plain bones in opponents' inside hands;
Index finger and thumb spread horizontally	Both plain bones on the outside

Having indicated his guess, the guesser cried out xō!, and the two holders opened their hands to show the bones. If the guesser had indicated the position of both unmarked bones wrongly, his side paid the holding side two counters. If he guessed only one wrong, his side paid one counter. If he guessed both correctly, no counters were paid, but both pairs of bones changed hands and the guesser's side then became the holder's side. Players on both sides took turns on down the line at guessing or holding; the game continued until one side had lost all its counters. This sometimes happened quickly. More often a game lasted for several hours, sometimes even carrying over for two or three days. No individual won in the game. Players and bystanders placed bets on the winning side, or on the total number of counters to be won by either side.

Men and women played together on both sides, men against women, or two teams of men or of women against each other. Women might sing any of the gaming songs, but were not permitted to beat time with sticks on the long poles.

Local bands played against each other at intertribal or interband summer gatherings, bystanders betting on their local teams. At holiday gatherings in modern reservation days, Okanagon teams are often pitted against Nez Percé teams.

Bets were paid formerly in blankets, skins or horses. Often a man would stake and lose all his property on the outcome of a game. Nowadays all gambling is for money.

Songs sung during a hand-game were usually wordless, having definite tune and rhythm but only nonsense syllables. The same situation obtains elsewhere, as on Puget Sound,[3] but no songs were recorded to determine whether these tunes may be similar to those of other groups.

Informants knew that drums were beaten during the hand-game "on the coast," but said that Southern Okanagon did not use them.

The form of the hand game in modern

[1] [For context of footnotes, see p. 187(B), category 116. — Analyst]

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2 Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 277.
3 Culin, *Games*, 321; Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 274.[1]
4 Quoted in Culin, *Games*, 300, 303.[1]

p. 187(A)

*[For footnotes, see p. 187(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The form of the hand game in modern vogue among the Southern Okanagon is practically identical with that found on the Northwest Coast, particularly among the Kwakiutl and the Klallam,[1] except for differences in the gestures used by guessers to indicate the position of the unmarked bones. It is probable that there are also local differences in the signs used by Southern Okanagon. 525 171

A hand-game of somewhat different form is described by Alexander Ross as played on the lower Okanogan River in the early nineteenth century. In this game six players at most played on a side; only one pole for drumming was laid between the teams, and only two bones were used, each party taking one of them. Other features of the game agree with the modern form. The name given by Ross, "tsill-all-a-come," is evidently the ts!le´lEqEm of this account. At the period described by Ross, the gamblers played with arms and bodies naked, but with wrists and hands muffled "with bits of fur or wrapping," to conceal the holders' movements in shifting the bones. Similar wrappings to cover the hands were used by the Thompson Indians.[2] 525 184

DICE GAME

The dice game (mákamáka or mikamikami´n', possibly a Chinook jargon term) was played at any season, but perhaps more often in the winter because there was then more leisure. It was played by two men or two women. Occasionally a man and a woman were opponents. 525

One informant said that beaver-tooth dice of the usual coast type were used; however, straight dice of shaped bone with incised, painted markings seem to have been the common type. The dice were from four to seven inches long, flat and tapering at the ends. Counters for scoring were used, a certain number to each player. The score was taken from the combinations turned up by the dice when they were thrown on a blanket. Methods of scoring given by informants did not entirely agree; it was not determined whether this was due to the informants' faulty information or to local variations.

Two forms of the game were recorded:

1. The first form was explained by Chilowhist Jim. Ten counters (thick sticks of wood six inches in length) were used. These were placed in a pile between the two players. The four bone dice were blank on one side. On the other side (the face), two dice were marked longitudinally by three round incised dots, two by five transverse lines. (The decoration varied.) One of the dotted bones was wrapped around the middle with a thread (in early times with a sinew); this was called the "man." The other three dice were called "women." The incised faces

p. 187(B)

525 of all were made more distinct and effective by filling them with colored paint.[5]

In beginning the game, the first player held the dice in his right fist and threw them forward on the blanket (or ground, if no blanket was used), passing his hand forward and opening the fingers so that the dice slid forward longitudinally. There were six combinations into which the dice might fall to score for the thrower:

Combination	Score	Name of Throw
All dice face up	4	hŏ'lŭ
All dice blank	4	rŭ'xĭkĭn
"Man" face up; 3 "women" blank	5	lĭka'lc
"Man" blank; 3 "women" face up	5	lĭka'lc
2 dotted dice face up; striped blank	4	hŏ'lŭ
2 dotted dice blank; striped, face up	4	xŏĭ'tcŭ

If any one of these combinations were thrown, the player took the proper number of counters from the pile, and threw again. If he threw any other combination, he gave the dice over to his opponent. When all counters were gone from the center pile, each player took his winnings from the opponent's pile. The player gaining all the counters won the game. However, the play could be continued up to any score. For example, if a player had eight counters, his opponent two, and he threw a combination scoring five, he credited himself with the ten counting a game, placed seven counters in the center and kept three toward the second game. In a game played for high stakes, a good horse might be bet for fifty counters to be won.

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171 This form of the dice game, in which one of the four dice is specially marked, and one pair identical, is the same as that described for the Thompson by Teit, who says that it was similarly played by the Northern Okanagon, although in these tribes it was strictly a woman's game.[6] These games, in turn, strongly resemble the woman's dice game reported by Culin for the Blackfoot, where one pair of the bone dice was marked with zigzag lines, and one of the four was wound around with thread and named "the chief." Culin also reports this version for the Twana-Skokomish and Songish, and Gunther finds it so played by the Klallam as a woman's game.[7]

525 2. A woman's dice game described by a woman informant is evidently the simple beaver-tooth game of West Coast women but played with four bone dice of the shape and size described above, instead of with beaver-teeth. Michel described it as primarily a woman's game, sometimes played by men, and with the use of beaver-teeth. All dice are blank on one side. The faces of two of

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[5] Specimens in the Washington State Museum, no. 2-280 a-d.

[6] Teit, quoted by Culin, Games, 157; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 260.

[7] Culin, Games, 56, 157, 158; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 276.

the four pieces are incised with a number of dots, the second pair with a double zigzag pattern (Figure 37). Incisings were formerly filled with charcoal; later with red and yellow clay. Modern pieces are decorated with paint. The dice with the zigzag lines were called mak'ama´k'a. those with dots, xwŭlaxŭ´la. The informant had never heard them designated "male" and "female" as elsewhere.

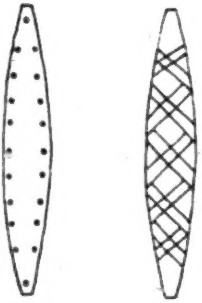

Fig. 37. Women's dice (after native sketch).

To play, two women sat about eight feet apart, with a blanket spread between them. Each player had twenty counters. The players tossed for first throw in the game. Each holding a pair of dice in the right hand, they knelt, placing the left fingertips on the ground. Then they threw the dice on the blanket simulteneously. The player having two faces up won the first play; lined dice won over dotted. In case of a tie, both players threw again. The winner of the first throw then threw all four dice. The method of scoring was given as follows:

A pair of zigzag faces	Wins 4 counters;
A pair of dotted faces	Wins 2 counters;
4 blanks	Wins 4 counters;
4 faces	Wins 4 counters:
3 faces up	Thrower loses turn, but pays no counters.

If two dice fell crossing each other, the thrower lost the game, regardless of counters previously won or lost. Otherwise, the game ended when one player had all of the counters.

In its essential form (the use of two pairs of dice with four scoring combinations) this simple version of the dice game corresponds to that played almost universally by Indian women from Puget Sound to the Klamath. In most groups cited by Culin and others, the two pairs of dice are designated as "male" and "female." The omission of this feature in the Southern Okanagon ac-

525 count may be due to the faulty knowledge of our informant. On the whole, the simple form of the game seems to be more common among western Indians generally than the more complicated form (No. 1. above). However, both types have been definitely recorded for the Makah and Klallam.[8] It is possible that further investigation would reveal the occurrence of both forms in other tribes.

SHINNY

526 Shinny (sk!pŏkŭ′lt'n or spŏ'klam) was an important summer game. Tribal teams made special trips to play it, accompanied by large numbers of spectators who cheered

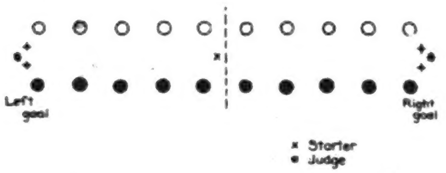

Fig. 38. Diagram of shinny game.

[525] their champions and bet heavily on the outcome of the game. Teams were usually formed by men, but teams of women occasionally travelled from place to place challenging local women players.

The ball for shinny was about the size of an indoor baseball, made of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The stick for striking it was two or three feet long, hooked at one end like a hockey stick. It was made from an unidentified wood (cqûaqan'kI′îp) which was very tough and heavy (and incidentally used for no other purpose). The striking face of the hook and the bottom were flat. In a mêlée the hook could be used for pulling the ball away from other players and its flat surface then used for driving the ball down the field. Each man made his own stick, seldom loaning it to another.

For the playing ground a smooth, level field 150 to 200 yards long was chosen. A goal was marked at each end, either by holes in the ground, two and a half feet in diameter (in which the ball was supposed to lodge) or by two stakes between which the ball was driven. In the latter case, the ball might be driven through either from behind the goal or from the field in front of it. The field had no other definite bounds.

The game commenced with the two teams of ten or twelve men each (one informant said an indefinite number) lined up as diagrammed (Fig. 38), the upper team facing the right goal, the lower the left goal, as most players were right-handed and swung their sticks in the manner of a right-handed golfer. The leader (xatŭ′c) of each team stood at the center of the field. The starter (a neutral), holding the ball, stood between them. The better players of each team lined up just ahead of the leader, to receive the ball first if he succeeded in driving it toward their goal. There was no definite order in the positions taken, most of the players taking places at random. At each end of the field, behind the goal, stood a judge or umpire (cöqû'a′tsûm) authorized to discipline either team for fouling.

The starter began the game in either of two ways. He might throw the ball into the air between the two central men, who then struck it as it fell, or he might place the ball between them and call "go." The two central players then struck at the ball with their sticks, each endeavoring to drive it towards his own men who stood in the direction of the goal at the leader's left. No player was permitted to cross the line of the center of the field until the ball had been driven across it; thus only one-half of each team began the action. As soon as the ball had crossed the center line, all players followed it.

It was not permitted to pick the ball up by hand, although in strenuous playing as the ball approached a goal, it was permissible to push it forward with the hand or the bottom of the foot. In the open field only sticks were used. To pick up the ball, or to strike another player intentionally with a stick constituted a foul, which the judges penalized by ordering the ball returned to the center of the field and the play started over. If the playing became too rough, judges might stop the game, but there were no rules against pushing, holding, even wrestling with a man, to lift him and throw him aside. Minor accidents were frequent and sometimes a player was badly injured. No substitution was allowed during a game, however, and no one stopped playing even when exhausted or hurt. Intermissions were made when the two leaders arranged them; when the players could bathe their wounds and bruises in cold water.

A game was ended when one side made two more goals than the other; these two need not be successive. After a goal the teams exchanged goals and lined up to a new start. As many games were played as the teams desired, usually more than two at a match, often four or five. Bets were arranged before each game; individual players often betting more than the spectators. If stakes were high, a third party was asked to judge whether the two stakes were of even value, to be a witness of the negotiation, and to see that its terms were carried out fairly.

Shinny had not been played much since the coming of the whites, and few Indians now know the game. [177]

The term xatû′c to designate the leader of a shinny team is the same as that designating the leader in the hand-game, or at a salmon trap or a hunt. In this case it does not appear to have the usual implication of a person possessed of special supernatural power.

First choice of goals for shinny was decided between the two leaders. A flat stick was spit upon and then thrown; the players then chose "wet" or "dry" as we choose "heads" or "tails" in tossing a coin. The surface of the stick turning up at the fall decided the choice.[8]

Another method of deciding the choice is described as follows: a stick was thrown from one player to a second who caught and grasped it in one hand. The first player then placed his hand above that of the second on the stick, and so on, mounting rapidly to the top of the stick. The last hand to fit the stick won first choice of goals. If the last person had a secure enough grasp of the stick to throw it over his head, the grip counted as a "hand." This method does not appear to be aboriginal.

HOOP-AND-POLE GAME

The hoop-and-pole game was played by the Southern Okanagon, but it has been obsolete for so long that most informants failed to remember details. Accounts obtained also varied considerably, perhaps because the informants came from different localities. The most complete description was given by an informant of Wenatchi affiliations (Billie Joe) who had travelled a good deal in the north and among neighboring tribes to the west. He described the game as played by Southern Okanagon, but his account may be colored by outside experience.

The hoop was a ring, twelve inches in diameter, with a foundation of a green willow or service berry branch about three-quarters of an inch thick. The outer bark was peeled off and the stick held over a blaze while it was bent slowly into a circle. Each end was whittled to a thin edge and joined with a two inch wrapping of sinew. The entire hoop was then wrapped with a strip of rawhide three-fourths of an inch wide, the edges of the rawhide meeting at each turn of the spiral. Wrapping began and ended at the splicing point on the ring, the last loose end being tucked back under the wrapping to finish. A final wrapping was then made, of wet buckskin strips, one-eighth of an inch wide or narrower, which had been previously stretched. When this outer wrapping dried, the hoop was solid. Clay was never used instead of the wooden base, as by the Sanpoil.[10] The hoop was not decorated or marked in any manner.

Ten poles were usually made to each hoop. They were of unpeeled willow or service berry branches, an inch thick, forked

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8 Culin, *Games*, 197, 155; Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 278.
p.190(A) 9 The rules of the game seem to have been over-formulated by the informant. —
10 Ray, *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*, 127.
11 This seems impossible, else the game would be unending. — L.S. $\frac{1}{1}$
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1 [For context of footnote, see p. 190(B), category 116. — Analyst]

at one end (the handle). The unforked end was sharpened to a point. The pole was also unmarked.

The alley for the game was a space of ground about sixteen feet wide and perhaps one hundred feet long, cleared and levelled. The players (usually six men or six women; never both sexes together) lined up at intervals along the alley, three to a side. Each player had an opponent directly opposite him. All held their poles in readiness. Some players preferred poles three feet in length, others five feet. Those with shorter poles stood further back from the alley, as the shorter pole could be thrown for a greater distance.

Any player might start the game. Standing at either end of the alley, he rolled the hoop down the runway, throwing out and down from the right shoulder. (Left-handed men threw from the left shoulder.) At each throw of the hoop, facing opponents decided which of them should try first to stop the hoop with his pole as it reached their section of the alley. Each player threw as the rolling hoop passed him, until the ring was stopped. The man stopping the hoop with his pole, threw for the next play. If the hoop were not stopped, the thrower walked to the opposite end of the alley and threw again from that point.

For counters, six twelve inch sticks were used, whittled flat and sharpened at one end for sticking in the ground. Two scorers for each side sat at one end of the alley. To score, the sharpened end of the pole must be thrown through the center of the hoop so that it would fall over on the pole and stop. The player making the score then had to call out, "We won one stick. Put a stick in the ground for us;" otherwise the score was not counted. If a player threw his pole and missed, he dropped from the game, and if his side had previously won a point, it became null."[1] If the thrown pole hit the outer edge of the hoop, there was no score but the player might stay in the game. To win, one side must score all the counters.

There was no opportunity for cheating in playing or scoring. Bets were made on the game only when other tribes came to play (?), at which time each side had a "man with power" to assist. These men went off alone before the game and smoked their pipes. During the game they watched and "thought about their power." If one of them thought that his side was losing, he took out his pipe and smoked again to give his people strength. A game was not abandoned if one team knew beforehand that the other side had a more powerful spirit behind it; the doomed players would be "ashamed to back out."

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 190 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Two other informants, one a Northern, one a Southern Okanagon, were less clear in their recollection of the game; but their agreement on a number of points indicates clearly that their reference was to a rather different form of the hoop-and-pole game. Only two people played in this game. The alley was a straight trench dug in the ground. One player rolled the hoop along the trench, while the other attempted to stop it with his pole. The hoop was only three or four inches in diameter: informants were not sure how it was made. Both hoop and pole were marked for the purpose of scoring, the pole with different colored lines and the hoop with corresponding marks on the inner rim. The Southern informant stated that the ring was marked with eight shells or beads, called by numbers, one to eight. The line on the spear and the marker on the hoop touching each other in the fall, determined the score. If the hoop fell so that it lay entirely on the spear, it scored eight points. This indicates that the object of the game was simply to knock the hoop, causing it to fall on the pole, as it would be impossible for the ring to lie entirely on the pole if the spear were thrown so as to pass through the hoop as in the game described above. The systems of scoring also appear to differ: a scoring throw made only one point in the game first described, while in the second the score varied according to the positions assumed by the marked hoop and pole. A further difference is in terminology, but this may be merely a dialectic variation. The name for the game given by the informant with Wenatchi connections was kaqa'tsEla, that given by the Southern Okanagon was sxElqōla$^{x\hat{u}}$.

The game described by the two older informants appears to be quite similar to that played by the Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne and Northern Okanagon, according to Teit."[1]

BALL, BAT, AND HOLE GAME

A "ball, bat and hole" game (skEtsa'pEtsanEm) resembling cricket, was played in the summer months. The ball used was the same as that used for shinny. The bat was flat and widened at the distal end. Four men played this game, two to a side. Two holes were dug in the ground about fifty yards apart. To begin the game, players ranged themselves as shown. The side is designated by the subnumeral, the player by capital letter:

		Goal	Goal		
A_2	A_1	0	0	B_1	B_2

A_1 and B_1 are at bat at the goal holes. A_1 throws the ball to B_1 who must strike at the ball with his bat. If he misses and B_2

[1] [For footnote, see p. 191 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

catches the ball, side 1 loses its turn to bat. If both miss, B_1 throws the ball back to A_1, who attempts to hit it. If B_1 hits the ball at the first throw, however, he and his partner (A_1) exchange goals. It is not necessary for the runner to reach the goal with his foot in this exchange of sides, but simply to come close enough to insert his bat in the hole while still grasping it. Meanwhile opponents on the "out" side (A_2 and B_2) try to hit or touch one of the runners with the ball before he can insert his bat into the hole toward which he is running. It is permissible for the "out" players to throw the ball to one another in this attempt. If side 2 succeeds in thus blocking the exchange of goals, side 1 loses its bat and side 2 comes to bat, side 1 now assuming the "out" positions.

Each successful exchange of goals counted one point for the side at bat. The score was kept with stick counters. For each score made by side 1 a counter was stuck in the ground. When side 2 came to bat, for each score made by them a counter was removed from the tally of side 1 until no counters were left standing; then, for each subsequent score made by side 2 a counter stick was stuck in the ground, and the process repeated. The game ended when one side made a predetermined number of points."[1]

RACING AND WRESTLING

Foot races (sk·ötlaxnEm) were a feature of summer gatherings, with much betting. A fast runner from one band would run against a champion from another locality. Races were always run to a point marked by a tree, a stake, or a rock, around this point and back to the starting place. Occasionally races were run by women, but contestants were more often boys or young unmarried men. Suszen stated that a chief who wanted to furnish amusement would race with a young man. There were no relay races."[1]

Horse races (sënkEtsasqa'x̣a) were run in the same fashion, never more than two riders racing at a time.

Wrestling (cx̣Ux̣tEnw$^{x̣U}$) was engaged in by young men or women. Intertribal champions were always men, wrestling for their group at the summer camps. The combatants embraced each other; each wrestler grasping his own left wrist with his right hand behind the opponent's back. Bets were placed on the contest before the match began, after which the combatants decided how many throws were to win. "Wrestling is play."

In wrestling and racing, the strength of the contestant's power was important. When an able man was defeated, it was be-

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[1] For footnote, see p. 191 (C), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 191 (B)

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1 12 Teit, Thompson Indians, 274; Salishan Tribes, 131.

1 13 The game appears to be a combination of cricket and rounders which were introduced among neighboring Canadian tribes, but the scoring is characteristically native. — L.S.

1 14 For an account of a race, see Religion.

1 [For context of footnotes, see pp.191(A)-191(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 191 (c)

526 778 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlIalEwa´xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played [illegible] opposite corners.[15] Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. [854] Although bark cradles were not used for infants by the Southern Okanagon, little girls sometimes made doll cradles which were small models of the bark cradles used by Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama´pelako woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was- a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (süEnüswaI´nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

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[15] See also ~~Mary Cardee~~'s account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

"who were good at stealing" used buttons, which were difficult to obtain. The object of the buzzer game (papa′mKla) was to see which boy could make the loudest noise by rapidly slackening and drawing taut the string of his toy. Children were told by their elders not to play with the buzzer during the winter, as it was believed that this would make the weather turn cold. Girls did not play the game.

The following games were played by both boys and girls.

The ball-and-pin game (kEtŁōhōpsti′nkūn) was played by children of all ages, but only in winter. The ball was supposed to represent the sun. Older people, who made the sets for children, would warn them to play the game in winter so that the days might go rapidly and bring an early spring. The ball was made of flat rushes or of Indian hemp, rolled into a tight sphere. This was fastened by a hemp cord two feet in length to a two-inch thorn of one of two unidentified bushes (χaχūi′tīp, wa'wa'ankitīp). The object of the game was to see how many times a child could catch the ball on the pin without missing. The first player to miss was given a fillip on the back of the hand by another child, using his middle finger. Adults sometimes amused themselves with this game.

Top spinning may have been aboriginal, but the only tops described were of modern pattern. They were made from pine wood or from a piece of bear's leg bone. Tops were spun mainly on the ice in winter, with contests to see which top would spin longest. They also attempted to split one another's tops.

The sling was considered a child's toy and had no use as a weapon. It was a piece of leather tapered at the ends (measuring five inches by half that in breadth) to which braided Indian hemp cords were tied. One cord terminated in a loop which was slipped over the forefinger, the other in a knot to be held between the thumb and forefinger. The knot was released when the missile, usually a small stone, was thrown.

Children also played ball games.

Boys and girls ran foot races in spring, summer, and fall. A hopping race was a favorite: two boys or two girls tried to see who could hop a certain distance faster, hopping on one leg. The race was always to a marked goal, around it and back to the starting point.

An endurance game (cxanikstun) was played by boys or girls in summer. Two children squatted facing each other, then hopped up and down clapping their hands. When one was exhausted, another of the group would take his place.

A common Indian children's game of "staying sober" was played at any season. A group of children faced one child and attempted by pointing and ridicule to make the child laugh. As soon as a player laughed or smiled he was counted out and another child took his turn at keeping a straight face. 524

SMOKING

Adults, both men and women, smoked alone for pleasure at any time. It was commonly indulged in after the heavy meal of the day. In groups, a pipe was often handed around from person to person, but no ritual was involved; such smoking was purely social. The right to smoke, however, was delayed until after a young man or woman had acquired supernatural powers and had been instructed in a vision to sing at the winter dance. They might then be as young as ten or eleven. After this the smoker invariably used a pipe whenever his special powers were invoked, but he had also the privilege of smoking for his own enjoyment. Some old people with power smoked very early in the morning or late at night while others were asleep, so that no one would walk behind them while they were so occupied. Formerly the same pipe was used for ceremonial smoking and for pleasure. At present cigarettes are smoked at social gatherings. The stone pipe, carefully preserved and carried by every shaman, is restricted almost entirely to ceremonial use. 276

Kinnickinnick (skūlsū'ŧmEn or ckElci't-ŧmilEx) was smoked. Informants stated that it was never used unmixed, but did not remember what was used for the mixture before commercial tobacco became common. The leaves and fruit of the bear-berry (skūlī's) were dried, crushed. and smoked in pipes. A plant called sma'nxū, apparently a species of _Nicotiana_, was formerly abundant and was smoked unmixed. At present it grows only near Riverside. A white root (xacxac) was pounded fine, dried, and mixed with tobacco to make it mild.

Pipe bowls were carved of steatite with thin reed tubes about five inches long set into the side. The specimens seen were small inverted cones or cylindrical in shape. None were carved in animal shapes, and no symbolic meanings were attached to their decoration.

Smoking was a feature of all ceremonies, and ceremonial smoking was esential whenever a shaman paused to "think about his power" during a cure, when the leader of a gambling team wished to give supernatural assistance during a game, or when a hunting leader sought to invoke his special power during an expedition. In no case does there seem to have been any idea of a smoke offering to particular spirits. 276 788

ƚ[For context of these footnotes, see p. 193(B), category 116.--Analyst]

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16 On the construction, see Material Culture. ƚ
17 On this see Religion. ƚ

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around."[1] Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,"[1] it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were separate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 515

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

343 need from the stream first, so as not to be
515 present while the women swam.

The sweat house song was invariable
sung by all who entered the lodge. Each per-
343 son usually prayed also (addressing the
sweat house as ta'tō'pa, greatgrandfather)
515 for additional strength and luck to attain
his desire at the moment, such as success in
783 the hunt or in love. The sweat house was im-
portant for success in gambling. An individual intending to play in any gambling game remained in the sweat house for some time, singing and praying for good luck. Prayers were often improvised to the tune of the sweat house song. After the sweat the gambler was required to take a swim, as this completed the physical cleaning and it was believed that cleanliness brought good luck.

If a woman entered or approached the men's sweat house, its strengthening influence was supposed to be destroyed. When an important issue was at stake, such as a hunt or a session of gambling, several sweats were taken, and women were avoided until after the activity in question was over. Sexual intercourse at such a time, or nocturnal emission, was supposed to counteract the beneficial effect of a number of sweat baths, and to lessen a man's chances of success accordingly. If complete sexual avoidance were observed, a sufficient number of sweat baths previous to a game were supposed to make success inevitable. If a man took forty or fifty sweats before going on a summer gambling trip, it was believed that the sweat house might allow him to lose almost everything he owned, but would eventually give him back all his losses and a great deal more.

p. 194 (A)

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Young children never used the sweat house. There was no ceremony connected with a child's first sweat. He was allowed to join the men in the lodge as soon as it was thought that his physical strength was sufficient.

Contests were engaged in by men to see who could stay in the sudatory for the longest period. Women do not appear to have held similar competitions.

One sweat house song was known to all. It might be sung by men or women. An individual often had an additional sweat house song which had been taught to him by his power.

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Although it is probable that the sweat house was ordinarily no more than a social gathering place for groups of one sex, it was certainly regarded as a spirit which could be propitiated or angered. Any irreverence was promptly punished by the sweat house itself. An illustration of this punishment is the story of J., who, at the age of fifteen, becoming annoyed because he was not able to light the sweat house fire, kicked the stones in the fire-pit, scattering them. Upon returning home he was struck with severe pains and lay ill for a week, until a relative discovered that the illness had been inflicted by the offended sweat house. He cured the boy by the customary shamanistic methods, warning him never again to offend the lodge in any manner. The seriousness with which J., who is half white, now recounts the story, and the care which he still takes to pay reverence before every sweat, is an indication that the sweat house is still sacred.

p.194 (B)

TALES

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[p. 196 is blank]

TALES

THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE'[1]

*539 In the beginning, as in the Bible, God created the world, and created animals. He made laws for the animals. He said, "I'm going to leave. In one year, I will come back. I will give you a law if you will all not think in your own thinking. I've given you laws for one year; I'm going to make a human next time I come. If all you creatures think in your own thinking, you are going to be lost."

The creatures scattered and learned from God. The scattered creatures knew what each other thought. Finally the creatures knew that it is time to meet God again. The creatures said, "We know enough from God, but tomorrow there will be a person-to-be [human] in charge of us." Finally in the evening, the one we call Coyote thought a while, "I am smarter than all the other creatures. Whoever gets the first name of the creatures, he will be the leader of all; he who gets the last name will be worthless. That is the law God gave and left for one year."

Finally it is the evening before the meeting and Coyote thinks, "I am the smartest creature. I am going to run and get the first name." He had forgotten the law and was thinking with his own mind. He thinks, "I won't sleep tonight. I will be ready to run in the early morning and be the first man to get a name."

At midnight, he was sleepy. He walked around, and about morning he was awfully sleepy. He was thinking wrong and was going to lose the person. Coyote had learned that when his eyes closed, he would sleep. He thought, "How can I keep my eyes open all the time?" He put little sticks across his eyes to keep them open all the time. He did that and thought, "Now I can sit by a tree. I can't sleep because my eyes are open. I will be first to meet God."

Towards morning, he went to sleep with his eyes open. About noon, he awakened. He felt the sun and was blind from the sun in his open eyes. About nine in the morning, the creatures had met. God named them all. Then, God said, "That is all of you creatures?" "No," they said, "one is not here." "There is one name left. When he comes that is his name."

Blue Jay said, "I don't like my name. I

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[1] [see p. 197 (c). --Analyst]

*531 want to be Eagle." Meadow Lark said, "I don't like my name. I want to be Grouse." God said, "No, it is already done."

Coyote woke up and could not see anything. His eyes were dry. He crawled around a while. He heard a noise and thought it was water. He thought he would wet his eyes. He crawled there, washed his eyes, and saw again. He looked up. It was afternoon. He thought, "Now I will be a worthless creature." He started running to the meeting place. God knew about it. When he got there, he saw all the creatures sitting in a circle and he saw God too. He said, "Have you named all these creatures?" God said, "Yes, I named them all. There is one name left. That is yours now." Coyote said, "What is the name?" God said, "It is Coyote (sinkEli'p)." Coyote said, "I don't like that name Coyote myself." He looked at Grizzly Bear. "What is the name of this big creature?" God said, "That is Grizzly Bear." Coyote said, "Well, let's change names with him. He is big. I'm too small. Let me have the Grizzly Bear name." God said, "No, it is too late now. I named them. You are Coyote." He looked again. "What is this big creature's name?" God said, "That is Cougar." "Well, let me be Cougar, and him Coyote." God said, "No, it is too late. I named them already." He looked at Wolf. "What is the name of this big creature?" God said, "That is Wolf." "Let's trade names with him." God said, "No, it is too late. I named them once. You know I'm God. I do things once. That is all. I am the only one to create. Once is all. There is no change. All you creatures know, last year I gave you the law not to think your own thoughts until I gave you a person [human] to be in charge of you. But today you missed that law. You lost the person today. Now you will be without a leader for years and years. You must take care of yourselves."

God took an object from under his blanket on the right side. He said, "I gave you laws last year, and now three of you missed that law: Blue Jay, Meadow Lark, and Coyote missed it. Now you lost the person. He isn't going to be made today. I'm going to put it in water to be washed for years to get it clean. You creatures made it dirty with your own thinking." He put it in water. It swam and God named the person Beaver.

God said, "You missed that law and lost the person, I have hidden it in the water to

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1 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.). The initials of the collector of the tale follow the name of the narrator throughout.

P. 197 (c)

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be washed for the future. There are two laws yet; you missed the first today. I'm going to explain. If one of you keeps smart and strong, he will get the beaver from the water and scatter it over all the land. He will come up and be a person. I'm giving all my power to one of you who will be good from now on. That is all. I'm going back. Remember this. Divide the beaver in twelve pieces. It is flesh. Scatter it in a certain country and give it your own breath, because I have given all my breath and power to you. Wake him up and give him half of your power and tell him what to do. That is all. There are three laws. There is another yet."

The creatures scattered and they could not meet again until they took the beaver from the water. Coyote watched Grizzly Bear and went around in another direction. He met Grizzly and asked three times to trade names with him. Grizzly got angry and tried to kill Coyote. God came and said, "Go, Grizzly, I want to talk to Coyote."

Grizzly walked away. God said, "You think you are smart, Coyote. You lost the person yesterday. I know. You know I am God. I said, 'The last name will be worthless.' That is not so. I turn the law over. You are to be head of all the creatures. I will tell you the laws, Coyote. You are a power just like me now. From now, all creatures will become bad. They will fight and eat each other. You have to work from today until I meet you in this land toward the east. When you have finished, we will meet. If you tell the truth, then you can make the person. If you've done wrong, someone else can make the person instead of you."

God took the little book. "I give you this. I am thinking for you in your heart. Just think when you don't know and you will find out. That is my power. I will get you help to watch you from today. Fox (xaRE´lx) is the witness. When you die Fox will wake you up. That is all."

They all go. Later Coyote hears that others are doing wrong. He dies in one place two or three times. Fox wakes him up. People do wrong everywhere. The mountains swallowed the creatures; the wind blew them away. Coyote rescued the creatures. He stopped everything in the world: sun, moon, wind, rivers, mountains, whenever they did wrong. North Wind kills many in the winter. Coyote said, "You can only kill those who make fun of you."

Coyote kept everything peaceful. Coyote finally knew that he had finished his work. He knew that it was time to meet God again at a certain time and place. He thought, "God won't know what I have been doing. I think I am stronger than he." Coyote is wrong again. He went towards the east. He thought, "I'm going to say to God, 'Hello, youngest brother.'"

God knows his thoughts. Coyote thought,

"I will see God today at nine in the morning." He sees God standing there. Coyote said, "Hello, my youngest brother. I haven't seen you for a long time. I'm glad to meet you again." God said, "I'm not youngest brother. I'm God." Coyote said, "Your name is God, but you are my youngest brother." God said, "No, I'm not youngest brother. You know I am God." They said this three times. Then Coyote said, "When our old folks lived over there, I carried you around because you were small and I am oldest. You don't know."

God took out two white eagle feathers and handed them to Coyote. God said, "If what you say is true, you can move that hill over there." Coyote said, "You little feathers, make mountains move over here." [Narrator stood and depicted Coyote holding feathers in outstretched hands and moving them to right.] The hills moved. Coyote said, "See, I am the oldest brother. You are the youngest." God said, "You have got to move it three times. That is the law." Coyote could not move them the second time and he knew that he had lost the humans again. He was scared and did not know what to say. God said, "I am God. I gave you all my power to do things easy. This is the second time you have missed the laws and lost the humans. Other creatures will make it now. I'm going to give you a place to stay. Let the other smart creatures make humans. You can go to the ocean. I'm going to give you a place to stay all the time." Coyote was scared and thought he would drown. He said, "Not everybody can walk on water." God said, "Go or that is the end of you today."

Three times Coyote stepped on the water and knew that he would not drown in the waves. He thinks that only he can walk on water, and that he is smart and strong and knows everything. He believes he can not die. He went way out in the ocean without seeing land. Finally he saw God standing there. All the creatures know that Coyote was going to meet God this day. All had power from God and all could listen. All know that Coyote had lost the person a second time.

Coyote was not on the land now. God said, "This is going to be your house, your place; right here." Coyote saw a house, well fixed like a king's palace, with a sidewalk all around it. He went in. In the west side hung a black suit of clothes; toward the east hung a suit all white. God said, "Coyote, wear this black for so many months. It is going to be cold and wintry. Then take it off and wear white clothes. That will be summer and everything will grow. In the morning, you can eat. You wish and you will see whatever you want. You can eat it all till I see you again. Now I am going to give you my power not to get old. You will think it is only a minute before we meet. There will be humans on the land where you used to be. You decided the laws and you lost. Laws will be different now." God established his home far from the water. All the creatures on land could hear and knew about Coyote. Coyote stayed there.

After that, the four wolf brothers were the smartest creatures. Youngest Brother was the smartest. The oldest brother was worthless. Finally God made Youngest Brother get Beaver from the water. One morning the oldest brother said to Youngest Brother, "I want you to kill the beaver. I want his tooth for a knife." The other brothers said, "No, the beaver is big and strong."

Youngest Brother said to his brothers, "You can make spears; a four prong spear for the oldest, then a three prong spear, a two prong spear, and a one prong spear for me. I will try my best so that we kill the beaver." All the creatures knew where the beaver was, under the water and under Moses Mountain. Under the lake at Nespelem was the beaver. Little ones swam around making a home for the head beaver.

While the brothers were preparing the spears, the two brothers were afraid that they would lose their youngest brother. All the creatures were afraid that he would fail in catching the beaver, the to-be-person.

At dusk, they tore down the dam and all the little beavers ran out. Then the big beavers ran out. The big wolf said, "Watch out! There are the ones." Near midnight, they started to come out: it sounded like thunder. Big Brother said, "Let's quit and not try to kill them." Youngest Brother said, "No, this is my business." The three brothers fell down. There was lightning. Youngest Brother took the four prong spear and struck with it; it shattered; the three prong spear broke; the two prong broke. He took his own one prong spear and struck: it did not break. He followed the beaver down the Columbia River. He said to his brothers, "You go to Moses Mountain, and in three days if you see a trough at Skutene hill (near White Bluffs) I will come there with the beaver. If not, I am dead."

The beaver went down the river. The three brothers stayed there three days until they saw the trough at Skutene. The two brothers said, "He is alive." The oldest began to cry, " I think that hill is open." The two said, to make fun of him,"Keep quiet. It isn't so." He cried again. They told him, "Yes." They go to Nespelem Creek and level a place where they are going to meet. All the creatures came back to this place.

Wolf comes carrying the beaver. He said, "I'm going to tell a story before I cut this beaver. It takes me down the Columbia. The big mountains say, 'Hold on to me. You are going to get killed.' A plant and another plant said, 'Hold on to me.' I tried to hold on to everything. It did not help me. First I held a handful of the plants as we went by and stopped the beaver a little;

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2 Told by Michel Brooks (R.C.).

then I took an armful and pretty nearly stopped the beaver; finally I held on to everything and stopped the beaver." Finally Wolf saw the plants. He threw the hops over the earth and the horse tails [Equisetum] in the earth. The beaver died. He put hops on the beaver. He said, "I paid the beaver the plants to save my life."

He butchered the beaver. He said to the creatures, "You know God said to cut the beaver into twelve pieces." He cut the pieces and could make only eleven. He had missed one. But it was not his fault; that belonged to God. "Fox, you are a good runner; Humming Bird, you can go fast, and you, Horse Fly, you take this piece over to that place. When you get there, give it your breath to wake it up."

The three took it to the place and give it breath and the piece of beaver became a person. Wolf said, "Horse Fly, if the person should have blood poison, put in your nose and draw it all out."

They scattered the parts everywhere. There is the Methow tribe; it was the heart. The Nez Percé are the liver, which was black. The Blackfoot people had no person, because there were only eleven pieces. All the creatures said, "There have to be twelve tribes." Wolf said, "That is not our business. Maybe God thinks we will use the blood for another tribe. Take the blood to the Blackfoot land and wake it up there. They look for blood always." They took the blood there and woke it up. That is why Blackfoot fought from that time.

When they woke it up, they told the humans, "Here are roots; salmon to spear; berries to pick. This is food." They told them how to eat. Finally the creatures said, "Some human should go to Lake Chelan. In the middle you will see pictures on the rock. You look and see how you should do." God had put the pictures there. From then until now, people go there and look at pictures of salmon traps and bow and arrows. People make these just like the pictures. People still learn from the rock. (The pictures are red.)

THE NAMING OF THE ANIMALS[1]
(SECOND VERSION)

There was once a chief. He called all his people together because he wanted to give them each a name. They all gathered. By the time the day was over, the people were all there. The chief told the people, "Early in the morning you all come in my house, so I can give each one of you a name.

Coyote got there that day when the people all gathered. He thought to himself that he would be the first to get the best name. He thought to himself, "I'm not go-

[1] [See p. 199(A). -- Analyst]

*5 39

ing to sleep tonight, so I can be the first one to be given a name." He took a stick and drove it into the ground, so that he could sleep against it, and if he fell over, he would wake again. He was sleeping, leaning against the stick, and he woke up again. He found out that he woke up by himself; he would not fall over so he could wake up again [?]. Coyote thought to himself: "I know how to keep my eyes open!" So he took some sticks, and he opened his eyes wide, and braced them with the sticks to keep them open so he would not go to sleep. But he went to sleep and slept all night. The chief knew all the time what Coyote was thinking about, and just by his power he made Coyote sleep.

The people got up early and they went in there to get their names. When they came out, they saw Coyote lying there with his eyes propped open although he was sleeping. And as soon as each animal was given a name, the chief told it where to live. For instance, the chief told the grizzly, "You go way up in the mountains: that will be your country, and your name will be kōla´ōna." And the brown bear, the chief told him, "You go up in the mountains to live and that will be your country, and your name will be skum'χi´st, bear." And the cougar: "You go up in the hills too, and your name will be sȟwax." And the chief said to the deer, "You go up in the mountains; that will be your country, and your name will be skɫa'tsī´nm." And the chief told the wolf to go up in the mountains to live, and his name would be n·tsōī´tan. And the chief said, "Lynx, you go up in the mountains and your name will be wa´pōpxn." And all the fish and the birds, he gave each one of them a name, and he gave all the trees a name, and all the plants. As soon as he gave them a name they all came out of the house. The birds and animals were all given names when Coyote woke up. His eyes were still propped open.

Then he thought about the name that he was going to get, and he went into the house. Nobody was there but the chief. He walked up to the chief and told him, "My name will be Grizzly Bear." The chief told him, "That name is given away already." Then he told the chief, "My name will be Wolf." And the chief told him, "That name is given away already." And then he stood there a while and then he said, "I will be called Cougar." Then the chief told him, "You'd better not say any more, because the names are all given away and I have just one name left here, and that is Coyote. That will be your name." Then Coyote said, "I don't want that name." But the chief said, "That is the only name there is left, and you have got to take it. You'd better take that name, because then I will help you get power, and nothing will be hard for you." So Coyote said, "Oh, all right then, I'll take that name." The chief said, "And I will give you the power, which will be in your stomach."

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3 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

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Coyote walked out of the house and went along. Whenever he would be going along and become frightened that something was going to kill him, he tried his power and it helped him. Then of course Coyote thought he was quite the smartest. And so I came back.

COYOTE DESTROYS NORTH WIND'S HOUSE[1]
(FIRST VERSION)

Once North Wind was building a sweathouse. Coyote came over there and saw the rocks piled up. They were all hot. When he got close, North Wind would turn his face, and Coyote saw there were nothing but icicles down his face. North Wind just wanted to get rid of Coyote: that he why he was preparing that house; he was not really going to sweat. Coyote came up to him and said, "I'm glad you're going to sweat. I was just wishing I could sweat." Coyote tried to talk to North Wind, but North Wind would not answer, even though Coyote called him friend and similar terms. Finally Coyote thought, "Maybe he isn't going to sweat. I'll walk away." So he walked away, but at last he turned around and came back. He thought, "Maybe North Wind has already gone into the sweathouse. I'll just go right in." Coyote said to him, "You're just poking the fire with that stick. Why don't you hurry and go in?" Finally Coyote took off his clothes and went in. Then North Wind threw all the hot rocks in the pit inside and covered the door, so that Coyote died in there. He was suffocated to death. Then North Wind went in and took him out, and went away.

Coyote was lying there dead when Fox came by. Coyote told him, "Oh, you've come along to bother me. I was sleeping. You always come along and bother me." Fox said, "Oh, I guess you were sleeping. You were dead when I came along." They could not see any sweathouse. It just looked level where they were. Then Fox told him, "You thought you were clever, and there you were sweating with North Wind. He has no mercy on anybody. He'll kill just anybody. That's just like you, you Coyote."

Then Coyote got angry, and thought, "I'll fix that; I'll get rid of them." Then he started calling his power. He told it, "You better help me get rid of the North Winds. I'm angry at them." His power told him, "All right; I'll help you. You go in there where his wife is, and call her by name, saying 'Hello, xixwaiEnstĕ´lüxs.' Mention her husband's name, and call him brother-in-law, and ask where he is. There's a little boy there, too. Say to him, 'Hello, nephew.' I'll be nothing but heat."

Coyote went and did this. North Wind's wife wondered why Coyote came, because people never came in there. Coyote lay on his back and said, "My, but it's hot in here. I'm sweating. It's just like a sweathouse in here." Of course, his power was helping him.

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[1] [See p. 200(A). -- Analyst]

Not long after he lay down, the house started dripping. It was nothing but ice and it started melting everywhere. North Wind's wife thought, "It's funny; the house never acted this way before. It never did get hot before, and now it has gotten hot." It kept on dripping; getting worse and worse. It was just about to collapse when Coyote ran out and told her, "I'm going to leave you people. Your house is too hot." He stood outside while their house kept tumbling down. He said, "You are not going to kill people in the years to come when humans come into the world. Only once in a while when they have not enough clothes, you're going to kill them." He just killed the mother and son, and not the man. That man is what we call the north wind today.

COYOTE DESTROYS NORTH WIND'S HOUSE[4]
(SECOND VERSION)

Coyote was going along when he saw a man who had a fire and a sweat house. So he went over there and saw a very nice looking man. He talked to him, but this man would not reply at all. Coyote told him, "I'm glad that you're making a sweat house, so we can both have a sweat." But this man paid no attention to him. The man took off his clothes and went into the sweat house. Coyote thought that he would kill this man and take his clothes away. Coyote looked for a piece of hard wood. He stood beside the sweat house door. When the man started to come out, Coyote hit him with the hardwood stick on the back of the head or neck , and thought he had killed him. Coyote thought he was dead, and took his clothes away from him. So he threw away his own clothes right there, and put on this fellow's clothes, and Oh! he had fine clothes. Coyote was awfully glad that he had fine clothes.

The man lay there till he came back to life. He got up and found his clothes were gone. He started to follow Coyote. He followed Coyote until he caught up to him. He was the North Wind (clx̣amó´c). The clothes that Coyote took were all made of ice. All at once a breeze hit Coyote's clothes and they made a noise. He was glad and proud of his clothes. He had not gone very far till he started getting cold. Finally Coyote froze to death and he fell down. Then North Wind took all his clothes off Coyote and put them back on himself: then he went on.

Fox was going along when he discovered that his partner had frozen to death. So Fox stepped over Coyote and he came to life. When Coyote came to life, he looked at Fox, saying, "Fox, you're no good. Every time I go to sleep, you come and wake me up." Coyote had forgotten all that he had done just before he died, and what killed him. Fox told him, "You came to North Wind when he was sweating, and you took his clothes, and

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4 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).
5 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

539A

he followed you and killed you." Fox told Coyote, "You'd better go after your clothes; they are there where you first saw North Wind."

[That is all that Michel knows of this story.]

THE CONTEST OF THE WINDS[1]

The North Wind was one of four brothers; the South Wind was one of four brothers. The world was divided, one half ice, the other half summer. The North Wind had a house in the ice and the South Wind had a house in the summer. These houses were one hundred yards apart. The North Wind and his brothers always went north from there to kill people, to freeze them. (There were "laws" then, but no people.)

The North Wind thought, "We're going to gamble with the South Wind. Let's have a wrestling match with South Wind."

South Wind had a relation, Crane, and another, sta´łmtq^{we} (an insect like a grasshopper which lives near water). South Wind's youngest brother was married to a woman way down south. North Wind had only one relation, sk!ōkōmin'a (a small black bird living near the river).

Next morning, North Wind decided, "We don't have to tell them. We'll do this." Early in the morning at sunrise, North Wind's oldest brother went out and hollered, "Weeeeeewah." South Wind knew. "He wants me to gamble." He said, "All right. When?" North Wind said, "In just a little while. Get ready. We'll go down river to the slippery ice to wrestle." South Wind said, "All right."

North Wind wanted to kill South Wind so he could take the whole world. He wanted to kill all the humans when they came.

In a little while, all went down to the ice: the four South Wind brothers, Crane, and Insect. The youngest brother's wife stayed home because she was going to have a baby. North Wind said, "Well, we oldest brothers will wrestle today. We will bet that if you win, there will be no more north time [winter]; if we win, no more summer. It will be cold whenever we want." South Wind said, "All right."

Now they started wrestling. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down on that slick ice and smashed all to pieces: he was dead. Then the three brothers went back.

Next morning at sunrise, North Wind went out and cried, "Weeeeeewah." He was ready to gamble again. South Wind said, "All right. We will get ready." They all went down to the ice at the same place. They wrestled again; the South Wind's second brother against the North Wind's oldest brother. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. Now there were just two South Wind brothers left, for two were dead already.

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[1] [See p. 201(A). --Analyst]

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Next morning at sunrise, North Wind hollered, "Weeeeeewah." South Wind said, "All right. We will get ready." They went to the wrestling place and wrestled. South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. Just the youngest South Wind brother, who was married, was left now.

In the evening, the youngest South Wind brother decided he was going to die the next day and he knew his wife was going to have a baby. He made a small bow and arrow, tied them together, and hung them way up in the house. He made a camas digging stick and hung it on the other side of the house. He said to Crane and Insect, "Tomorrow I'm going to die. She can stay with you. If the baby is a boy, you make him strong and bring him back here to wrestle. If it's a girl, you don't have to come back here to wrestle against North Wind." He said to Crane and Insect, "Watch this bow and arrow and the stick. When the baby is born, if it is a girl, the stick will drop and you will know it is a girl. If the bow and arrow drop, you will know it's a boy." Crane and Insect said, "All right. We will watch that." South Wind said, "Tomorrow, I have to die. My wife shall go where she belongs way down south."

Next morning at the same time North Wind hollered, "Weeeeeewah." South Wind answered, "All right. I will get ready." They all went to the wrestling place on that slick ice. In two or three rounds, South Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. There were no more South Winds.

The same evening his wife went where she belonged in the south. Crane and Insect stayed there where they belonged; just the two. The same day it became cold where they were, where it used to be summer. The cold kept moving far to the south. Crane and Insect stayed there in that house.

Whenever North Wind's relative, Sk!ökōmIn'a, evacuated he had nothing to clean himself with, so he went to Crane and Insect. Sk!ökōmIn'a took Insect's head to clean himself. Crane sat with his legs stretched out before him and Sk!ökōmIn'a cleaned himself on Crane's legs.

It was cold. All the creatures, frozen and hungry, called a meeting. "Let's make laws." They had to get some power to make warmth in the winter. All the creatures said, "All right. What shall we do?" They decided for a while. "Let's sing a song for summer. We will get something to eat." First one creature sang and all followed him; singing for it to get warm, for the snow to go away, and for something edible to grow. North Wind was glad because all the creatures were scared. They sang over night, or

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maybe a few hours, and it did not get warmer. The first creature stopped. Others tried. No one could make it warmer, except Duck who, with his wife, makes a hole in the ice. Others said to him, "Duck, you had better come out here. You just sit there, always warm."

Next day, Duck sang, "xat xnt tüm tüm map'm, xant sant tüm töm map'm." All the creatures were angry and said, "Shut up. You can't make spring." He sang, "xnt xnt tüm töm map'm." In a little while, the sunshine came and melted the ice where he was singing. The others could not believe it, but they all sang his song, "xRnt xRnt tüm töm ma´pām." Soon they see the ice where they are,melted; it is warmer. They all believe and sing his song to help him get more power in his song. The next morning, there is no ice on the hillside. They all went to get something to eat. All believe in Duck and his wife; that they can make the power for spring.

Nine months after the contest when the South Wind had died, Crane is lying about; just sitting in one place, hungry, cold and weak, and unable to work. Insect brings in food and wood for the fire. Finally in the morning, Crane sees the bow and arrow fall down. He said, "kööREt, kööREt, kööREt. The bow and arrow drop now." Insect quickly ran into the house and said, "Maybe, you touched it and made it drop down." Crane said, "No, I was sitting right here. It dropped down. We have a boy now." Both said, "We have a nephew now."

North Wind heard the loud shout. He sent Sk!ökömIn'a to find out about it. He said, "What were you hollering loud for?" Crane said, "Oh, I'm cold and hungry." Insect said the same thing. They did not tell about the boy way down south.

Well, that woman had a baby boy. She put him in cold water every little while to make him strong. In a few years, he was a grown man and strong. He swam in cold water every little while to make himself stronger. His mother told him, "North Wind killed your father in wrestling."

After a while he said, "I'm strong enough now. I think I will go up there to wrestle with North Wind. I think I am a strong man now. I can't do any more now." He asked his mother. She said, "All right. Let's go." They went north to meet the North Wind brothers and Crane and Insect at his father's place. All the creatures knew he was coming but their power blinded North Wind so he did not know.

He got there late in the evening. Nobody knew him when he got there. He saw his aunt and uncle there looking awfully poor. Crane's legs were dirty. He asked, "What is wrong with your legs? They look as though somebody has been sitting there." Crane said, "That is Sk!ökömIn'a. He does that."

Young South Wind ground some obsidian and put it on Crane's legs and on Insect's

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head. Young South Wind hid himself in the house then. Early in the morning, Sk!ōkōmIn'a came there to clean himself. Sk!ōkōmIn'a cleaned himself on Insect's head. It cut him; made him bleed. He said, "Oh, why don't you wash your head?" She said, "I haven't got time. It's cold." Sk!ōkōmIn'a jumped on Crane's legs and it was worse. Sk!ōkōmIn'a ran home, crying loud. North Wind said, "What is the matter with you?" "Oh, I got hurt. Look here. I'm bleeding all over." The North Wind brothers told him, "We told you not to go there and do that all the time. They have power. Now they have caught you. Now you are bleeding all over."

They did not know Young South Wind was there, but all the creatures knew. They were all against the North Wind because he was chief and made cold. All the creatures knew that they had a boy to help them. If he won, everything would be all right; if he should lose, there would be no springtime, but cold forever.

Early in the morning South Wind Boy got up. He said to Insect, "You'd better boil some dried salmon head. Keep it hot all the time. When Sk!ōkōmIn'a gets cold water to pour under my feet to make it slippery so I will fall down; when he calls, 'Insect, you go ahead. Pour first,' don't heed him. Just keep your soup there."

Crane went out and called, "Weeeewah." North Wind said, "He wants to gamble now. All right. We will get ready. We will be at the wrestling place." Crane said, "We will be there." North Wind thinks that Crane wants to wrestle. [Much laughter from Indian auditors.]

They all went down. Crane said, "Sk!ōkōmIn'a, you must get water to pour under the wrestlers to make it slippery." North Wind said, "We will get ready for the soup [?]."

They go to the place. North Wind saw this well-built boy, with muscles all over his body. Oldest North Wind was scared a bit. They wrestled. North Wind did his best, but for a while he could not do anything. Then North Wind slipped to his knees and almost fell, but South Wind Boy did not. Sk!ōkōmIn'a was scared and poured the water to make it slippery. Then Insect poured the soup so that South Wind Boy could stand up. Oldest North Wind fell down, smashed all to pieces, and died. That same day, it got warmer; the ice melted in places. Only one North Wind brother was dead, but it was warmer. It was going to be spring pretty soon.

Crane and Insect had much to eat because South Wind Boy brought plenty to them. Next morning Crane called, "Weeeeewah. Get ready." North Wind was crying. He knew they were all going to die, but he said, "All right." He could not give up now.

They went down to the wrestling place again. Sk!ōkōmIn'a was scared and poured

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the cold water first; then Insect poured the soup. South Wind Boy knocked down the second North Wind brother: he smashed all to pieces, and died. It was getting warmer. Snow melted on the hill side.

Next morning, Crane hollered, "Weeeewah, get ready." North Wind said, "All right, we're ready."

They all went down to the wrestling place with its slippery ice to wrestle. South Wind Boy was strong. North Wind almost fell down. Sk!ökōmIn'a got scared and poured water at South Wind Boy's feet. Insect poured the soup. South Wind Boy knocked down North Wind, smashed him to pieces, and he died. There was one more North Wind brother yet. It became warmer: more snow melted on the side hills. All the creatures went there looking for something to eat. All were wishing for South Wind Boy to win because his father and father's brothers were all killed the year before. All were against the North Wind brothers.

Early next morning, Crane hollered, "Weeeewah, North Wind. Get ready at the wrestling place." North Wind said, "All right. We will be there." They wrestled for a long time. Youngest Brother North Wind was strong; both were about the same. Sometimes one almost fell down, then the other. Sk!ökōmIn'a told Insect, "Go ahead. Pour your salmon head soup first." "No, you go ahead. Your uncle almost fell down then." They talked a long time. Finally Sk!ökōmIn'a got scared and threw the water. Insect poured the soup. North Wind fell down, smashed to pieces, and died. That was the end of him; there were no more North Winds.

South Wind Boy took his club to kill Sk!ökōmIn'a too. Sk!ökōmIn'a ran on the ice: he knew how. Pretty soon the ice cracked. He fell in and did not come up. South Wind Boy said, "That's all right. You follow the cold places now. You will be in the cold all the time from now on. If you get in warm places, you will get sick. You will always be in the cold forever."

Coming back to the wrestling place, he said, "All you North Wind brothers are dead now, but I don't kill you forever. When people come, they have to have winter. You shall bring the winter, but not too cold. I will bring the summer and warmth. You don't have to kill all the people. You can freeze those people that make fun of you. You must not kill people who know the laws and don't make fun of you."

Now spring began. In a few weeks lots of green things came up; the salmon ran, and everything came. Then certain cold months came for the North Wind. That was the beginning: so it has always been till now. (That is why some persons get power from South Wind. Some creature tells a man, "I know South Wind. If you wish power from South Wind, I will tell you how to make snow go away." In the same way other people get power from North Wind if they want cold.)

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YOUNGEST WOLF BROTHER AND BIG DEER[6]
(FIRST VERSION)

One time Wolf heard about the deer inside a mountain all the time with other creatures. Deer was chief inside the mountain. The other creatures came out sometimes, but Big Deer stayed in there all the time. The oldest wolf said, "I want that Big Deer. I'd better kill the Big Deer. I need the horns." The other wolves told him not to say that. "Maybe our brother will get killed."

Youngest Brother said, "All right. I will kill the deer but I must hold a big singing tonight for deep snow. We need that to stop him." "Well," he said to his brothers, "Get some dry wood, pine, to have a fire all night." They got lots of wood and put it inside his house. The house had eight sections and it had four fires. Wolf had made this house for the future going-to-be-people [i.e., humans].

In the night, he sang a song for snow. Far late in the night, he said to his oldest brother, "You'd better go out and see if there is snow." Oldest Brother went out and saw heavy snow, pretty nearly to his knees. [The narrator stood and touched his knees with the inner edge of his hands to measure it.] He went back.

Youngest Brother asked, "Has it snowed?" Oldest Brother said, "Oh, a little." "How deep is it?" "Oh, about to my foot." He told a lie, because he wanted to be sure of a lot of snow.

Youngest Brother said, "You look until snow is as deep as your waist." They all sang songs together. In a little while he sent Oldest Brother out to look again. When he came back, Youngest Brother said, "How deep is the snow?" He said, "Oh, about up to my hips [thighs?]." [Suszen measured it.] But it was really already to his waist. They said, "All right" and sang again.

In a little while, they sent him out again to look at the snow. He came back. Youngest Brother said, "How deep is it now?" He said, "Pretty nearly," but really only his head could stick out. In a little while, they sent him out again. He found snow over his head. He went back. Youngest Brother said, "How deep now? Is it enough?" "No, not yet." Youngest Brother thought, "Inside we can hear heavy snow through the tule walls. Mayte he lies." He sent the next to the youngest brother out to see. He got outside and could not see anything. He could only reach out his hand. He went back and said, "The snow is way over my head."

Oldest Brother said, "Maybe it all fell at once after I came back." Youngest Brother

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[6] Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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*539 knew he told a lie. He said, "We stop this song. Now we must wish for rain." He sent his oldest brother to see if the snow had settled to the waist. The snow was down to his armpits. He came in and lied again. Three times he lied. The next to the youngest brother went out then. He came back and said, "It is just what we want." "Well," the youngest brother said, "We'll change our song and wish the snow to freeze."

He sent Oldest Brother out to see. He came back and said, "It is cloudy and raining yet," but it was really clear. Youngest Brother said, "We don't want it frozen too hard, just enough to run on yet not break through." "All right. I will watch that."

They sent him out again. He tried to run on the snow and it broke. If he had walked, it would have been all right. He lied again. The next to the youngest brother went out and came back. He said, "It is just right."

It was towards morning. Youngest Brother said, "We'll stop singing now. All of you three can go look for spŭkĕlmI´kp. (This is the wood used for spear handles.) Get four sticks for each of us; each stick as tall as we are, all even and two inches thick." About morning they came back with the sticks, but the brothers did not know what the sticks are going to be used for.

Youngest Brother says, "We are going to make shoes to walk on top of deep snow when hunting or travelling." Now he began making snowshoes for the four of them. He cut bear hides for string. He did not finish until evening. A round snowshoe (cIrwI´xwaxĕn) was made for the oldest brother so he would not stumble. The others all had fast snowshoes (I´tctŭ). The oldest was lazy and did not know anything. He would have fallen down on fast snowshoes.

The four brothers went to the mountain. When they got there, Youngest Brother opened the door to the mountain. All the creatures ran out frightened. Early in the morning, Big Deer came out and jumped in one jump from that mountain to another. Youngest Wolf jumped after him. They jumped everywhere and finally got tired. Near Kettle River, Deer stepped in some clay and Wolf was close behind him: the tracks are still there.

Finally they came near Brewster. Wolf is a little behind; Deer goes fast. Wolf is about one half mile behind. They are running now and not jumping any more. Deer saw a tule house where somebody camped. He went in. As soon as he got in, the old man there said, "Hello, my son-in-law. You come now." The old man had two daughters.

The Deer said, "I want you to help me, save my life. Wolf is going to kill me."

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Old Man said, "Bring that canoe here." He put Deer underneath the canoe and put blankets of bear hide, beaver, and deer over it. They hid him well, before Wolf ran in. After he hid Deer, Old Man took his gloves and threw them across the river to an island, where they turned into a deer.

Wolf ran in and said, "Did you see Deer?" Old Man said, "No, I'm blind. I can't see far. I am fixing a spear here for fish." "Well, his tracks come here." "Well, I haven't seen him. Maybe he went somewhere else." Wolf says, "I saw his tracks come here." "Maybe he did. I'm working. Maybe he went out again. Maybe he swam across the river."

Wolf went out. He says, "Sure, Old Man. There he is, way across on an island. Maybe he is tired and sleeping. Have you a canoe?" Old Man said, "I'm an old man. I can't make a canoe now." But he had hidden it. "When people come, if they are angry, they won't be helped, because of their meanness. You swim across for yourself." Wolf thought that was right. He would swim across. He swam way out. The Old Man took the canoe up and told Deer, "Take this end and I will take the other. Take a paddle. You can kill Wolf in the water." Deer took one end and a paddle. Old Man did the same and took a bow and arrow too. They put the canoe in the water and both got in, the old man behind.

He handed the bow and arrow to Deer to shoot Wolf. Old Man said, "This bow and arrow, pull like this if you want to shoot and kill." [The narrator enacted the drawing and release of arrow from a bow.]

Wolf did not look back to see that some thing was behind him. They caught him in the middle of the river. Old Man said, "You have to make him know before he dies." Deer called, "Süs·" Wolf looked around and thought he was going to die. He laughed and said, "Hello, my friends."

Deer said, "We're not your friends. You're going to die." Wolf said, "I just want to talk business. I didn't want to kill you." Deer said, "There isn't any business. This is business." So he pulled the arrow and Wolf died right there. He sank forever. There was no more Wolf. His three brothers knew he was dead, so after that they kill all creatures and eat them because Deer killed their brother. They are mad forever and mean ever since.

Wolf was shot with the bow and arrow and drowned forever, and all of the creatures knew and were angry because he died. Wolf died because he had done wrong to try to kill Big Deer who stayed in the mountain a long time (and so God punished him forever). The three brothers thought that perhaps everyone was against them too, because they had witnessed their brother doing wrong. They thought, "Any time we see creatures, we will kill them." That is how they were put

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in the wrong, got mean, forgot what was right; and now they fight all the time.

When Big Deer and Old Man came back, Old Man said, "You can lie there: that is your woman's bed." Deer was tired: he lay down to rest. In just a little while, he heard someone come singing. It was the two daughters, coming back barefoot, making dust rise. (They were st't'ma'Iq^{wa}, little fishes: they were twins.) He sang too, "Your foot making dust; your foot making dust; your foot making dust."

The old man got up and went out. He said to his daughters, "Keep quiet. Your husband is in the house here." They thought, ashamed, "We have no husband. What does that mean?" They went into the house and saw that Deer lay there. They were ashamed because they were barefoot and dusty and wearing only breechclouts. They hung their heads.

Old Man said, "Don't be ashamed, my daughters. Cook something for your husband to eat. I was telling you he is tired. He has been chased many days. He has just killed Wolf." This was the first time Deer ever married. In the mountain, he had no wife. He thought, "Old Man saved my life. I will marry his daughters. Even if they look ugly I will do it, because he saved my life when I was going to die."

All of the creatures knew that Deer was marrying the girls and they were angry because these girls were ugly. The creatures were ashamed for Deer.

Right on the river, under the water, was a good woman who no one ever saw (just like Deer under the mountain), and she had never married. She became ashamed because Deer was to marry these ugly girls. She thought, "I'm going to try to catch Deer to be my husband pretty soon." Old Man knew what she thought. He thought, "Maybe she is Deer-under-the-water. Maybe that is why she wants to marry a land deer."

Every night Old Man took his daughters to the river with a torch to get fish. One daughter held the light, one paddled, and Old Man speared. Deer, the son-in-law, always told them to stay home. "Don't work all the time. You might get wet. You had better stay."

After a while, Deer was tired of staying home. He told Old Man, "You better stay home, Old Man. I will go with my wives to catch fish." "All right, but don't go down the river." Old Man knew that the woman was down there. For four nights they caught just a few fish up the river. There were more fishes below. Deer thought, "Old Man thinks we may drown below. We can swim." So he said to his wives, "Let's catch fishes down below." They said, "All right. Whatever you say, we will do." They went down a little way in the canoe. Then he saw some-

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thing big coming out of the water. The two sisters were scared, and cried and hollered. The big thing took Big Deer and threw the canoe with the two women back to where they came from.

Big Deer went to this woman's home under the water. It was a good home; a better home than the other. His new woman told him, "You ought to be ashamed. Why didn't you tell him you didn't want to marry his two ugly daughters?" Deer said, "That is all right."

Finally the two sisters each had a baby, two boys. Deer knew his first wives had sons.

He stayed under the water two years. His new wife had a boy. He thought his mother and father in the mountain might think he was dead. They cried there and never forgot him inside that mountain. His son looked like him, having big horns and being white. Finally his son grew to be a four point deer: that makes seven years gone by. Deer has a father and mother-in-law in the water. [His father-in-law was chief. They made [7]] Deer chief, so his father-in-law could retire.

Next morning, Deer called to his people. "Let's have a meeting this morning." His boy listened to what he said. In a little while all the water creatures came inside the house. Deer said, "I wish to say that I want to send my boy to my father and my mother in that mountain where my house was." The river creatures all said, "Yes, we know. Whatever you want is right. All right." "I will send my boy forever to be chief and to take care of his grandfather and grandmother and all the creatures there, and to tell them that I will stay here forever." All his people said, "All right." He told his boy to go find his [half-] brothers and take them with him.

Deer Boy (cInŭtI´tk^{u}) went to Old Man's house. Old Man thought his son-in-law had come back. He said, "Hello, son-in-law." "I am not your son-in-law. He is my father, Old Man." "Maybe that is right." He said to Old Man, "I am sent by my father to take my brothers with me. We all must go to our grandfather and grandmother in the mountain. I have to stay there all the time. Maybe my brothers will come back sometimes." Old Man said, "All right. Whatever your father says we will do." He let the two brothers go.

They started in the morning. When the sun was way up they came to some pine trees. The two brothers took some seeds from the cones and ate them. "These are good," they said, and they stayed there.

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[7] A fragment of manuscript is missing: these are the probable words. — L.S.
[8] Again a fragment is missing. — L.S.
[9] Told by David Isaac (W.B.C.).

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Young Deer waited three days, but they had gone only one mile. Young Deer thought, "I have to go. We can't take all summer to get to the mountain to meet our grandfather." "Well," he said to his brothers, "Maybe you like to eat these nuts." "Yes. Why don't you eat them?" "I haven't time. I have to go." He threw his brothers into a tree and they turned into birds. He called them sinä´rak'. They were birds forever and could never go back to Old Man. (They are white birds and look like deer, with white tails.)

Young Deer started again; in two or three days, he arrived where he was going. He went in. The old man and old woman got up and said, "Now you are [here to take care of us,"][1] grandchild." So the old people knew he was their grandchild. He said to his grandfather, "Your son is alive. He is going to stay over there forever. He sent me here. He told me that I'm going to be chief of all these creatures and to take care of them forever." That is all.

YOUNGEST WOLF BROTHER AND BIG DEER[1]
(SECOND VERSION)

There were four wolves camped between Kettle River and Osoyoos Lake, and they were all brothers. They had a mother, a father, and a sister. There was another group wintering far to the north of them: these were deer. Their chief was Whitetail. There were all kinds of deer, elk, moose, and all the smaller deer, camping together there. They had only one chief, Whitetail. This chief finally came to Wolves' camp. There was nobody home but the daughter. So Whitetail saw her, fell in love with her, and took her. When her brothers and father got back they found she was gone. Later they found out that she had gone with Chief Whitetail.

Bye and bye Whitetail and his woman had a baby. Soon the little boy began to run around. When Chief Whitetail was going out hunting, he told his wife she had better make her little boy a pair of moccasins. Then he started out. He was gone all day: he did not get back till dark. When he got back he asked his wife if she had made the little boy a pair of moccasins. She said, "Yes." The woman got the moccasins. She had made them like a wolf's paw, not like a deer's hoof. The man told her, "I don't want you to make him a pair of moccasins like wolf feet; make him a pair like my feet, deer feet." She did not like that. She sat around and cried. Finally she went back to her brothers and father. When she got back, they asked her why she had come back. So she told them she had got angry over the pair of moccasins she had made for the little boy; that her husband had told her not to make them like her feet but like his feet.

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[1] [See p. 206(A). -- Analyst]

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So the wolves all got angry and told one another, "We'll kill them all, that whole tribe."

The wolf father told the oldest wolf boy, "You start to sing so a lot of snow will fall." This boy sang till midnight. Then he told his father, "Go out and see how much snow there is outside." The old wolf measured the snow up to his shoulders. He came back and said, "I don't think your song is a [good?] song. There's no snow out there," for he thought it was not enough. So the wolf boy kept on singing until morning. He sent his father out to see how much snow there was. The old wolf went out and sank down to his neck. He jumped a few times until he nearly got stuck in the snow. Still he thought it was not enough. He went back and told his boy that there was only a little snow. So the boy sang till daylight and told his father to go to see the snow. The old wolf went out again, and tried the snow again, and it was way over his head: he went clear out of sight. When his father came in and told him that was enough, he changed his song to another. Then it started to blow a Chinook [south] wind, and thaw, and the snow began to melt. He sang till nearly daylight, when the snow was nothing but water.

Chief Whitetail dreamed that the wolves were going to kill him. He took all his people, and rose right off the ground and went through the air.

Wolf's father told his son that that was all right, that the snow was nothing but water. So he sang another song and the snow started to freeze. So he sang all day and all night, and next morning the snow was frozen hard. Then they went to the deer camp to kill them all.

When Chief Whitetail got way off to another mountain, he told each kind of his deer where to stay. After he scattered all his people all over the country, he jumped over toward Penticton on to another mountain. Then he jumped over to Camp McKinney Mountain (paqámqEn), taking his little boy with him. He came down toward the lake and there left his little boy. They were then right above Osoyoos Lake.

He came right down to the river, and there saw spápqálĕ´tc (a little fish) who had a camp there. He shouted to Spápqálĕ´tc to take him across; that they were going to kill him; and he called Spápqálĕ´tc "uncle." Spápqálĕ´tc told him, "You are no relative of mine." He addressed Spápqálĕ´tc as uncle and as every other relative, but Spápqálĕ´tc did not want to have it that way [i.e. be a blood relative], because he had a daughter. Finally Whitetail said to him, "Take me across, father-in-law." Then Spápqálĕ´tc said, "All right," because he was glad. Spápqálĕ´tc took him across the river. Before he [Spápqálĕ´tc] went across, he took off his coat, and threw it in the river. It looked like a deer floating down among the ice cakes in the river.

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The wolf reached the river and saw the deer skin [coat]. He shouted to Spápqálĕ´tc to take him across; that he wanted to kill the deer out there. But Spápqálĕ´tc said, "No. After the animals became Indians, there won't be such a thing as taking them across to kill one another. You can swim across to kill him." So Wolf ran up and down the bank, and started to swim after the deer. As soon as Wolf jumped into the river and turned his back toward them, Spápqálĕ´tc pushed his canoe out and said to his new son-in-law, Whitetail, "Get in and we'll go kill him." When they got out on the river, Wolf heard the canoe. He looked back, and there was his brother-in-law with his arrow ready. He cried, "What are you going to kill me for? You're my brother-in-law." But Whitetail said, "No, you were trying to kill me." After they had killed the oldest wolf they brought him into the tipi and waited for the others to come.

Right after they had killed this one, they saw the next oldest wolf coming. He reached the other side, and shouted to Spápqálĕ´tc to take him across so he could kill the deer in the river. Spápqálĕ´tc told him, "I will not take you across. You can swim after him and kill him, if you want to kill him." Then Spápqálĕ´tc pushed his canoe out as soon as the wolf got into the water. He told his son-in-law, "Come on, we'll go kill him." When Wolf got out in the river and was about ready to get to this deer, he looked back and there was Chief Whitetail ready to shoot him with his bow and arrow. So Whitetail killed him. They threw him into the canoe and brought him back to the tipi. There was one more left, the youngest.

This youngest one reached the bank and said to Spápqálĕ´tc, "Take me across so I can kill the deer that I'm chasing." But Spápqálĕ´tc said, "Swim after it. I'm not going to take you out." So he started to swim out and got scared. He went back to shore. He kept going back and forth, in and out of the water. He went out two or three times, and finally got scared, and went back. Chief Whitetail sent his power for his wife [the wolf woman] to go blind; so his wife went blind.

Then he had three children by Spápqálĕ´tc's daughter. He had three birds for children: woodpecker, cinarqû (a small gray mountain bird), and xExĕ´rxEx (a small bird that runs up and down the trees). He sent these three children, telling them, "You go to your brother [Whitetail's son by the wolf woman]: he'll tell you what to do." The youngest one went part way up and saw the trees. He took a liking to the trees. His brothers tried to get him to come with them, but he said, "No; I'm going to stay right here. I like this." So his brothers left him. Cinarqû went a little farther and found a place he liked. He stayed there. His brother tried to coax him to come along, but he would not. So the oldest went on up to his [half-]brother. His brother said, "Did you come to see me?" He answered, "Yes. There were three of us, and our father sent

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us to you, but the others stayed by the way." So his brother told him, "You can live right here, and you can get your food from the trees." (Meaning the grubs upon which woodpeckers feed.) Then the oldest boy rose and became a big bird that is never seen. Whenever this big bird comes close to anybody, they become dormant and freeze, and do not know anything.

After Chief Whitetail found that all his children made themselves different things, he took his wife and threw her into the bush — that is the robins; always crying. Whitetail took Spápqálš´tc and put him in the river. He told him, "You can have that for your place." There is a big patch of brush near Oliver. He went there and thought to himself, "This is where I'll stay." So they were all seperated.

After Whitetail made his first wife blind, the old wolf tried everything to cure her, but he could not cure her blindness. So he asked each kind of bird if they knew anything about an eye medicine. But they said, "No. Our chief is behind: he'll know." He went to the other side of Penticton, where they left him on a mountain, saying, "That bird, our chief, will be along here pretty soon; the chief of the birds. Stay right here and wait for him." They [the wolves] kept asking the birds, who said, "No;he's behind; he'll be coming pretty quickly." After these birds had all gone north, the flock that the chief was in came along. So he [the wolf] asked the chief of the birds. The bird told him, "Yes, I know eye medicine." The chief bird named all these big rivers: the Yakima, Chelan, and Okanogan. He said, "You count all the rivers from here,and when you get through counting, you come back up the river. There's a dam in Yakima River which the beavers made years ago. (There were three places that look like dams.) You go and break these beaver dams. Then you will see the little beavers come up. Let them go. Break all three dams down, so the river will come. When you get to the third dam, and break it, take a long spear with a hoop on the end, and stab the chief with this. He is the man-eater."

It was all a lake there. Coyote came there to help. He said, "Don't scare the first one that comes. There are three brothers. You spear the last one." The first one came. Coyote told Wolf not to spear that one, because that was the youngest; to wait till the third one came. Then the second youngest one came, and Coyote said, "Don't spear that one. That's the second youngest." They saw the water rising, so Coyote said, "That's the one that you should kill." This beaver came toward them. Coyote said, "You must do your best. That's a maneater and he'll kill you if you are not careful." So when the beaver came along, Wolf held the spear. When he ran his spear into

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10 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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the beaver, he clung onto his spear and he could not let go. So the beaver took him right along.

The young wolf went down the river holding his spear. The old wolf and Coyote ran along the shore. And every bush that they passed said to the young wolf, "Hold on to me and save yourself. You'll die as soon as you get down to the Columbia." But he broke everything that he caught hold of. He would grasp it, but it would come loose. They got close to the Columbia River. Then the wild hops (?) told him, "You hold on to me and you'll save yourself." The wolf thought, "I've been holding on to every tree and it did no good. You hops don't look strong to me." But the hops said, "No; hold on to me and you'll save yourself." The root of the wild hops ran all up the mountains and was tangled so it could not come loose. So he held on to the hops, and it let him down quite a way till it got taut [but it did not break]. Then the beaver came ashore, and the old wolf and Coyote killed it. After they killed the beaver, they took his entrails — the part of the entrails good for medicine — and doctored her eyes with that and restored her eyesight.

KILLING THE WATER ELK"[1]

Wolf had killed Beaver northeast of Spokane. Elk (papala´tsa) always lived in a lake there." Wolf said, "We will make Elk come out so we can kill him, and get his horn to make a spear of." Elk comes out at night and about morning goes into the lake. Nobody ever sees him.

The wolves hid by a feeding place. The youngest brother wished Elk to lie down and sleep. He did. Wolf had a big stone knife. Elk went to sleep. Youngest Wolf said, "He is asleep already. I'm going to cut off his head. You others go ahead. He is smart and strong. He might kill us."

Wolf jumped and cut off his head. The three brothers took the head and ran off to a hill. Soon Youngest Brother saw the lake coming up fast. He ran to the top of the hill, too. The water was coming up. All said, "We are going to be drowned because we killed Elk."

Youngest Brother said, "I have another power. Take some grass quick and lay it all around." The water came up and did not touch the grass. They were inside the water as in a ball, but they were not wet because the water did not come on the grass. Next day the water went down. Elk was still there dead, so they took the elkhorn to make a spear.

(Some white people found the elk bones and the big knife right there when digging a spring near Spokane. All the bones were

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[1] [See p. 208(A). -- Analyst]

there, but no head. One old Indian there knew the story.)

FISHER AND MARTEN
CUT OFF THE SEA-MONSTER'S HEAD"[1]

Fisher (tcErtū'ps) had a wife. They had a little boy about as big as Johnnie's little Christine [aged three]. Marten (pipq!s) was his brother. They were always hunting. Fisher's wife started to sweat [sweat-bathe?] and she thought she would go and take a bath. When she got to the river, she took off her clothes. Not very far out in the river, there was a sea-monster who stuck his horns out of the water like a root."[1] The woman was swimming around and saw this big root. She thought that she would swim out to it. That woman swam out there and sat on the big root. That was the monster's head. He went down under the water and took her for his wife.

When Fisher and Marten returned they looked around but the woman was gone. So they looked for tracks and finally discovered them, and followed her down to the river. There they saw the little boy standing on the bank crying. So Fisher said that the sea-monster had got his wife. He picked up the little boy and brought him back to his house. The little boy was crying all the time: he could not stop crying. So Marten said, "I'm going to look for a little fawn for him to play with and you make him a bow and arrow." Marten told his brother that he would look for a little fawn, and Fisher made his little boy a bow and arrow.

When Marten got back with the little deer, he got his power and thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent. (He made them grow by his power.) Marten thought the wind to come up and blow on the cottonwood leaves. They tied the little deer to the cottonwood tree and gave the little boy the bow and arrow. The little boy would shoot at the little deer and make it jump. It made a noise like any other little deer.

So they went to look for Fisher's wife. Fisher had a long cane; that was his power. Marten also had a long cane and he also had his power in his cane. They went along the river. Two birds were coming up the river in a canoe. They did not have paddles, but were making the canoe go by wriggling themselves back and forth. These two birds were saying that they were looking for something to eat for their sister-in-law, who their brother took away from Fisher. When Marten and Fisher saw these two girls coming, Fisher asked Marten if he had power enough to get these two girls. Marten said, "No, I haven't enough power to get them." Marten asked his brother if he had any power to get these two girls. Fisher started to sing, and he went down toward the river. While he was singing his song, he told these two girls to come over; that he was going to ask them a question. Those two girls did not know that their brother had taken the woman from Fisher. But the girls would not come to shore: they stayed far out in the river. He tried to call them to the shore but they would not come. He kept his little cane short under his shirt. He pulled it out and stretched it out long. He stuck it into the water and made it jump into the canoe. So he took the two girls and made them go to shore. So they got them ashore. He began questioning those girls.

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[1] [See p. 209 (c).--Analyst]

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Fisher asked where they were going. They said, "We're looking for something for our new sister-in-law to eat." Fisher asked them what they did when they entered their house. One said, "I'm the older. I sit at the right of the door and my sister sits to the left of the door." So they told everything that they did when they were at home: everything that they did to their sister-in-law: that when she wanted to go out to defecate, they placed her on a mat and took her out, and brought her back that way. When they had finished telling everything that they did at home, Fisher killed the two girls.

Fisher took the older and skinned her, and Marten took the younger and skinned her. As soon as Fisher finished skinning her, he took her hide and slipped it over himself. He looked just like the older girl. Marten skinned the younger one but tore a little place about the eye. He put it on himself. You could see that little torn place in the eye, and his eye would always water somewhat. They got into the canoe and wriggled back and forth to make it go. They did not go to shore, but took their power sticks and jumped all the way to shore. But the younger one (Marten) touched his feet to water before he landed.

As soon as they went in the house Marten rubbed his eye all the while. The girls' brother smelt they were like Fisher and Marten. He asked them, "What's the matter?" The "girls" said they met Fisher and Marten way up the river and were afraid, so they came back. When evening came their sister-in-law wanted to go outside to defecate. So they seated her in a net [mat?] and took her out in the net. They took her quite a way off, lifted her off the net, and set her down softly. Fisher told his wife, "I caught up to you." His wife told him, "I don't know how we're going to get away. There isn't any chance of getting me back." Fisher said, "When we bring you back, and you go to bed, you start playing [sexually] with him, so he'll get so tired and sleepy that he

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11 Told by Narcisse (W.B.C.).

12 "The sea-monster was a big moose with enormous horns. He is called pa'pa'la tsa, 'moose.' Maybe he is still alive, but all this took place long ago."

#539 won't wake up;" then they were going to kill him. So the woman played with him, so that all he would do was just grunt, and finally he went to sleep. Then the woman got up and went to Fisher, and told him the sea-monster was asleep.

Fisher took off the girl's skin and Marten did the same. Fisher took hold of the monster's head and cut it off. They took the head and started to run away. They threw it into the canoe and started paddling, but they could not get anywhere: the body of the monster kept going up and down [writhing]. His people heard it. They woke up and saw the monster's head was off. They went out and saw that Fisher and Marten had the head in the canoe and were trying to paddle, but could not move along at all. So the people were just about to catch them, when they took the big head and threw it in the deep water. After they had thrown the head in, they made progress and got to shore.

They [the sea-monsters] called everybody: all the animals from the dry land and from the water. They started diving for their chief's head. Coyote said, "I'll be the one who will get the chief's head." He would run and dive, but would not go out of sight. Turtle got there. Turtle dived and went down. He saw where the head was. When Turtle came out again, he said that there were places in his shoulders that got cold and he had to come up. So the big Indian doctor closed those places. When Turtle dived the second time, he got to the head, crawled under it, raised it, and brought it out of the water so the people could get it. The monster was just moving slowly: he was just about dead then. They took the head and put it back on the sea-monster. The Indian doctor rubbed it into place and the monster got up.

Fisher told his brother, Marten, "I guess we will be killed now; the sea-monster has come back to life again." He told his brother, "Let's go up on the mountain." The water and the blood from the monster started to rise. They were on the highest mountain they could find, yet the water just reached them. So Fisher told his brother, "Do your best; we're going to die. Use your medicine [power]; if you have any." They were standing in the water then. Marten could not do anything. He told his brother, "You do [use] your medicine: mine isn't strong enough. I'll be the last one to do his medicine."

So Fisher pulled his cane out and made it long. They stood it on the ground, and made the woman climb up first and then climbed up behind her. Fisher was behind his brother and wife, and the water reached Fisher. Fisher told his brother, "Do your best; we're going to die." Marten said, "We're not going to die. I think that my power is stronger than yours." So he pulled out his cane and made it long. He put it on top of his brother's cane: his cane went up into the sky. So they climbed but they did not go very far. Marten told his brother, "Here's where we'll stay. We'll go up no farther." Marten said, "If we go any higher we'll get to another land. We don't want to get to the other land; here is a better place for us to stay." Then the water started to go down, and they climbed down as the water went. When they got down on the mountain, Marten pulled his cane down and Fisher pulled his cane down. So Marten told his brother, "We'll always stay here in the mountains. We'll never go back by the river."

(All this took place down at Wenatchee. The mountain was mixʷmixʷ. There must have been a flood on Moses Mountain because there was once an enormous cottonwood tree there. Fifty years ago you could see where it was lying. The old Indians told him [Johnnie] that that is where the cottonwood had lain. He just saw the rotten trunk of it.)

SKUNK TAKES REVENGE[13]

Skunk and Fisher were living together as bachelors and partners. They had no woman. Both went hunting; Fisher was a very good hunter. Rabbit and her two young granddaughters were living by themselves. One girl was Chipmunk and the other was StEta'k [an animal a little larger than a chipmunk; possibly a larger variety of chipmunk]. StEta'k was the older. Their grandmother told them, "You'd better go to Fisher's place and marry Fisher." So the two girls went. Their grandmother told them when they got to the tipi to get under Fisher's pillow. She said, "Skunk always comes in first. Don't laugh when you hear Skunk coming. Keep on hiding till Fisher comes in."

They got there and hid under Fisher's pillow. They heard Skunk coming. He was carrying deer meat as he was coming back. He was making such a funny noise that Chipmunk started to laugh. Her sister could not keep her from laughing. So Chipmunk kept on laughing till Skunk found them, and took them both, and put them under his own pillow. They were afraid to tell him that they did not come for him. He put a deer hide over them, so Fisher could not see them when he came back.

When Fisher returned, he, too, was carrying deer meat. He laid down his deer meat and sat down. Skunk said to Fisher, "Well, let's cook." Skunk told Fisher, "You cook quite a lot and I'll cook just as much as you." After the meat was cooked, Skunk told Fisher, "You put what meat you've cooked under your pillow, and I'll put what meat I've cooked under my pillow. You leave your deer meat under your pillow for a while, and I'll leave mine under my pillow for a while, and we'll take them out to see which one's

[13] Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).

dish will be empty." Skunk waited a little while and told Fisher, "Well, get yours from under your pillow and I'll get mine from under my pillow, and set them right here." Fisher brought his dish out and it was still full. Then Skunk brought his dish out and there was nothing in it. So Fisher knew right away that Skunk had taken these girls away from him. They went to bed. In just a few minutes he heard Skunk telling stories to these girls and the girls starting to laugh. In the morning he saw the two girls and knew which girls they were.

They got ready to go hunting. Skunk told those two girls to get him ready. Fisher got ready and left, but Skunk stayed with the girls for a little while before he left. They both went hunting. When they came back, Fisher thought that he would fool Skunk and not go hunting the next morning, but stay and ask these girls some questions. So Fisher told Skunk, "You go away up on top of that mountain: that's where I'll meet you." Fisher went just a little way and hid. Skunk went after Fisher had gone, and Fisher kept watching him till he got out of sight. Skunk went up on top of the mountain where Fisher told him that they would meet. Fisher went back and asked the girls, "What's the matter? Who did you come to, Skunk or me?" So the girls told him, "Our grandmother sent us to come to you but it was Chipmunk's fault that we didn't get you." Fisher said to them, "All right. We'll all get ready and leave." They got ready and put a torch to their house and burned it down. Then they left. When they burned their tipi down, they went up in the smoke: that is how they left, because they did not want Skunk to find their tracks.

After Skunk got way up on top of the mountain he looked back and saw the smoke at the house. Skunk thought that Fisher set fire to the house because he was taking the women. So he started running back towards the house. When Skunk got back to the house he saw that everything was burnt up. He started to look for tracks but could not find tracks of any kind. Skunk started to figure how to find the tracks. He gathered some wood and burnt it. Just as soon as this wood began to smoke he saw the tracks. That is how he found out which way they had gone.

So he started to follow them. They had climbed up on a bluff where there was a crack in the rocks. That is where they were. There was a creek right below this bluff. When Skunk went down there to take a drink, he saw their reflection in the creek. He thought they were down in the water. He began to get angry and he turned around to scatter his fluid (cûai'ph) to kill them. They were watching him from the bluff and started laughing at him throwing his fluid into the creek. Then he found out they were way up on the bluff. Skunk started up the mountain. When he got on top of the bluff, he threw his fluid down at them. But it just flew over them and he could not hit them. So he went back down the hill and started to throw it from below. He hit Fisher right on the toe and killed him. He told the two girls, "Come down or I'll kill you both too." So they came down and he got the two girls back.

When they got down they started travelling together. They travelled till dark. When it grew dark, Skunk asked the younger girl, "Where do you live?" One said, "When a tree falls, under the roots is where I stay." And the other girl said, "A big crack in a bluff is where I stay." Skunk asked the two girls, "Where do you want to camp; in a crack in the rocks or under the roots of a tree?" StEta'k said, "We'll camp in the crack of a rock." So they camped in the crack of a rock. And StEta'k told Chipmunk, "Don't go to sleep. We'll play with him till he goes to sleep." So they went up in the rocks, and they played with Skunk till he went to sleep, and both thought, well, they had their power. They said, "We wish the crack in the rocks would just close up." The rock closed on Skunk so he could not get out or move. The two girls left him and when Skunk woke up he was nearly dead.

He thought that the only way he could save himself was to cut his body to pieces. He took out his anus first. Raven was flying along and saw it. So Raven flew there and took his anus. Skunk cut all his body in pieces and put them outside. That is how he got out of the crack in the rocks. When he got through putting his body together, he did not have his anus: he just had a big hole there and that is all.

As soon as he had finished, he thought of the people at a big gathering. He thought, "I guess that's where my anus is." He gathered a lot of grass and filled his anus with it. It took him quite a few days to get to where the Indians were. He arrived on top of a hill above the Indians. He sat on the hill a while. They were playing hoop with his anus, and it was bright and shiney. (Not playing hoop-and-pole: they were just rolling it back and forth.) When Skunk saw it, he went where it would fall, and there he sat down. They knew who he was and said, "Well, Skunk is here." (They did not know it was his anus.) He sat down where he thought he could get hold of it. He took all the grass out of himself and threw it away. He sat down where the hoop was coming, and opened himself, and the hoop rolled right in. That is how he got his anus back.

So Skunk told them, "I'm going to tell you a story. Go into the chief's big tipi; all crowd in there." Skunk said, "Close every little hole and close the top of the tipi because I don't want to let any of my stories go out of any little hole. I want them all to stay inside." The people did what Skunk told them to do; they closed every little air hole in the tent and closed the top. Some who could not get in, stayed outside. He started to tell his story at the point where the chipmunks had left him.

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He said, "When I first started to come here I lost my anus and I got pretty cold inside. I came and I camped, and the next morning I threw the old grass away and I got some more new grass and stuffed my insides with it. That's how you see me here. And that's why I'm telling stories now." So he told them, "Now I'm through telling my story." Then he turned around and scattered all his fluid over the people and killed them all. Just a few who were outside remained alive: deer, wolf, coyote, fox, were those who were saved. Those who were inside the tipi were all killed. That was the end of it. I came back and now I am living here in Disautel.

RAVEN AND HIS BROTHER'S WIDOW[15]

Raven was a chief. His brother died. So he told his people that he was going to give a medicine dance. His people told him that it would be all right if he gave a medicine dance. But he did not tell them that he wanted his brother's widow. He gathered all his people and started to sing. He told his people to gather a lot of pitch wood. (That is what the old Indians used to make a big light.)

The widow was way up the river; quite a way. A little devil fish got in a canoe and went up the river. A little bird's grandmother told him to make the sweat house so they could have a sweat. This little fish went up to this little bird's place and looked into the tipi and discovered they were not at home. So this little fish went to the sweat house and looked into the sweat house. He saw this little bird and his grandmother on top of one another [in sexual embrace]. The little fish paddled back and told his wife that the brother's widow (the bird's grandmother) was no good.

They gathered a lot of pitch and started to go to Raven's house where they were going to have a dance. This little fish's wife told him not to tell Raven about what he had seen. The Indians were gathered around. They were going to take the pitchwood into the house. Raven was going to give a dance. The people were whispering to one another. Mouse overheard what they were saying. Then the orator came out and shouted to all the people to come into the chief's house; that the chief was going to sing. All the people gathered and went into the tipi. The chief started to sing. Just as soon as the people started to dance, Mouse cried out, "I'm going to tell you something." They tried to stop him but he would not stop. So he shouted out, "Your brother's widow has got a man now." Raven stopped dancing and shouted that they were going to kill that man in the morning.

The woman [Raven's sister-in-law] made a trench under a rock for this young fellow

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14 Told by Narcisse (W.B.C.).
15 Told by Annie Marchand (L.V.W.W.).

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to fight back from. Then they started fighting. They would shoot at him from one side, and he would run in and come out the other side. This young fellow shot Raven right through the body. Raven began to make a noise. The young fellow told him, "You're going to be a raven from now on. You're not going to be a man any more." He shot everything in the world the same way until he got down to Sucker and Chub [fish]. (That is the reason they have so many bones: their bones are this young fellow's arrows.) This young boy told them, "From now on you will stay in lakes and rivers. He said, "I'll always stay in the rocks." (He is the cpwalqacōlh, a little rock bird. He is light brown and has neither stripes nor spots.)

A BROTHER AND SISTER COMMIT INCEST"[1]

One time there were some people living by the river; a father and mother, a boy and girl. The father and mother went to get food every day and left the brother and sister all by themselves. They played all the time, just with each other. Finally the girl knew she was going to have a baby and that it was her brother's, so she told him.

He told her to go way up in the mountains all by herself to have her baby and that he would bring her food now and then. So she did that. She went away, way up in the mountains, built herself a little hut, and had her baby there all alone, just helping herself. The baby was a girl. When the baby was about two weeks old, her brother came with food for her when she had it on her back while she was out digging camas. He saw the baby and told his sister to live there in the mountains all the time. So she did and every so often her brother came to see her, bringing her food.

One day, when the little girl was about five years old, the woman went digging camas and left the little girl at home alone. The little girl was sitting there playing and singing as her mother had taught her, "My mother's husband is her brother. My father is my uncle. He is my mother's brother." While she was singing this, the brother came there to see his sister. He heard the song and said to the little girl, "Who taught you that?" "My mother," she said. Then he took his bow and arrow and shot the little girl, killing her.

Now while the women was digging camas, her stick suddenly broke, so she knew that something was wrong at home. She ran home and there she found her little girl dead. She knew that her brother had killed the child. So she took her little girl's blood and smeared it all over her own face and arms. Then she went down the mountains to the river where the villages were. She went to every house, putting her head in at the door, and calling, "Look! Everybody look." When they looked at her face all smeared with her child's blood, everyone who looked, fell dead. But she could not find her brother anywhere.

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[1] [See p. 212 (A). -- Analyst]

At last she found him in the sweat house. He was sitting in the back with his hands over his face. She called, "Look! Look at me." "No; I won't look at you," he said, "your face is all covered with blood. Go and wash yourself clean. Then I will look." "Look at me," she told him again. "I won't" he said, "Go and wash yourself." So finally she went down to the river and washed herself all clean.

When she came back her brother helped her. They dug a deep, wide pit for the bodies of all those she had killed. Someone had to get down into the pit to straighten out the bodies. She said to him, "You'd better get down there and straighten out the bodies." He said, "All right." She carried the bodies there and threw them down at him. She tried to cover him up but she could not. Soon the pit was half full of bodies. So he told her, "It's your turn now. You'd better change places with me." She said, "All right," and got down there. Her brother carried lots of bodies and threw them down at her. Pretty soon he had covered her entirely with bodies. Then he covered the bodies with dirt, burying her alive.

He went back to every house and ate all the pretty things he could find in camp; pretty beads, buckskin clothes, pretty blankets; and as he ate, he became small and old and ugly, with a great big stomach. Then he went down to the river. It was winter. There was ice on the river. He went to a hole cut in the ice so they could get water. Soon two pretty girls came along. One of them said, "Oh, see the little boy. Let's take him for our little brother." The other one said, "What? That ugly old thing? No." So they left him and he went from waterhole to waterhole and no one wanted him.

Finally he came to the last waterhole. It belonged to the Louse Girls. People called them that because they were dirty and lazy, and had lice on them. The two Louse Girls saw him and said, "Let's take him home. Let's ask our grandmother if we can keep him? So they took him home to their grandmother's house. Pretty soon he began to vomit all those pretty things he had eaten. They came up very small and then changed to their natural size. The beads, the buckskin clothes, the nice blankets, everything; and as he threw up these things, the man began to grow tall and handsome again. Soon there was a whole corner full of pretty things.

So he lay down on a blanket while the girls began to cook food for him. Some other girls in the camp came by to shout mean things at the Louse Girls. But when they saw that handsome man lying there, they were all envious. They saw all those pretty things, so they did not say any more.

He lived there with his two wives, the Louse Girls, and their grandmother. He told them never to go near that place where he had buried all the people. He told them that, but he did not know that his sister had escaped from the pit.

One day older Louse Girl went digging camas. She came to that place in the mountains where the sister was living. The sister saw her and killed her. When the brother knew that his sister had killed his wife, he went up there in the mountains, and this time he really killed his sister. That is all."[1]

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH" [1]

There was a chief who had a lot of followers. He had a son and two daughters. His older daughter had a little house [menstrual lodge] for herself way out somewhere, because she was just at the age when she had to do that.

Every morning the son would sleep in the daytime. He would sleep all day and they wondered what was the matter with him. During the night the mother got up and went outside. She heard somebody laughing over at the little house. She could tell it was her son and her daughter laughing. Then she went back into the house and went back to bed. In the morning the boy went back to sleep again. Then she told her husband that there was something wrong between their children.

The next night the boy came back to the little house again, and the girl thought she would put some paint on his face so she would know who he was. In the dark she did not know who it was."[1]

The next morning the boy went to sleep again, but his father had already found out. The father thought to himself, "If my people find out, I will surely be ashamed of myself. The people will make fun of me. I think I will kill my boy." So he took a piece of sheep horn and stuck it into the boy's ear, hammered it down, and killed his boy.

They took the boy and put him in a canoe. There is a big rock sticking up and the water comes up to the bottom of it. They brought him there and left the canoe at the base of the rock.

[1] [See p. 213 (c). -- Analyst]

p. 213 (B)

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P.213(c)

16 The conclusion of the story seems condensed. Annie says she was told the story by her grandmother, Mary Carden.

17 Told by Cecile Brooke (R.C.).

18 Another version, told by Michel Brooks, differs only in that the mother discovers paint on the boy's cheek.

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In the morning the girl got up and looked around. She could not see anybody who she had painted on the face. The mother told her younger daughter, "You take your sister something to eat over there, but don't go in when you get there. You just throw the food in and don't say anything to her. Come right back, and don't tell her about your brother." In the morning her sister brought something to eat. She could not get her little sister to come in and talk to her; but in the evening she lay in wait and caught her when she went over there.

Then she asked her little sister, "Where is your brother?" The little girl said, "Oh, he's home." She said, "Why is it your hair is cut?" The other said, "Oh, I had too many lice, and that's why they cut my hair." Her sister told her, "If you don't tell me anything, I will just kill you right here." Finally she said, "Well, my father killed my brother, and they put him in a boat and they left him under the rock bluff." Then the girl said, "All right," and she let her little sister go back. When the latter got back to the house her mother asked her, "Did you tell your sister about your brother?" She said, "No, I didn't tell my sister."

When the little girl was playing, her sister called her, and told her to bring her [clean] dress over so she could change and go swimming. Her mother said, "You can take the dress, but don't leave your sister when she goes down to take a bath." That was the second day after her brother died. When the older girl went to swim, the little girl went along. She would not leave her sister. The older one would tell her to go away, but she would not mind; she would go along anyway. The little sister kept following her, so she said, "What are you following me for? Go back to the house. I want to put [hide] my soiled dress away."

After the younger sister had gone back to the house, she just threw her dress down and ran away toward the rock bluff. When the little girl got back, her mother asked her, "Where is your sister?" The little girl said, "She went to put her dress away." The mother went out and saw her daughter running quite a way off. The chief shouted, "Whoever is the fastest runner and can get my daughter, can have her for a wife."

Fox was the only one who caught up to her; just as she got on top of the bluff. He just got hold of her wrap which was pinned around her neck. She unpinned it and jumped down over the bluff, and Fox just got the blanket. She landed right in that canoe where her brother was. They both died. But from above they were heard laughing.

The chief told all his people to come into his house. Then the chief said, "All

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people will come back to life in three days after they are dead." The people all say, "No! Don't let people come back to life after they are once dead." The chief says, "Yes; I want my children to come back again." Three times he said that and the people said, "No; don't let people come back to life again." Then he consented to that. Finally they buried the girl and boy. The chief said, "Well, in the days to come, no matter how good looking their sons may be, or their daughters, they will die anyway."

Raven had a lot of daughters. The oldest of his daughters died that night. In four days all his daughters died. He went to the chief and told him, "Let people come back to life again. I feel too bad for my children. I want them to come back to life again."[1] Then the chief said, "Well, I couldn't get my children to come back to life. It is too late now. Your children are dead; let them all die. I spoke about it before, and every one of you didn't want people to come back to life."

Then the chief called them all over to his house again; then he gave each one of them a name and they all went away.

He took his wife and led her to the water. He set her down and told her that she would be a sweat house. He told her, "When a person has aching bones, they can come to you and sweat, and you will make them feel better. And if they ask you for anything, let the people have it."

The chief made a place for himself to stay. He made one high up, but he did not like that. He made another place, and he did not like that. He made a third place and he liked that, so he stayed there. And that is why they call him qElEnsöltEn, "something that made you." Then I came back.

COYOTE LIBERATES SALMON[1]
(FIRST VERSION)

In the time before there were people, Coyote heard two sisters making fish traps at Waila'mpt (maybe at the Dalles). Finally Coyote heard this and that the salmon could not pass. (The sisters were birds: small plovers.) He did not want the salmon to be scattered. "I think I will break the weir and let the salmon come up [the river]."

Coyote went down the river and when almost there, he sat there thinking, "I'm going to make myself into a wooden bowl so I won't drown." He changed into a wooden bowl and floated down the river. The two sisters came to the river every morning. They finally saw the bowl and took it back to camp. One said, "I got this from our salmon trap. It is good for cooked salmon." They set it down with salmon in it.

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[1] [see p. 214 (C). --Analyst]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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P.214(c)

19 In Michel's version, the daughters of several animals die: each in turn petitions the chief.
20 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

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Every day they dug camas. In the evening, they came back and said, "We don't have to cook." But the bowl was empty. Coyote had eaten the salmon and much more from the house. For two weeks he did this;he was getting strong. The next evening, the sisters said, "Let's throw this bowl away. Maybe it is no good. Every day our food disappears." "No, let's burn it up." Coyote thought, "I'd better turn into a little boy."

When the sisters took the bowl,a little boy stood up and cried, "Ya-, let me be your little brother." The two sisters thought, "All right, let's give him something to eat." And he ate a lot.

Next day when the sisters went to dig camas, they said, "You'd better stay here. It is hot." He said, "You'd better tie me up or I might go to the river and drown." The sisters said, "He is smart." So they tied him. When they were gone, he untied himself and ate up all the salmon. When he heard the sisters coming, he ran back to the rope, and tied himself up again and went to sleep. The two sisters woke him and fed him camas. He was well fed. In the morning the two sisters left again. Coyote went and tore down the dam. Salmon swam up the river.

That morning as the sisters left,he had said, "If I get drowned, one of you will break your digging stick." That afternoon, one sister broke her stick. They ran back. They saw the hole in the weir and the salmon running. Coyote saw them and put a basket over his head. The sisters ran along the dam and hit his head with a stick many times but it did not hurt him. (The weir was as high as a house.)

Coyote ran across the weir to the other side and called back, "One time you had a little brother. That was me." The sisters said, "Coyote, you are no good. We thought first you were a wooden bowl, next a little boy. Now we see you." Coyote said, "Leave the dam open so salmon can run up river. Soon there will be lots of people [i.e. humans]. I am going to make them." So they could not build the dam again. The salmon were all glad. The salmon leader thought Coyote was very good because he helped them.

Coyote travelled two or three days and got hungry again. He looked for something to eat. Whenever he stopped,the salmon coming up stream stopped there too. Coyote lay down in the sand and thought what he should do to kill salmon to eat. He went down to the river bank and said, "All of you salmon be my followers. I am the chief, your head man. One of you salmon jump out here. I want to eat." Salmon jumped and Coyote fought with him on the rocks, but Salmon was slippery and got back into the river. Coyote tried many times. Finally Coyote went to the sandy place. There he killed three because the sand stuck to the fish and he could hold them.

Wolf and Fox said, "Let's meet Coyote

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and see how he made salmon come up." They saw Coyote roast three salmon. Finally Wolf said, "Let's make him sleep and we will eat his fish." It became hot and a breeze blew. Coyote slept. Coyote woke up. He got up quickly and looked. There were no salmon. His hands and mouth were greasy. "I ate already," he said. "But I am still hungry," and he felt his empty stomach.

"I will kill some more." He killed three more and roasted them. Fox and Wolf made him sleep again and ate his salmon. They stretched his tail out long, and made his hands small and his nose long, and stretched his eyes. They changed him. His ears stuck out straight. When he woke up, he thought, "I've eaten but I feel hungrier. Well, I want a drink." He went to the water and saw his shadow. He thought it was a creature in the river. He was scared and jumped back. He looked again and jumped back. Fox and Wolf on the hill laughed. They said, "What's wrong, Coyote? Are you afraid of your reflection? You look that way." Coyote said, "I will fool you sometime."

He killed three more salmon, ate one, and put the others away while he left on a journey. The salmon stayed there as Coyote had told them. He tracked Fox and Wolf all over the hills for two days. He saw them at a lake swimming around, getting duck eggs to eat. Coyote hid. They found many eggs. They dug a hole, put in stones and wood, and built a fire. Coyote watched. When the rocks were hot, they put weeds on the rocks and put eggs on the weeds, covered the eggs with more weeds and then with dirt. They put a little hole in the middle of the covering through to the eggs. They poured water in the hole and the steam cooked the eggs. Fox and Wolf got tired and sat down. Coyote made both sleep.

He went, took out the eggs, and ate them. He put a yolk all over Fox and smeared a white on Wolf. Coyote stretched Fox's face into a small one with straight ears. He made Wolf's face long and ugly; he made his hands big and Fox's small. Coyote went far away and watched. He had left half the shells by each. They woke and Fox said, "We have eaten." Finally they said, "What is the matter with your face?"

Coyote laughed and hollered, "That is what you did to me. Now we are even." They said, "Go along now. You are too smart."

By and by Coyote and Salmon arrived at the mouth of the Yakima River. He said, "You had better stop here. I want to see the people about you salmon." He went up a little way. He saw creatures, just like people. (They looked like people and lived as we do now, but were really creatures.) He met them and said, "Let's hold a meeting." They held a big meeting. "Well," he said, "Will you give me all your prettiest daughters to marry? If you let me have your prettiest daughters, you can have salmon forever. If

#539 you don't, I will make a dam to keep away the salmon." (He did not really want to marry them. He made laws. That was all.)

All the creatures debated for a while. "All right. You can have what you ask. We want salmon right to head of Yakima River for the to-be-people [humans]." He said, "Goodbye. I'm going back to tell the salmon to come up right now and forever. The people will have salmon forever." (That is the way with our religion: a good man says, "Let me have all your daughters." One man says "Yes," and another and another until maybe there are ten.)

"Goodbye, I'm going up the Columbia River to the mouth of the Wenatchee." He said, "Salmon, every year at this month you go up this stream, from now on and forever. Don't look back to me now. You take a leader for whatever you have to do." The salmon were glad: they took a leader and follow their own ways, whatever they have to do. They spawn and raise many. All the creatures kill and eat salmon: the grizzly, the black bear, the otter, the mink, all swim out to kill and eat salmon.

Coyote left and came to the mouth of the Wenatchee River. He said, "Salmon, you had better stay here. I want to talk to the creatures. I don't know how many days." The salmon stayed there at the mouth of the river. He went a little way, about fifteen miles. He met many creatures because they knew he would be there. He said, "Well, we're going to have a meeting today." They said, "Well, we're going to have a meeting." He told them the same thing he had said on the Yakima.

All the creatures said, "Well, you can have our daughters." He said, "These are not for us now; but the going-to-be-Indians, the srlmon are going to be theirs. I am making laws for them." He said, "I'll stay here over night. I want to build a trap for salmon, the easiest way for Indians to catch salmon."

At night he went alone to the river. He wished for salmon to come up the river and they did. Then he wished to put rocks across to make water go swiftly so salmon would stay a while before they went over.

Next morning he said, "I'm going to tell the creatures." "You can make this the same way yourselves, and the Indian people [can also]." When they all got there, they saw the rocks were flat to stand on, so they could spear and use gaff hooks. He took the spear first. The water was swift. He saw a salmon, speared it, and pulled it out. "When the Indians get here, you show them this is they way they should get salmon." After he explained the spear to the creatures, he took the gaff hook. He said, "Watch me, all you people. When I put the pole way into the water, I feel the salmon and hook it."

Next he goes to Entiat River and holds

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a meeting. The creatures say, "All right. You can have whatever you want." He teaches them about the salmon. Next he comes to Chelan Falls. The creatures are already there listening to him. He says, "I want all of your daughters. If I don't get them all, I will close the river and keep away the salmon."

The creatures here said, "We have plenty to eat. We don't want salmon. We won't let you have our daughters." Coyote said, "All right. I'm going to shut this river. Maybe you have lots to eat. You can't eat salmon here, because you didn't give me your daughters. You have to get salmon somewhere else." He built a big dam that is Chelan Falls now. That is why there are no salmon in Chelan Lake; because he did not get any girls there. Now all the creatures laugh at him. Coyote said, "Laugh at me. You will be hungry for salmon. You have missed them now. God sent me to make laws all over this country before the people come so you creatures can teach them what the law is. Now no salmon will be here."

Now he comes to the mouth of the Methow River. He tells the salmon, "You'd better stay here. I have to meet the other creatures so I can talk to them." He went a little way, about fifteen miles, and met the creatures waiting because they knew he would be there.

"Well," he says, "let's hold a meeting. I want to talk." The creatures say, "All right." He says, "I want all you creatures to give me your prettiest daughters to be my women." All the creatures say, "All right. You are the good man. Whatever you say we have to do because you freed the salmon down below. We know that." He says, "Some time later on, there are going to be lots of people [humans]. They must have some salmon. We're making laws for the to-be-people now." Coyote says, "I'm going to take salmon right to the head of this river." All the creatures said, "All right." He says, "I have some more business here tonight. Tomorrow about noon, I will go up the river."

In the evening, he made rocks in the swift river to catch salmon easily. Next day, he showed the spear and gaff hook to the creatures. "When the people come, you show them what I do today. Now I'm going up." He started going up the Methow River, nearly to the head, not quite but pretty near. Finally he thinks, "I'd better stop salmon here. Farther up it is too rough. This is far enough forever. If one of you salmon go by here, you are dead forever." From that time the salmon never go by. (That place is na·ca´sũa.)

By himself, he took a spear and laid it against a high rock and left a big picture of the spear there. [This is a pictograph: an incised outline, not painted.] It was hot: he said, "I want to rest until it is cooler, then I will go back." He saw a good rock and lay down on his back. Now there is

p. 216 (B)

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a picture of his back right there on the rock. As he lay in the sun, he told the pine tree, "You'd better come here and make shade." The pine tree is still there. He lay there in the shade and said, "I eat too much salmon. I'd better have some fruit." He says [narrator beckoned to the right], "Mŭca′k^{wŭ} (blackberry ?), come closer. Closer to my mouth. I ate too much salmon." It did and he opened his mouth and the berries fell in. Then he said, "Come to my other side, berries," and they did, and he ate them.

Now Coyote came back to the Okanogan River. When he came to Chiliwist(cI′laxwIst) Creek, he met a few creatures and held a meeting. Those few creatures said, "No, you can't have our daughters." He said, "Well," and built a dam. He came then to lŭ′plŭp creek (at Malott) and held a meeting. The creatures said, "No, you can't have our daughters." He built a dam and now there are no salmon there. Then he went to cŏncŭnŭ′lI creek and held a meeting. The people said, "All right," and now salmon run up the Okanogan all the time. White people call the cŏncŭnŭ′lI, Salmon Creek, because there are so many salmon there. None of the [other] creeks on the Okanogan have salmon because Coyote built dams.

He held a meeting where Oroville is now on the Similkameen River. He said, "I want all of your prettiest daughters. If you let me have them, I will tell salmon to come every summer forever. They are good to eat," he said. All the creatures said, "No, we have the mountain goat here to eat. He has lots of grease on his neck behind his head. That is good to eat. People won't need salmon when they come." Coyote says, "All right," and made a big dam there so that salmon can not go past.

From there he went to sŭ'·ŭ'′ŭs at the mouth of Okanogan Lake. That was a line for big salmon like the Chinook, but the little ones can go up. That is why there are just little salmon (sIsŭwI′n and xŭmI′na, steelhead) up there now.

He came back and went up the Columbia River. He went to kalI′teman (Tumwater). He met the creatures there waiting for him, wishing for salmon. They said to him, "If you want our daughters, you can have them." Coyote said, "All right. There are going to be lots of salmon in this river." He made a place right there. He came back again and made a slippery sloping rock on the bank. He said, "When the people come, let the children play here." [Suszen was there as a child.] There he made a hole in a rock to boil salmon. He built a fire and laid little rocks on top; he threw the heated rocks into the water, and it boiled.

p.217(A)

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21 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

COYOTE LIBERATES SALMON[21] [1]
(SECOND VERSION)

[The first part of this story is identical in every respect with the first version, save that there is no mention of instructions for fishing, no pictographs, sliding rock, and pothole. The present version continues:]

Finally Coyote and his wife had a daughter. [Which wife is not specified.] She grew up to be a big girl. (This being a story, it was not very long before she grew up.) Then Coyote thought to himself, "What'll I do to get my daughter for a wife?" He pretended to be sick, and he became awfully thin and weak. He told his wife, "If I die, make me a little house quite a way from our home, and bring all your roots and food there to store. After you bring all the food over, and when I die, take me over there too, and leave me something to make a fire with." Then he said, "I have a friend among the Kutenai. When he comes over here my daughter will have to marry him."

Then he pretended to be dead. His wife told her friends to take her dead husband over to the little house. Then he started eating again. He would make a fire and cook at night. He had told his wife, "If you ever see me going down to get water or anything, don't bother me; it's my ghost. And if you see smoke in the house, it's just my ghost. Don't bother me. If you hear me drinking soup; that's my ghost. Don't bother me."

When his food was all gone he started down the river. He called his power, and one [of his faeces?] said, "I'll be a canoe." And one said, "I'll be a lot of clothes, such as buffalo skins and blankets." And the third one said, "I'll be a lot of things to eat." Coyote himself was to be a man dressed up like one from the Kutenai country, all in buckskin, and he would talk Kutenai.

Then they saw him coming down the river All at once he arrived. There was a large summer camp there. When he landed, they said, "That's the friend Coyote was talking about." When he came in he talked different from them. They said, "Mouse is the only one that can understand that language." Mouse said, "He heard that his friend died; that's why he came here. His friend told him that he could take his daughter." Then they told Coyote's wife about it, and she said, "That's his wish. I guess it'll have to be." Then he got his own daughter to wife.

When the girl went down to swim she could see some of Coyote's hair on her and she wondered where it came from. Prairie Chickens said, "We're going to tell on Coyote. He's got his own daughter for a wife." They started singing and went into Coyote's

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[1] [See p. 217(A). -- Analyst]
p. 217 (B)

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house, and started calling his name. Coyote said, "Don't mention his name. He is dead. It's my woman's father's name." But they meant to come and tell on him. So they all went outside, and the last one to leave called out, "Coyote's got his own daughter for a wife." Coyote jumped up and ran out;and his daughter ran and threw herself right in the river where the falls were, she was so ashamed.

Coyote was looking at her from way up [in the sky]. She set [sat?] down towards the south. He said, "Turn around [to?] the north where the sun can go around you. [Coyote's daughter is evidently a star.]

THEFT OF FIRE (FIRST VERSION)[22]

In the beginning God created the world and all the creatures. (That story was told you before.)

All the animals decided to say what they were going to have. Some said that night should be one year long, and others said only one day. They said they were going to decide themselves; so they had a big meeting that day. God told them, "We are going to have days and nights: sometime I'm going to give you that." The three leaders of the first party were Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, and Ground Hog. Frog was the leader against them. All kinds of creatures followed him; half the creatures. Grizzly Bear and all those creatures said, "We're going to have six months of night. When the snow goes, we'll wake up." Their followers said, "All right; there'll be nothing to eat in that time, so it will be all right to sleep." Some of the creatures followed this and said, "When God comes back we'll tell him this." The other creatures did not like this, so Grizzly Bear said to them, "Why don't you say whether it is all right or not, to have six months of sleeping." The other creatures said "Frog is our leader. We have to say what is in his mind." Frog said, "We're going to have just a little time for night, and the same for day. Six months is too long. Maybe some of the creatures would get hungry and perhaps never wake up. They may die. You big creatures can sleep that long, but we can't." He did not say how many hours to have the night: he just said a little while. All the other creatures said, "No, it will kill the other creatures to have that. If we wake up in the winter while its cold, we'll die." Frog said, "We'll all do as I say. I'll have short nights and short days, in winter and in summer, so we can get up and eat in a little time. We can find something to eat in the winter. We can put away some food for winter. Six months is too long to sleep." Grizzly Bear said, "You creatures are too small for us. We are the biggest creatures, and we can decide on what we want. When God comes back, we'll hear [him decide for] what we want."

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[22] Told by Suszen Timentwa (R.H.P.).

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Three times they said this, opposing each other. Then the fourth time Frog said, "We'll have to divide. We want to sleep every little while." So he said, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow." (That is the way frogs talk now.) And Black Bear said, "One year, next morning; one year, next morning; one year, next morning."

So they divided. Neither party won. They were angry with each other. In the fall the big bears and other big creatures made houses, and in the winter they got in these and slept. Frog did no work; he was always talking. He got no food. But when it grew cold he went into the river and slept there a year and a half. [Suszen said a year; then changed it to half a year.] He had nothing to eat. He followed the word of the other creatures, to sleep a year, but he did not get any food. He did not follow even his own word.

Next spring the creatures thought, "Maybe our leader is dead. We have not seen him all winter." But they heard him still talking, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow." His followers held a meeting, and asked him where he'd been all the time. They tried to take him out of the water. But he would not say anything: he would just stick his head out of the water and repeat, "Tomorrow." His followers said, "Maybe he knows where he is keeping himself, but we don't know. We're taking care of ourselves, with our nests and food. But we'd get drowned if we stayed in the water all winter as he lives. Let's see what he eats. Maybe it's only mud. We want to eat berries, roots, vines, and so on." His followers left him. All the time he was saying, "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow."

All the creatures decided, "Sometime we're going to have the person [humans] who Coyote lost. God says, 'They're going to have fire to cook with, to keep themselves warm.'" So they decided, all the creatures, to have a big meeting; every one of them. They said, "We've got to have fire for the Indians-going-to-be, so they can cook and keep warm in the winter." All said, "All right, let's decide it, and make a fire for these persons-going-to-be."

Some of the creatures said, "How can we make it? We can't do this ourselves, without God. Even Coyote and those others did not know how." Coyote said, "In all this land there is no place to get fire, except up in the sky where there are already lots of persons. There are lots of people there, and at one place they are making a salmon trap on the river." All the creatures believed him. Grizzly Bear said, "How can we get that fire: the sky is so high. If the people see us, they'll kill us, for we are creatures. But how can we get up there, to steal the fire?"

Coyote said, "We'll have to make a bow and arrow, and shoot an arrow into the sky so it will stick there. Then we'll shoot another arrow into that, and another and another. Then we can climb up these and make a hole in the sky."

So every creature made a bow and arrow, every one. And every one shot up to the sky. But no one could hit it: it was too high. Then they made another bow, and tried again. They all went up to a high mountain, and tried to get nearer to the sky that way. Finally Coyote got tired and went off alone to look for something to eat. He left the rest of the creatures right there. These had all decided not to leave until they had finished. Coyote said, "Perhaps I'll come back sometime, but now I'm going to get something to eat."

He went way off and met a little bird (tcūckaki´na) who had a bow and arrow made of elk rib. (The Indians made bows of elk rib only very rarely, for they were too heavy and stiff, and it took a very strong man to pull them.) Coyote said to him,"Take that bow home to your father. Maybe he lost it." The little bird said, "I have no father." Coyote said, "Maybe you found that bow." But the little bird said, "No; it's my bow." Coyote then said, "Let me see you shoot, and then I'll believe you, that it's your bow." The little bird said, "I'm going to the meeting place of all the creatures,to shoot the sky." Coyote said, "You can't shoot that: you're too small, and the bow's too stiff. Even I, a big man, couldn't pull that. Hand it to me and let me try." The little bird handed it to him, and he tried to pull it; but he could not bend it. It was too hard. So he handed it back to the bird, saying, "How can you do this?" The little bird said, "Oh, I just do it. I made this bow to shoot at the sky, not just at anything." Coyote said, "Oh, you can't shoot the sky. I told you, the bow belongs to your father. You're too small yourself, and the bow is too strong for you." The little bird said, "It belongs to me, I have no father. I'm a man." Coyote said, "Let me go way over there and then you shoot me. If you hit me, then I'll believe you. If not, I'll not believe you." So he went fifty yards away and said, "Shoot." The bird said, "No, you're too close. You better go way off." Coyote went way off and stood up;"Now shoot." The bird said, "No. You want to learn how I can shoot: go way off." Two or three times it happened this way, and Coyote was way off over the hill. He laughed and said, "Oh, you can't shoot me." He thought, "Maybe that little boy has his father's big bow, or maybe he stole it." He went way over on the highest hill and forgot he was going to be shot. Finally he got right on top of the hill, perhaps fifteen or twenty miles away; a long way off. There he heard a ssss like the wind. He listened a while, and thought it was the wind in the trees. So he trotted away. But he heard it again, closer. He thought perhaps it was the pine trees. A third time he heard it, but the fourth time the arrow shot *him* right through. Wa! That is all. He fell down dead.

Tcŭckaki′na went fast, flying, to him. He was going to take the arrow out, but he thought his arrow would stink, so he left it. He went on to the shooting place, where all the creatures were.

About three days later Coyote was rotten all over. Fox knew this, so he walked over to him and woke him up; revived him. That was the first time he did this after God had told him he was going to be Coyote's guardian and wake him up when he died. So he woke up, opened his eyes, and asked Fox, "What's the matter with you! I'm sleeping here, and you woke me up." Fox said, "You've been dead here three days. Look at your worms: here! You've been trying to make fun of Tcŭckaki′na, and he shot you from a long way off. Tcŭckaki′na was going to shoot the sky with his bow and arrow. I knew he was going to hit it." Coyote said, "Oh, I know I was sleeping here." Fox told him not to bother that little bird any more. "He has more power than any one of us. And he's going to shoot the sky."

They went back together. When they got there Tcŭckaki′na was there. All the creatures said, "Go on and shoot the sky. You have a good bow and arrow, and we're sure you can do it." But he said, "No, I want all the creatures to be here when I shoot. In a little while two more will come: Fox and Coyote."

They got there and saw Tcŭckaki′na with his bow and arrow. Fox told Coyote not to bother Tcŭckaki′na. "He might kill you again. He's going to make a road so we can climb up to the sky."

Tcŭckaki′na said, "I know it now: that all you creatures are here." So he aimed at the sky and pulled his bow and let go his arrow. He hit the sky. The first shot, the arrow stuck in the sky, good and hard. He took another arrow and shot again. He hit the butt and the two stuck together. He shot again, so there were three arrows there. The arrows grew closer to the animals as he shot more. He shot them all like that until the arrow-chain got here, to the ground.

All the creatures decided what they were going to do when they got there. "There are no animals in the sky; all are people. We have never been seen by people before; they would kill us all." Coyote said, "When we all get up there, we'll hide. If the people see us they'll surely kill us." The creatures said, "That is all right: we can hide when we get up there."

Grizzly Bear said, "The smallest animal can climb up first; then the bigger and bigger ones until it comes to Grizzly Bear." He was the biggest of the lot. Coyote told Grizzly Bear, "You must stay here and watch

*539 this road. You're the strongest creature, and so if some other creature comes (from another country) and wants to harm our road, you can fight him." Grizzly Bear wanted to go up to the sky and fight, since there were to be no animals below to fight. But all the creatures told him to stay and watch the end on the ground.

Badger and Ground Hog and Ground Owl all hid themselves in a hole when all the creatures went up, for they were afraid to go up and fight

After they had all gone, Grizzly Bear decided, "I am going up, too. If my creatures get into a fight, they'll get caught. They can't fight. I'd better go up and help them." So he climbed up, and this pulled out the first arrow, and then the second;for he was too heavy. All the way up to the sky he did that, and destroyed the rope all the way to the sky. After all was gone, he was angry and ashamed, and so he went away. That is the reason why he is angry at all the creatures now. He has no friends. But it is his own fault, since he destroyed the road.

When the creatures reached the sky,they made a hole [holes?]: the bigger the creature the bigger the hole. After going a little way they came to a river. Coyote said, "Let's follow that river. Maybe we'll come to Indians with a salmon trap. Maybe they are up the river."

Just a little way beyond they saw lots of people at a salmon trap. So they hid themselves and decided what to do in order to steal fire and bring it down to this country, here. They debated all night. Finally near morning all the creatures decided that Frog and Watersnake should go to the camp and see what the people were doing. "When the people see you," they said, "you can go into the river where the people will not see you any more." They said, "All right."

They went a little way, near the people. In the dark Watersnake touched his nose to Frog's foot. He said, "Yummmm, that tasted good to eat." He said, "You better go fast, now. It's getting light." But Frog said, "Keep quiet! the people will hear you." Three times he said that, and each time Frog told him to keep still. Then he swallowed and swallowed. Frog did not cry out;he kept his word and did not cry, for he was afraid of the people.

When Watersnake had swallowed his partner, he turned back and went to the other people [the animals]. They asked him, "Where's your partner?" He said t'cinemIn't (which means literally, "I have finished it"). Coyote said, "Oh, he swallowed him." They looked at him and saw his big belly, and all said, "He swallowed him."

Then Coyote said to Dog and Faeces,"You better go up there and see how they do it,so we can start a fire." Faeces and Dog said, "All right, we'll go." (Dog could run fast and could take up his partner and run away, if the people saw them.) Faeces went ahead and Dog behind. Near the camp of the people, Dog said, "Oh, that smells good to eat." He took a little bite and said, "Hurry;" but Faeces said, "No, we have to go slow." Three times they did this. Then Dog took more bites and finally ate his partner up. He ran back and went to the other creatures. When he got back there, they asked him where his partner was. He said t'cInamIn. Then Coyote said, "He ate his partner, all of him. See, he's making his tongue go like this [licking his chops]."

In the morning they made one more law for the creatures. The creatures did not know they no longer had a road to go down on. Then all the good creatures, the handsome [wise?] ones who looked fine to the people, talked together. Coyote said, "You, Eagle, and you, Redheaded Woodpecker (the big one which lives in the mountains), and you, Beaver, three of you; you must go and get the fire. You can decide yourselves what power to take. But you must get it."

Beaver said, "I'll go last to bring back the fire." Eagle said, "I'll fly close to the people to watch my partner, the redheaded woodpecker." And the redheaded woodpecker said, "I'll go close to the people and sit on a tree. Then if the people shoot at me, I can run around the tree and the people can't hit me." Beaver said, "I'll go above the salmon trap and make myself as though dead. I'll lie against the salmon trap. Then the people will take me over to the camp where they're roasting salmon and skin me. When they are through with this, you, Redheaded Woodpecker, sit on this tree nearby and let the people go after you. And you too, Eagle, go near. Then when they shoot you, fly away. When the people all go after you, I'll have a chance to put my skin back, and then I can steal the fire and dive into the river." All said, "All right." So the three went away.

Beaver dove from there to the salmon trap. He made himself as though dead and lay on the salmon trap. At nine or ten o'clock, the sun way up, the people were catching salmon from the trap. After eating, they cleaned the weeds from above the trap. They threw them below the trap. Right in the middle they saw Beaver resting against the trap as though dead. They said, "We have a new creature here, with good wool [fur] on his back." All the others shouted to bring it so they could see it. All three of these people went back to the crowd with the beaver. When they got to the crowd, they wondered how this creature got there, alone and dead. If it were alive they would have said it was all right and would have kept it. But since it was dead, they thought they would skin it. The chief said, "According to our myths, no animal is to be here, just persons. How did this creature come here? Creatures are only in the lower country. All you people, you'd better skin it, and keep its hide all the time." (There were no people down below in the other country yet.)

So they laid him down and skinned him. The chief said, "Don't cut the hide, but let him look just as though alive. Don't lose any piece. Throw away all the flesh, else it will get rotten." They all sat there and watched while they skinned him. All the men came to see. They slit open the limbs and belly to the head. Beaver thought, "As soon as they take my hide, I'll be dead." Redheaded Woodpecker was afraid of being shot and did not come. Eagle told him, "You better go ahead, or they're going to take the hide off our partner and soon he'll be dead." So he flew over and sat on the tree, and made his noise. The people said, "There's another new kind of creature." The chief said, "Shoot him." So they all shot him, but they could not hit him. Their arrows stuck in the tree, and he just ran up and down and around: they could not hit him.

The skin was still there, and the three men who had found Beaver were still skinning him. But they were watching the redheaded woodpecker. They had skinned him to the mouth when Beaver bit his lip for quite some time to try to free himself. But the chief had said not to lose any of the hide, so he [they?] was careful. The three men yelled to the others, "Why don't you hit him [Woodpecker ?]. If we were there, we could shoot him easily." Then they saw Eagle circling high above the tree, and said, "There's another new creature." The chief said, "Shoot him, too, so we can have the feathers to keep all the time." They shot at the eagle and the redheaded woodpecker, but they could not hit them. Many of them had no more arrows. So the three men said, "We'll go and help." The chief said, "Go ahead and shoot." They took their arrows and shot.

Nobody was watching Beaver, whose skin was all off except on one side of his mouth. He was biting this. Everybody was facing the other way. He took his hide back, rolled around in it a while, and it stuck back on his flesh. By his power it grew back and healed. Then he split his fifth finger [i.e. lifted his nail], ran to the fire, and put some of the fire in there. Then he ran down to the river below the trap and dove way down. Eagle and Redheaded Woodpecker saw this, so they flew way up in the sky and gave their call, ka ka ka ka and harr, harr. Finally the water put out the fire, so there was no more fire. But all three of the animals got back. Beaver and all the creatures ran quickly down to their place but could find no hole. They thought perhaps someone had killed Grizzly Bear and had destroyed the road.

"Well," Coyote said, "You creatures jump down. We have to." The birds all flew, but the rest of the creatures jumped down. Eagle and Redheaded Woodpecker took Beaver so he did not get hurt. Bat took his blanket and jumped down, but he hit the ground and smashed to pieces. Bear hit the ground and smashed too. Sucker jumped down and smashed too. And all the fishes (the squaw fishes, that live always in the river) went into his quiver to go down, and so they all broke to pieces too.

Coyote was behind. He had no help, no partners; he was left there,all alone. The people in pursuit came close to him. He thought he was going to be killed. He had no power, and thought, "If I hit the ground, I'll die." So he said, "I'll take power from a rock, so when I hit the ground I won't be hurt." So he jumped, and in a little while he went fast, sssss. Then he was frightened. He thought, "If when I get to the bottom I hit a rock, I'll be smashed." So he said, "What power am I going to use? What power am I going to use? What power am I going to use?" Then he took [became?] a pine tree, and slowed up. But the tree turned, and he went fast again. Then he was frightened again, and said "What power am I going to use?" three times again. Then he thought, "I'll take the power of the down of birds." He did this, but the wind blew him up and up, and he wondered how he was going to get down again. He thought again, "What power am I going to get for my help?" He thought this again three times, and then he thought, "I'll get power from leaves." He did this, and came down slowly, like leaves.

He walked to the meeting place to find out if all the other animals had gotten down. All the birds were there, but the creatures who could not fly were not there. They were all hurt, smashed to pieces. So Coyote put all the creatures together and patched them up, but they were still dead. He made them all live again; all the fish first. Sucker lost his mouth, so he has no mouth now. (They are ashamed of this, so that when you look at one he turns around and will not let you look at his mouth.) They decided in a little while that they would have to get flesh from the black bear to put in his mouth. All the creatures said, "All right," and they got grease from the black bear's flesh and put it in the sucker's mouth. That was just like flesh, that grease was. And all those fishes, which were in his quiver with the arrows, had these pieces of arrow all broken up in them. That is why all the little fishes have so many big bones. Now they all jumped into the river again. Sucker was ashamed to eat anything but mud on the bottom. He hid his mouth from that time until now.

Black Bear was made only half alive. They could not make him wholly alive. They did not want him to go like that, but to be all alive, so Coyote said, "He wants us to have a song, to wake him up so he can live again. All you creatures, decide what kinds of songs you have to sing, so black bear can be alive again." All the creatures sang,but they could not make Black Bear alive again. He was as though sleepy all the time. The berries in the rock (wicxinilp) said, "I'll sing a song to wake him up." His song was loud and good, and all the creatures followed him. So Black Bear opened his eyes and awoke. He was the last one that they made live again. Coyote said, "That song is going to be his now; not for himself, but for the people-going-to-be [humans]. When the people kill him, they shall sing that song while they roast him and eat him, so he will always come to life again." (This song is called tsIsömict. It is his song: this song is a prayer for the black bear. It is not known now, except by a very few old people. Whenever people see a bear being carried home, they sing this song for him.)

After this, Coyote said, "Where are we going to put the fire?" It was still in the beaver's little finger nail. Beaver said, "There was wood with the fire. We must put it back with wood." They all said, "All right." So Beaver chewed some trees and put the coal inside the wood to be there for all time until now. That is why Beaver is always chewing wood for food. That is why the people were told to make fire with wood. And they have all done so since that early time.

THEFT OF FIRE (SECOND VERSION)[23]

Coyote (sEnqale'p) went along and saw Chickadee. He told Chickadee, "I want to gamble with you. I want to win all your arrows." Chickadee said, "All right." And they started to shoot their arrows. Chickadee had a deer rib for a bow. Coyote said, "Suppose I go way up on the mountain; if you can hit me with this bow, I'd give you back all your arrows." Chickadee said, "Yes, I could hit you from here." So Coyote went on top of a nice level hill. He forgot all about Chickadee going to shoot him. As soon as Chickadee saw Coyote on the level spot, he pulled his bow and let his arrow go. Coyote heard something like wind coming. He said, "It'll surely be lovely, when I get to the top of the mountain and hear the wind blow like that." All at once the arrow struck him; he just made one noise and fell over dead. Little Chickadee followed him and took his arrow out of him. Chickadee was going to a big gathering.

Coyote lay there dead for a long time, and finally Fox came along. Fox stepped over him two or three times, and he came to life. So he started trying to make Fox believe that he had only been asleep, and yawned a big yawn. He said, "Fox, what made you wake me up?" Fox said, "Because you have no sense; you shouldn't gamble with Chickadee and ask him to shoot you."

This little Chickadee started for the big gathering. Coyote told Chickadee, "Now we're partners. We'll go up and get the fire in the skies." They got to the people. The people started to make fun of them, saying, "You two are good for nothing. You couldn't do anything here." Everybody was trying to shoot arrows into the sky to make

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[23] Told by Billie Joe (W.B.C.).

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a ladder, but they had failed to make them stick. Chickadee told them, "Well, I'll show you." Chickadee took his arrows out and told the people he was going to show them what he could do. He took out his four arrows and shot one in the sky so it stuck. He shot his own four arrows first, and made them stick one into the other. Then he shot all Coyote's arrows and the arrows of everyone who had come there from all parts of the world. He shot all the arrows and the chain reached the ground.

Dung and Dog, partners, went up. And Beaver and Woodpecker together as partners. They got up on top of the sky. Beaver and Woodpecker told Dog and Dung, "Go take a peep at these Indians at the camps." Dog told his partner Dung that he was to lie ahead of him, so that Dog could lie behind Dung. Dog smelt his partner and thought he smelt pretty good, so he licked him all up, and he did not have a partner any more. Dog came back. The people asked him, "What did you do with your partner?" Dog would not say the full words, but he said, "Licked him."

The Indians had a fish trap there. Beaver said, "I'll play dead, and float down to lie on their fish trap." Beaver told his partner, "When they pick me up and take me to the chief's house, they'll start to skin me." When they started to skin him, he bit the corner of his mouth so it would be hard to skin. While they were trying to take the hide off, Woodpecker flew on top of a tree and went round and round. All the Indians rushed out with their bows and arrows, and started to shoot at him. They left Beaver lying there with his hide skinned except for the corner of his mouth, which he was holding between his teeth. He put his hide on again. They were still shooting at Woodpecker when Beaver took some coals and ran for the arrow ladder. When Woodpecker found that his partner had started for the ladder, he flew back to the ladder, and they met there and came down.

When they got down, Chickadee started to pull the arrows down. When he got to his own, he grabbed them and pulled them all down. Beaver laid down the stolen fire. He told Grizzly — Grizzly was the chief — "You can tell people what they can do with the fire." Grizzly said, "It's better for the people to divide the fire all over the world." So they gave Hummingbird and Horsefly each a piece of fire. They flew in different directions. Horsefly just went to another country and laid the fire down; but it took Hummingbird quite a while, because he would stop at the flowers. They took all the fire and distributed it over the world in this way. So I came back.

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TWO BROTHERS WHO CHANGED INTO WOLVES[24]
(FIRST VERSION)

The Shuswap came down the Kettle River from its source. There was lots of water in the Kettle River. They began to make some canoes. So they came down in bark canoes. They went down to Curlew. There were about ten or more men of the sInwhêalpItq [Colville] there. Among these ten were the husbands of KtsatsIkwa's sisters. They were just hunting around there. The Indians were all over here at Oroville, but these ten or twelve were hunting.

KtsatsIkwa and his brother were hunting. They camped at ntlÁxnõextn (Midway). The Shuswap went down the river in their canoes. KtsatsIkwa did not see them go by. They went as far as Curlew, where they saw lights down the river. They stopped, got out of their canoes, and crept slowly up on the Indians. It was near morning. They killed them all but one woman, who they stabbed all over. Then they jumped into the river and swam across. The Shuswap also captured KtsatsIkwa's two beautiful sisters. Then the Shuswap ate some food and took some, and went back toward the Shuswap country. The sun was just up when they got to Midway.

KtsatsIkwa was making a sweat house on top of a mountain. He had just lighted the fire. As soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you;it's going to bite you." So he grabbed water and threw it on the fire, and the steam and smoke went up in one great cloud. The Shuswap had asked the woman where KtsatsIkwa was, and the women told them that KtsatsIkwa was off looking for roots on the other side of Markus on the Colville River and would not be coming back for a long time. The Shuswap saw the cloud of smoke and said that the woman must be lying. Some said that it was smoke. The smoke stayed on top of a little mountain. They decided that it was a fog. Some said that there was a little lake there; that the fog had risen from it in the early morning. So they started out along Midway flat: it was quite a way from Curlew.

KtsatsIkwa and his brother began to run. They saw the whole band of Shuswap going along the flat. KtsatsIkwa wanted to attack them right there, but his brother advised him to be patient so that they could kill them all. They followed them slowly. They came far on this side [of the divide?] to a place called Wolf Creek (ntɔatsEnI′lh^{u}). They went down there and into the creek, and lay under the brush near the trail; that is, KtsatsIkwa and his brother did. They wanted to know if they had any captives or if the band was Shuswap alone. KtsatsIkwa wanted to attack them again, he was so enraged, but his brother held him down and told him that if they attacked them now, the enemy would get away. The Shuswap reached the flat to-

P.223(A)

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[24] Told by David Isaac (W.B.C.).
[25] On Kettle River.

ward the river, and sitting down in the shade, began to eat their lunch.

The two started down the hills. When they got down the hill, the Shuswap saw KtsatsIkwa and his brother. They said, "There's KtsatsIkwa coming." So as soon as they saw the enemy, KtsatsIkwa's brother said, "Do your best, now they've seen us. I'll do whatever you do." KtsatsIkwa took his quiver and bow, and threw it between his legs, raised it, and made a tail of it. The Shuswap looked at him and kept saying, "That's KtsatsIkwa." He told his brother, "I'll turn and run up the hill, and you do so too." He turned around quickly and ran up, changing into a wolf, and so did his brother. So the Shuswap said that they were mistaken: they were two wolves: they had mistaken them for Indians because the wolves had been coming straight toward them. KtsatsIkwa and his brother ran way up the hill making noises like wolves, till they got out of sight. The Shuswap said, "They're wolves. They must be chasing a deer."

After they got out of sight of the enemy, KtsatsIkwa and his brother kept the Shuswap in sight. One of KtsatsIkwa's sisters was going along. She jumped down a bluff into the deep water of the river, away from the file of Shuswap, and escaped across the river. This was the younger girl. They still had the older girl. So they went on, above Rock Creek (chaI'aqEn).[23] 1/A

The Shuswap went into the brush, and went way down in a swamp by the river to camp. KtsatsIkwa and his brother had not gotten that far when it became dark. KtsatsIkwa had a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose in back. When they reached the swamp, his brother asked him if those were the tracks, and he said, "I don't know yet." He turned his cap grizzly-nose to the front. He smelled the track with his grizzly power. His brother asked him if they were the tracks, and he said, "Yes, those Shuswap feet stink very much." They followed them till they came nearly to the bank of the river. They stopped: they could hear the Shuswap snore. The Shuswap were all tired and had gone to sleep.

The Shuswap had gathered all their weapons at one tree. KtsatsIkwa and his brother took them all away, picking out the two best spears they could find. They looked for KtsatsIkwa's sister. The Shuswap had her right in the middle. They had covered her with a buckskin robe, and were lying on top of the robe on each side. KtsatsIkwa whispered to his sister, and split the hide open. His sister jumped into the river and swam across. KtsatsIkwa's brother told him, "Take your spear and start from one end [of the enemy group], and I'll start from the other. Take your time, and we'll finish [killing] them all." He stabbed them one by

1/A [See p. 223(A). -- Analyst]

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one, and when one woke up out of turn he would stab him. KtsatsIkwa shouted at the Shuswap after they woke up, and stabbed them and stabbed them till there were only three left. He told these three that when they got back home they could tell the tale.

He jumped into the river. There was a snag there. He jumped on it, and it went through his buckskin. He could not get loose from it and he was held under the water. He was almost drowned when his Frog power told him, "I play with water, so you aren't going to drown." Then the frog freed him from the snag. His brother and sister were already across. While he swam, he began to make a noise like a frog. They thought something was the matter when he had been gone so long. When they heard the frog, they asked him if it was he, and he said, "Yes." So he got to shore. Then they heard the Shuswap crying and asking, "Who are you that killed so many of us?" KtsatsIkwa said, "My name is KtsatsIkwa. I am your man" (as if to call them his women). So he left them there to go and tell the tale.

TWO BROTHERS WHO CHANGED INTO WOLVES[26]
(SECOND VERSION)

Long ago the Shuswap[27] came down the Kettle River, killing old women and children. They would put them on sticks and roast them over a fire. There were two brothers hunting in the mountains not very far away when these Shuswap came along. There were only old women and girls left in camp to be slaughtered.

These two brothers were putting hot stones in a sweat house. Just as the smoke rose, the spirit of one of them, KÂtsâtsI´kwa, a warrior, told him, "Can't you see: your father and mother are dead, and there are your enemies right at the camp." The enemies saw the smoke rising beyond the mountain. They said, "That is KÂtsâtsI´kwa's smoke." KÂtsâtsI´kwa threw water on the fire and the steam rose like a cloud. The enemies began to argue. Some said, "That was a fire." Others said, "No." Some said, "Yes, that was a fire. That was KÂtsâtsI´kwa, a great warrior."

They had not killed his sister. After they killed the others they captured his sister. She knew it was her brother who made the fire and had found out about the raid. She knew how much power he had.

So KÂtsâtsI´kwa told his brother, "We will go down." So they started down. When they reached their camp, they could see men, old men, women, children, lying by the fire, roasting. They could not find their sister: she had been captured. So he told his brother, "We will follow the enemy." So they set off running. They reached the top of a hill. The enemy below saw them coming over

p.224(A)

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[26] Told by Andrew Tillson (L.S.).

[27] In a third version, identical with this, the Kutenai are named.

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the hill. The enemy sat down. KÁtsÁtsI´kwa said to his brother, "Now is the time to use your power. If you are a man like me use your power.' He said, "No, use your own power. I will help you. My power is just like yours. We will use the same power, the wolf power." KÁtsÁtsI´kwa said, "All right, go ahead."

Just then they both turned into wolves. They had their bows and arrows under their arms. They howled like wolves. They then turned around and ran up the hill, one behind the other. The people began to argue: some said they were men who came over the hill. Some said, "No; they are wolves." Finally they all agreed they were wolves. But their sister knew they were her brothers.

So the enemy went on toward their own home with the sister of these two warriors. They travelled until dark, when they found a swamp. (This is on Kettle River, eight miles above Rock Creek. Bones of Indians are found there yet.) They went far into the brush and all lay down. They lay by a tree. They covered the girl with a buffalo robe and a warrior lay on top of it on each side to pin her down so she could not escape. They tied her hands.

The two brothers were overtaken by darkness, so they could not follow the tracks. One said to the other, "Use your power." KÁtsÁtsI´kwa said, "All right." He put on his cap made of grizzly bear head. Then he turned into a grizzly and began to follow the tracks in the thick underbrush. Toward morning, he came on them sleeping.

They crept about to locate their sister. They slit the robe and untied her hands. The enemies had piled their bows, arrows, and spears at one tree. They picked out the best spears, put them aside, and dumped the rest of the weapons into the river. Then they slaughtered those Shuswap, killing all but two. When these two got up and began crying, the two brothers said, "We will let you go. You can go back and tell your tribe that we would like them to come by thousands. We would kill them all. You can tell them you saw I was 'mean' and turned into a wolf."

KÁtsÁtsI´kwa sent his brother and sister across the river. He was alone with these two. He dived into the river, but got caught on a root in the bottom. He could not come up. His brother and sister could hear him making a noise like a frog. He was nearly dead, when his spirit, a big frog, came along, saying, "I did not tell you that you would die in the water. Water is nothing to me; that is where I live." So his spirit took him off the root. He swam ashore.

I told him I would leave him; so I came back.

p. 224 (B)

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THE THEFT OF SALMON'S WIFE[28]
(FIRST VERSION)

Salmon had a wife. She was Mourning Dove. There were four wolves. The youngest took Salmon's wife away. This was on the Columbia River south of Kartaro. They came to Kartaro where there is a spring. That was the house of the wolves. From there the wolves used to go way off hunting in the mountains. Each time they went, each of them would kill a deer. They would throw them into the back part of the house, lifting the mats, and then they would go to wash their hands at the spring.

About a year later Salmon thought he would go get his wife. He came to the place in the Columbia River where they used to spear salmon in the morning. He took a short cut and came to where his wife was. When he got there his wife was all alone. She told her husband, "No matter what you do, they'll know about you. If you go down to the spring and hide there, they'll know about it. You can't fool them." He went and lay in the spring anyway, and tried to hide himself in the mud. Waiting for them there, he killed each of them as he came there, and laid him aside. So he killed three of the brothers. He took his wife and they went back.

The last brother chased them and shot him. But he could not kill him because his body was so slippery the arrows slipped right off. People tried to help Wolf, but they could not kill him. They were fighting on the bank of the river. Rattlesnake had a house right opposite. He had a grandchild who saw the people fighting and trying to kill Salmon. Rattlesnake told the child, "Open the latch of the door so I can see what is going on." Rattlesnake saw that Salmon was way up in the air and the people were trying to kill him. So he took some of his teeth and aimed them right at Salmon. He shot at him and hit him right in the back of the head. Salmon fell right there and died.

There were two river-side birds who carried water and threw it on Salmon till he recovered. They made a raft and put Salmon on it. Then he and his wife went down the river. Salmon's wife was crying all the time. She was feeling bad. Salmon got tired of her crying and threw her to the shore, saying, "Your name will be hamí'shamí'a. Whenever I come up this way you can go along and start to sing tisqēxīn (naming her husband)." Salmon went on down the river.

The next summer he came up again. He came to some fishes who had a house there by the water. He walked to the shore and up to the house. They were saying, "Oh that salmon, he thinks he's a chief but he's mean to the people. They're hungry and he don't come up." All at once Salmon walked in and

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28 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

p.225(A)

they all looked up. They told him they were so glad to see him. Salmon said, "Get some water and set it right here." Salmon told the first of the fishes, "You spit in that." He wanted to see how fat they were. But there was just a little fat on the water. None of them was fat. (He did this because they had said that if it had not been for them, the people would have starved. That is why he made them spit; to find out.) Salmon spit on the water and there was a lot of grease on it. He said, "That's why I think I am greater than you: when you spit there's nothing on it. That's why I think I'm higher than you people." He threw them into the river and told them, "That's where you will live, in the eddies where the water is somewhat still. That will be your home." And he gave them names. He said, "I will come back in the summer, but you people stay here all the time,so that people can go out torch fishing and catch you to eat whenever they like."

Then he went on until he reached Rattlesnake's house. Rattlesnake was doing a war dance and singing, telling about how he had shot Salmon: tĭsta xa′x̣ĭn tĭsta xa′x̣ĭn tĕla...lĭ′ʼ ha....("I was just trying; I was just trying; and Salmon fell down"). Rattlesnake was boasting, when all at once Salmon walked in. Then Rattlesnake started wetting his eyes, and said, "I was just crying because I heard that Wolf killed you last year." Salmon went out and plugged up the house. He made a fire at the door. He said,"That will be your home in the rocks all the time. That'll be your den. You won't be able to throw your teeth far and kill people. You'll bite them when they step on you, but you are not going to be as clever as all that." Then he left Rattlesnake there and went on up the river.

Farther up he heard some people talking in a house. They were talking about him. They looked up and were surprised to see him. He told them, "I don't make the people worse by their eating me. They feel good after they eat me. They get more strength. You people just make people worse. You don't do them any good." He took one of them and threw him on a tree saying, "Your name will be sq^{u}li′p (moss on the tree). After they eat me they can eat you." He took the prickly pears and threw them, saying, "That will be your home." This was a prairie where there was a gulch. "People can eat you,too. They can burn the spines." Salmon took the wild cherries and threw the bush to one side, saying, "You'll grow any place. After they eat me the people can eat you." He threw the service berries every place, too. He said, "You can grow any place where people can get you." He gave them each a home. Then he jumped back into the river. Then I came back.

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THE THEFT OF SALMON'S WIFE[29]
(SECOND VERSION)

Three wolverine brothers took away Salmon's wife. Salmon had given a lot for her, and he was an awful nice looking fellow, so he had gotten this chief's daughter. He took her way down some place. Finally she was going to have a child, so Salmon said, "You can go back to your relatives and I'll come back later." So she went home bringing a lot of salmon.

The three wolverine brothers were in love with her. After the child was born they stole her and took her up into the mountains, where they kept her for a long time.

So Salmon went up to fight with them. (In a little pool in Kartaro Valley, you'll always see one tiny fish that never gets any bigger. That is where Salmon hid himself.) When the oldest wolverine brother came there to wash his hands, Salmon jumped up and killed him, and threw the body aside. The same thing happened when the second came. When the third came, Salmon struck him in half and the half-wolverine went up on a mountain. So Salmon got his wife and son and went down the Columbia.

Some other animals came to fight with Salmon, but he had a shield and killed them all. Rattlesnake said, "I'll get him; he killed all my animal friends." Finally Rattlesnake shot Salmon in the back of the head and killed him. He lay there till he was dry. Finally two birds came and saw him. They picked him up and started to pour soup on him, and poured it till he became alive,

While he was lying dead the three wolf brothers got the woman. He went down to the ocean and stayed a year before he came back. Then he came back and killed the three wolf brothers just as he had killed the four wolverine brothers.

SALMON ENDS RATTLESNAKE'S DESTRUCTIVNESS[30]

When Great Man first made Fox the chief, he (Fox) made all the fierce animals, such as Rattlesnake, to be fierce. Coyote came along and made him stop. Fox made Rattlesnake to be a man-eater. [Johnnie Louie, the interpreter, said Andrew was not telling the story right.]

A salmon was going along. No one was supposed to go by Rattlesnake's home. When Rattlesnake saw Salmon going by, he shot Salmon with his bow and arrow. Great Man told Coyote to destroy all that Fox had done. When Coyote saw Salmon dead on the bank, Coyote picked him up and brought him back to

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29 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).
30 Told by Andrew Tillson (W.B.C.).
31 Told by Michel Brooks (E.G.).

life and told him to go back to Rattlesnake. [Johnnie said that Coyote got angry when Rattlesnake killed Salmon, so he went back to Salmon.] Salmon got angry when Coyote brought him back to life, so he went back in a canoe. When Salmon got close to Rattlesnake's den he heard Rattlesnake doing a war dance and song. When Salmon heard him singing his war song and talking about him, he went back to his canoe, and started up the river. At first he hit his paddle on the canoe to make a noise. Rattlesnake went back into his den. He took charcoal and dirtied his face, and went to make believe that he had been crying ever since Salmon was killed. Then Salmon went in, and Rattlesnake told him, "Ever since I heard you were killed, I was sorry and have been crying." Salmon said, "Well, I've come back to life again so you'd better stop crying." Salmon went out of Rattlesnake's den and put all kinds of pitch and dry grass around the house and set fire to the den. Salmon stayed there till the den burned to ashes, and then he heard one of Rattlesnake's eyes pop: it had burst. When this burst it turned into an owl, and flew, and sat on a tree and made a noise like Mmmmm [an owl's low hoot]. Salmon said, "When people come to this world, you'll be harmless, and good only to scare children with when they are naughty or crying." And the other eye burst and blew into [bits?], and started to rattle and to crawl [as rattlesnakes?]. Salmon said, "When people come to this world, you'll not kill people every day, but just once in a while you'll bite people and kill them."

RATTLESNAKE AND MICAUI[3] [1]

Rattlesnake was a very nice looking fellow. Mica'ŭi'[3] [2] was a nice looking girl, too: she was very pretty. Mica'ŭi' thought that since she was nice looking, she should have a nice looking man. She looked over all her people, but did not see any of them good looking enough to suit her. Finally she saw Rattlesnake. As soon as she saw him she fell in love with him. She thought she would make him love her. When she told him she would like to have him for a husband, Rattlesnake did not dare go close to her, because she stank so. Rattlesnake said, "You stink so much that I don't like you. You're good looking enough, but you stink." So Mica'ŭi' told Rattlesnake, "All right then; you don't like me! You told me I stink. Wherever I may be, you can't travel on the ground where I am. You can always be on the rocks and wherever it's very hot, while I'll always be in a place where it's nice and cool and green." And from that time the rattlesnakes were always among the rocks, where other things cannot be. But Mica'ŭi' is always on green places where rattlesnakes are forbidden.

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[1] [See p. 226(A). --Analyst]

[2] [See p. 226(C). --Analyst]

p. 226(B)

9: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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32 Not translated: probably not skunk (s'nkstē'a): possibly mlcōwī, an evil-smelling root. — L.S.

p.226 (c)

THE MOUNTAINS FIGHT FOR A WIFE[33]

All the big mountains about here were once people. That was after Coyote was elected chief. In those days there was no camas here and they had to go to the prairies on the Spokane River to get it. At this time there was a very nice looking woman at kalispI′lEm who was the daughter of a chief. She decided that she would come over here and make love to tcōpe′q (Mount Chopaka), who was the chief of all the mountains around here. She carried camas with her.

At a place near Keller she sat down to rest. When all the mountains who were big fellows around here — Moses, Little Moses, and others — saw her, they thought she was a good looking woman, and that they would fight for her against tcōpe′q to whom she was going. (You can still see the gullies and the canyons which are the places where they struck him.) Tcōpe′q beat the others and said, "I am going to be highest of all around here." Then he stepped over the others, going higher and higher.

When the woman saw that they were fighting over her, she said, "I'm not going to marry any of you. I am going back to my country." Then she took the camas she had and threw it back to kalispI′lEm. (If you go over to that place you will see where the old woman is. She is there yet.) She said, "I'm going to stay right here. When the Indians come they will have to pay me every time they pass." When the world turned over, we came to be people and she became a stone. (Today the Indians deposit a handkerchief or a piece of horse's hair or a dime, and ask for luck. This rock is called n·a′mtūc, "sitting on a hill." It is on the summit between Oroville and Chesaw.)

THE ROCK WHO WANTED TO MARRY MOSES MOUNTAIN[34]

The mountain to the east of Moses Mountain is qōqōlē′t. That behind [north of?] Moses is sxwEI′lt. This means "holding a baby:" it is like his [Moses?] baby.

Moses Mountain had a wife. She died and left him with the baby. He was holding it in his arms. On the prairie beyond Nespelem there is a high rock called pEpItsqEmEn. She [the rock] got ready to come to Moses Mountain. She prepared a bundle of tsixElō′sa (a white camas-like root) and bitter root, and put some kElkElmEnā^{l}p in her moccasins. Then she came over to Moses Meadow (nqwa′lEqūltEm). When she reached there he said he did not want her. She ate some of the camas and threw away the leavings. Some of it grew there for a while, but it is all gone now. She threw away the weeds from her moccasins, and then these grew there. Then she started back by way of Kartaro, crossed the river and went up a mountain. There she sat down and ate some of the root and threw the rest of it away. So there is lot of it growing there now. Huckleberries and some weeds that she took with her from here are growing there now, too.

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[33] Informant not on record (M.M.).
[34] Told by Andrew Tillecm (?) (M.M.).
[35] Told by Billie Joe (L.V.W.W.).

COYOTE KILLS THE CANNIBAL WOMAN[36] [1]

Q'ōmkanI'′tsa had a big dog. The dog was on top of a big rock. As soon as people would come in sight, this dog would bark. Then Q'ōmkanI'′tsa would come out and tell the people, "Come on, come on." Then she would tell her dog to kill the people as soon as they came. The dog would kill them. Q'ōmkanI'′tsa would take the people and eat them. In her house there was nothing but bones on the floor. Q'ōmkanI'′tsa was "mean." She ate people.

Then Coyote (Sinkelip) thought, "I'm going over there and see Q'ōmkanI'′tsa." He went to see her. The dog started to fight with Coyote. Coyote was beaten. Q'ōmkanI'′tsa said, "Oh, it's just Coyote. I won't eat him," and she threw him away.

Coyote lay there where Q'ōmkanI'′tsa threw him and Fox came along. Fox jumped over him several times and brought Coyote to life. Coyote yawned [Billie Joe yawned deeply] and said, "Oh, you bother me. I'm sleeping." Fox said, "Oh, you thought you were smarter than that woman and she killed you."

Coyote thought, "Well, I'm going to kill her." And he went back to her the way he had come. Then he called his power three times, "psss, psss, psss." The first power said, "I'll be strong so nobody can get the best of me when I fight." The next power said, "I'll be invisible." The third said, "I'll be the one to kill the dog and the woman."

The dog looked and ran, but could not see anything, so he lay down to rest. But Coyote was going along there invisible and he got close to the dog. He walked close to the dog resting there. He grabbed the dog's head and before he could jump or bark, Coyote broke his neck. Coyote told the dog, "You are never going to be fierce any more. From now on you will be just a dog."

Coyote went around and on up to the house. He went into the house where Q'ōmkanI'′tsa was. He went in and she said, "That's the one I killed and there he is again." Coyote did not say anything. He just walked up to her and started fighting. They fought, and he would be on top and under and on top again, and finally he killed her.

He dragged her out of the house and

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[1] [See p. 227(A).--Analyst]

threw her down the hill and told her, "You can't be fierce any more. You will be just a woman now." That is why we have women and dogs now.

OWL CANNIBAL WOMAN[37]

A man and his wife had two children, a boy and a girl. The man went hunting and the woman went digging roots. The children were left alone at the house. The man left his children and took another wife. The woman returned home and waited until morning, but her husband did not come back.

Next morning, the woman went digging roots again. Then she came home and told her son, "Go and get me some water to drink." The little boy was lazy and would not go. Then the woman said, "My husband left his children. I'm going to leave them too."

The woman took crow feathers and covered herself, made a tail and wings and all parts of the bird. Then she flew calling, "Caw, caw, caw, caw." The little boy siezed a pail and ran for water. He ran back with the water, but his mother had already flown away. The little boy had a piece of flint in his mouth all of the time. He and his sister cried and cried. Spa´tła (owl cannibal women) heard them.

Spa´tła already had a house full of children. She killed people and fed them to the children. She grabbed her basket and ran when she heard the children crying. The children were walking around outside their house crying. They looked up and saw Spa´tła coming. The little girl told her brother, "There comes Spa´tła. Now we will be killed." They ran back into the house. Spa´tła thought, "Now I'll have something small and tender to eat."

The little girl threw her brother down and tried to make a little stick of him, and tried to make herself into a pole, but she could not. She threw her brother under a big rock by the fireplace and they both turned into a bunch of worms, crawling around there. Spa´tła went into the house, but could not find the children. Spa´tła looked all over but all she could see was the rock and the worms. She thought to herself, "Well, I guess I'll put the rock and worms in my basket. That must be they." So she threw them into her basket. Spa´tła ran toward home and the worms turned back into children.

The little girl called, "Your children are all on fire." Then Spa´tła ran fast. The little girl called again, "Your children are all on fire." Then she pushed her little brother down to make the basket heavy. Then Spa´tła thought the basket was awfully heavy. She ran and broke a branch off a tree. She hung the basket there and ran away fast to her children who were on fire.

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36 Told by Billie Joe (L.V.W.W.).
37 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

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The sister said, "What have you in your mouth?" The little boy told her it was a rock his father had given him a long time ago to make arrows with. They took the piece of flint and cut the rope. They fell on the ground. They cut the basket all up with that piece of flint. They spread it all over the ground and told Gopher to scatter the pieces.

Spa´tła ran to her children but there was no fire there. The little girl had fooled her. Spa´tła said, "No matter where you go, I'm going to kill you."

The little girl took her little brother by the hand and away they ran. When they got tired, they would rest and then away they would run again. When Spa´tła got back, her basket was gone. She ran all around, gathering up the pieces of her basket. Then she sewed it all together again, and ran after the little girl and her brother.

The girl told her brother, "Now I guess we will be killed. There comes Spa´tła and she will kill us now." They called across the river to an old man there, "Come across and get us. Spa´tła is coming to kill us." So the old man came after the children in his canoe. After the children were some distance out in the canoe, Spa´tła reached the shore. Spa´tła said, "You'd better take me in the canoe too." The old man said, "It isn't very deep. It is so shallow, you can wade right across. Put some rocks in your shoes and clothes and a lot in your basket," he told her. The old man had already told all the insects in the water to pull her in and drown her when she got in the water. She said, "I'm going to be drowned," but the old man said, "No; it's shallow. You won't drown." She took about two steps and all the insects pulled her right in. One of her eyes flew out and lit on a tree. The old man told Spa´tła, "You aren't going to be killing people any more. You are going to be an owl now and live in the trees. People will tell their children about you to scare them. All your teeth will come out and will turn into ducks. People will cook you before they eat you."

I just came down here and I am living here now.

CHIPMUNK AND THE CANNIBAL WOMAN"[1]

Chipmunk had a grandmother who was a cottontail rabbit. They had a little house. Her grandmother made some soup. Chipmunk told her, "I want something to eat with my soup." Her grandmother said, "We haven't anything else." So she gave Chipmunk a little basket and told her to go gather some service berries. Chipmunk crawled high up a tree, saying, "pīpaya´ga, pīpaya´ga." As she said this the berries were caused to ripen, and she picked them and put them in her basket.

[1] [See p.228(A).--Analyst]

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As she was picking, all of a sudden she heard a bush crack — kaû′x — very loud. She heard this twice and all at once she saw a cannibal woman (spatła) come out from under the brush. Spatła came and stood under the tree. She told Chipmunk, "You better come down. I've come after you because your mother wants you." Chipmunk said, "I haven't any mother. She died a long time ago." So Spatła said, "I made a mistake; it's your father who wants you." Chipmunk said, "My father died a long time ago too." "Well, it's your brother wants you." "Well, my brother died a long time ago, too." Spatła was just guessing to make her come down. "Oh no; it's your grandma that wants you. Hurry and come down." Chipmunk said, "I'm afraid of you. If I come down you'll kill me. Put your hands over your eyes so you can't see me. Then I'll come down." Spatła put her hands over her eyes, but she could see through them. Chipmunk said, "No, you can see me. I don't want to come down. Dig a hole in the ground and sit in it with your basket over your head and I'll come down." Spatła did this and Chipmunk came down. As she came off the tree, she made a loud noise, "patĭtĭtĭ," and Spatła scratched her all the way down the back from head to tail. But she escaped.

She ran back and told her grandmother, "Well, I just got away from Spatła." Her grandmother put her in an oyster shell, but she was so tired that her heart beat loud and she made lots of noise even then. Her grandmother took her and tried to hide her, but she still made a loud noise. Then Robin came along and lit on a tree. He said, "Put her among the deerbones that you use to make soup. The hair there will hide her and she will be safe."

Then Spatła came to the house and said, "Did you see Chipmunk here?" The old lady said, "No, I never saw her." "Well, I saw her tracks all the way over. She came to this house. You must be hiding her." Then Robin came along and lit on the tree, and cried, "lsEmšōnsntqw'Ic," and thus told where she was. So Spatła told Rabbit, "Hurry up and get her; I want to eat her." Rabbit became fearful, and went and got her, and gave her to Spatła. But she said, "Don't take the joints apart; leave her so I can make soup out of her."

Spatła said to Rabbit, "Why is it that you are so white?" Rabbit said, "Well, the one that you ate was the one who picked the pitch for me that I used to make myself white. If you like, I'll make you white too; but you'll have to pick the pitch yourself. Just go out and fill your basket brim-full of pitch. I'll stay and make a place in the ground to put the pitch." So Spatła took her basket and went to gather pitch. As soon

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as she was out of sight, Rabbit took the bones of Chipmunk, laid them down, stepped over them about three times, and Chipmunk came to life again.

Rabbit told her grandchild, "You go out and get two long forked saplings. I'll go dig the pit for the pitch." She put a lot of wood in the pit and then a lot of rocks on the wood, and set fire to it. Chipmunk returned and hid again. Rabbit said, "When I shout, get the forked poles and run down." When Spatɫa got back with a big load of pitch in her basket, she set it on the ground. Rabbit took some and set it on the fire. As it dripped she put a drop of it on Spatɫa's wrist and it burned the skin off so that it looked white. So Spatɫa believed that that was the way Rabbit became white. Rabbit said, "We're going to put pitch all over the fire. Then you lie right on it, and when I tell you to turn around, you turn around. First we'll circle about the fire twice, and then I'll push you on the fire myself. We'll dance and sing while we're going around the fire." After they had circled the fire three times, Rabbit pushed Spatɫa right on the fire, and then she shouted for Chipmunk to come with the forked poles.

Chipmunk came down there with the forked poles, and they each took one. One held Spatɫa's head down and the old woman pushed down her feet. Then Spatɫa said, "I'm going to turn around." The old woman said, "No; it isn't time yet. Stay on a little longer and you'll get white. Pretty soon it'll be time for you to turn around." Finally she got cooked and she died. They just buried her with the dirt as you would a camas oven. Rabbit and her grandchild moved away from there.

Then the three sisters of Spatɫa arrived. The eldest saw the pit and said, "Well, I guess our sister cooked this for us to eat." They dug it up, but the youngest said, "No; that's our sister." The two eldest ate it, but the youngest would not touch the meat. They ate every bit of it and then went down to a lake. They were thirsty and they drank. As soon as they drank the water, their teeth came out, because they had eaten their sister. The teeth turned into ducks and swam out on the lake. The two older sisters turned into owls, but the youngest escaped. Then I came back.

COYOTE AND THE CANNIBAL SISTERS[36] [1/a]

There were four sisters; they were all spa'ɫa.[37] A man said, "You had better do something; the spa'ɫa are coming over to kill us." They asked Coyote, "What are you going to do, Coyote? You'd better be doing something." Coyote called his power four

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[1/a] [See p. 229 (c).-- Analyst

p. 229 (B)

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P.229(c)

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38 Told by Cecile Brooks (R.C.).

39 "A spa´ła is a woman monster, who is very large and black. She carries a basket in the bottom of which are cacti which stick to the babies she throws into the basket."

times. Coyote told his powers, "You hurry up and help me, because the spa'ła are coming." His powers told him, "All right." One of them said, "I will be a big long-house." Another of them said, "I will be a lot of pitch, everywhere in the wall and all over the house." The third one said, "I will be a lot of people." That is the third power. And the fourth one said, "And I will be a song."

All these people who wanted to be saved hid themselves. Then the spa'łas got over to where the big house was built. They heard a nice song in the big house; the prettiest song they ever heard. Coyote was standing by the door. He told them, "You people better come in." He finally got them inside the house, and he told them, "No matter if the people [here] should spit on you, don't pay any attention to them: they are just flirting with you." He meant, as soon as these spa'łas went in the house, the pitch would burn. Coyote made them believe somebody was spitting on them, but it was the pitch dropping. One of the spa'ła was a girl at first menstruation, and she did not go into the house. All at once this youngest of the spa'łas shouted to her sisters, "You are going...."**1

A BOY KILLS CANNIBALS**1

A chief had a son. The boy went out, taking his bow and arrow, and shot a raven. When it fell he saw some blood on the snow. He thought, "I wish I could find a woman with fair red cheeks like that blood." The boy told his people he was going out by himself into the world. He did not pick out a place to travel, but just wandered at random.

He travelled until he came to a place where he saw two dogs fighting a man. He went to a certain tribe of Indians and said, "What's the matter that those two dogs fight this man?" So this tribe told him, "All right, we'll stop the dogs because your father is a chief." He took the dead body of the man killed by the dogs, dug a hole for it, and covered it up. When he got through burying this man, he went off.

So he travelled until he came to a big lake, where he saw a little boy standing by the shore. The little boy asked him, "Where are you going, partner?" He told his partner, "I'm going anywhere." This little boy said, "I'd like to go with you; I don't care if we both die." So he told his partner, "I'd rather not have you around; you're too small. I'd rather be all by myself; I'm big enough to travel and you're not." So he told the little boy, "If you want, you can go along with me, if you're not afraid of getting hungry and tired and probably getting killed."

1 [See p. 230 (c). -- Analyst

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They could not see across this lake; it was so far. It was the ocean. He said to his little partner, "How can we get across now?" And the little boy told him, "You get behind me and close your eyes tightly and don't open them until I tell you." So this fellow closed his eyes and got behind the boy. When the little boy told him to open his eyes, it was but a few minutes and they were already across the ocean. So they went on travelling.

Then this little boy told him, "I'm the man you saved from those two dogs. That's why I'm going to take pity on you and help you." And they said they would be brothers. This little boy said to his brother, "We're going to Cannibal's place. When we get there, don't eat any of the meat." When they came to Cannibal's place, an Indian woman gave them some meat. It was human flesh. They ate everything but meat. And when they got through eating, they went outside.

This cannibal had a great rock to play with. He threw this rock and it went out of sight, and he thought a while, "I wish I had that rock back again." It came back to him right to the place he threw it from. The smallest one said, "If he tells you to throw it, tell him your little brother will. Don't you throw the rock." Cannibal said to the older one, "Well, you throw this rock." And the older one said, "I won't throw this rock, but my little brother will." The cannibal thought this little boy was too small and could not begin to throw it at all. But the little boy picked it up and threw it, and it went so far that Cannibal never saw his rock again. The little boy told his brother, "You go in and get a shirt and we'll go."

They started travelling again. The little brother told him, "We're pretty close to the next cannibal." He told his brother again not to eat the meat. This cannibal asked them to come in and eat, saying, "When you're through eating, come out and we'll play." So they went outside, where they saw a great big mountain. This cannibal took hold of the mountain and moved it to one side. The cannibal said to the older one, "You put this mountain back in its place." But the older one told him, "I won't put it back in its place, but my younger brother will." The little boy took hold of that mountain, and it turned into a plain. He got a knife from this cannibal.

Then they went on. So he told his older brother, "This is the last place." So they travelled until they came to a woman cannibal. The younger one said to his brother, "I'm going back and see how your relatives are." So he took the buckskin shirt and the knife. Then the boy could not see his little brother: he could only hear his voice. The big brother went on. The little boy

p. 230 (B)

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P. 230(c)

40 The remainder of the manuscript is missing. — L.S.

41 Told by Billie Joe (E.G.). Johnnie Louie, the interpreter, thought this was a "priest's fairy tale."

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took three or four steps and he was back at his brother's house. He walked around outside, then went inside, and saw that everything was all right. The big brother had not gone very far when the little brother caught up with him, and said, "Your relatives are all well; there's nothing the matter with them."

When they got to this place, the boy saw a woman come out with coal black hair and red cheeks, and he thought that was the woman he wished for when he was a boy. The woman said to him, "Well, you have come." He said, "Yes." "See that little house over there: that's where you boys are to camp." When evening came, the woman cooked, and when the boys finished eating, they went back to their little tipi. His little brother told him, "When it gets somewhat dark, we'll go to see this woman." He told his big brother to put on the shirt he had worn, taken from the first cannibal. The youngest one took the knife. The younger told the older one that this woman's husband was the devil. The little brother told him, "If we're smart enough, we'll get this woman."

When they went in, they saw her and her husband lying. The youngest one took his knife and cut the devil's head off. The devil's head would fly up and come down on to his body again. So he would come to life The younger one was getting tired. He said to the older, "Do your best. When I cut the devil's head off again, cover the neck with your buckskin shirt." Just as soon as his little brother cut the devil's head off, as soon as it raised in the air, he put his buckskin shirt over the neck. The head dropped and struck the earth. It went into the earth and the body followed the head.

The little boy told his big brother, "Cut some rose bushes, tie them up into four bunches." So they took this woman, tied her hands and feet behind her, put her face down, started whipping her with one of these bundles of rose bushes. They whipped her until a frog jumped out of her mouth. That was her baby. They did that with all the rose bushes. When they got through the younger said to his brother, "Tomorrow about noon I'll leave you." So the older one got the woman he had wanted when a child.

The next day, when noon came, they went to a level spot and stood. The younger one told his big brother, "Just a year from today I'll meet you right here and that's when I want my pay." Then the little brother rose right off the ground into the air.

It was not long until they had a child, a little girl. They had forgotten all about the little brother. But one day he remembered his little brother would be there the next day at noon. So he told his wife that his little brother would be there the next

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[42] Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

day at noon. His little brother came back and said to him, "I want my pay. I've come back after the pay you owe me." His little brother told him, "I want just half of your baby; half to you and half to me." He told his little brother, "I told you that you could do anything you want. I guess you want to kill your little niece. You can do anything you want." So he took the little boy out on a level spot, and taking his knife, cut the boy right through down the middle. It left one half standing, while the other half went down into the ground. His litte brother told him, "Now you're sure of that boy [sic]. Well, I'm going to leave you again. Whenever you die you'll go to heaven; whenever your wife dies, she'll go to heaven; and whenever your boy dies he'll go to heaven."

THE SON OF THE GIANT[42] 1

There was a man and his wife. They had a little home in which they lived. The woman was away from the house, when all at once a giant (stswanaI´atEm^{ux}) came to her and took her away. He brought her to his home and fastened the door. He put something over her head so she would not know the way to escape. She stayed until she had a baby boy. In a little while, the boy was already big. When evening came the giant used to fasten the door and go out somewhere Giants can walk very fast and cover lots of ground in a short time. He would get home about daylight and then sleep. This would happen every evening.

The little boy grew up until he was a man. Then the boy asked his mother, "Where do you come from, anyway? You look so different from my father." His mother was a really nice-looking woman. She told him, "I don't know where my country is. Your father took me away from my country, so I don't know where I really come from." The boy said, "When my father comes back I'll ask him for a coat." So when he came back, the boy said to him, "Give me one of your coats." "You couldn't use my [big] coat if you tried it on. I'll look for a coat for you." When evening came the giant went out to look for a coat for his boy, and when he came back the next morning he had one with him. He told the boy, "There is a coat that I got for you." The boy tried it on, and it fitted him just right. It was a grizzly bear coat.

The boy told his mother, "This evening as soon as my father leaves, we'll get ready and go. Pick out all the best things that you want to take along." As soon as his father had gone he tried to open the door but he could not. So he took off his coat and hung it up again, saying, "Maybe some time when I can open the door we'll go." Whenever he would be able to do this he would be as strong as his father. So they stayed for

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1 [See p. 231 (A). --Analyst]
p. 231 (B)

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two days after that before he tried the door again. When he put his coat on and tried the door it just opened. He and his mother got ready. They took all the best of the goods that his father had stolen and he rubbed them in his hands until they all became small. He put on his coat and gave his mother the little bundle. Then they started out. There was a long pole about a foot wide stuck in the ground. It was his father's power. He just pushed it and it fell over.

About daylight his father got back and found they were gone. He looked around but could not find them. So he put on his coat and thought about his power. He looked for it but it was gone. It lay on the ground. Then he thought to himself, "I see that my boy is stronger than I am. I guess I might as well not chase them."

The boy and his mother kept going to the east. When the boy put on the coat he turned into a grizzly bear and his mother followed him. They went on for a long time until they got to some people. They went where there was a little house and not so many people. He told his mother, "You can go to sleep there tonight. I'll leave you forever. You'll never see me again,but when you wake up in the morning you'll know what to do."

When she woke in the morning the house was well furnished. She even had a bed to sleep on. When the people saw the house they went over there, and saw there was a nice-looking woman staying in the house. The boy left, and I went to see the house and then I came back.

COYOTE TRICKS COUGAR INTO PROVIDING FOOD[43]

Coyote and Fox lived together. They were partners. Once they got awfully hungry. Fox told Coyote, "You better do something. We're getting awfully hungry." Coyote said, "All right, I'll think of something to do." He thought and then he went outside and evacuated. Fox thought, "I guess my partner is going to really do something." The dung said, "Oh, you get us cold." They grumbled to themselves. Coyote said, "You better hurry and talk to me, or I'll leave you there to dry up." Then he called upon his dung, which turned him into a really good-looking girl. She went back into the house and started to comb her hair. Fox thought, "My partner's performing now. I'll leave him." So he left.

Coyote went to another village. There were cougars there and Cougar was the chief. But he had no wife. Girls would try to go with him, but he would have nothing to do with them. Then Coyote got to the spring where they got their water. Cougar's two sisters came along to get water and saw that

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[43] Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

p. 232(A)

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woman there. It was Coyote. They asked her, "Where are you from?" She said, "I came from our house." They said, "Where are you going?" She said, "Well, I came over to see Cougar." The girls said, "All right; you can come back with us."

They did not go back to their own house, but took her to the house where all the women did their [basket] weaving. They said, "Go in there, and we'll tell our brother about you. After we know what he says, we can come and get you." So he went in and there were nothing but women in that house. He took up one of the baskets and started working on it. His power helped him, so he did very fine work. It did not take him very long to finish one of them. One of the girls ran back and told her brother, "There's a girl come over to see you. She certainly is good-looking, and she certainly knows how to weave. You better take her." So Cougar said, "Well, I guess you girls want her for my wife, so I'll take her. Go tell her to come."

They brought her and seated her right by their brother. They cooked her a nice meal with the best they had, and she ate a good meal. Then she was married to Cougar. When he tried to make love to her she said, "Don't. My mother told me you would have to come and bring us food four times before I was really married to you." In the morning he told his sisters to get a lot of deer meat and a horse to carry it on.

The two sisters went along with her to take the meat to her mother. They did this each day for four days. When they got close to the house she would tell the girls, "Don't go in there. My father and mother are both powerful, and they might get mad at you and kill you with their power." So Coyote would take it in alone. She would go in and say, "I'm back again, mother." And they would answer her, but there were not really people there: it was just his power. Then the sisters would go back home, where their brother would ask them, "Well, did you see her folks?" And they would answer, "No, we didn't see them, because she said her people were awfully fierce. We stayed outside and didn't see her folks."

Then the prairie chickens, who knew what was happening said, "Oh, that Coyote! He shouldn't do that with the chief, fooling him like that." On the fourth night, Cougar tried to make love to her end get close to her, but she tried to avoid him. Only the upper half of Coyote had been turned into a woman and the rest was like Coyote. He knew that if Cougar found out, he would break his back for him. So she kept pulling away from him.

The next morning all the men went to the sweat house. Cougar went with them. The prairie chickens danced all over the village. Then they went to the sweat house and said, "Cougar, you've got Coyote for a wife." They were dancing and singing. Coyote turned around and went up on a hill. He began to howl and laugh at them. Then, of course, he had plenty of food and would not starve. He had it all to himself, because Fox had left him permanently.

COYOTE ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE DEER[44]

In the fall they made camp where they were going to winter. Coyote had a grown boy who was sick. He was sick all winter and toward spring he died. Coyote began to get sick himself. He said, "I wonder why my boy got sick and died, and after he died I got sick." He thought he would ask his dung what was the matter; that he would find out what to do. After he evacuated, he asked the first of his faeces what to do. His dung told him, "Well, your boy had a power which killed him; and your boy's power will kill you too." His dung told him a certain song, saying, "You sing this when you start to dance." One of his faeces told him, "I'll be your son." [And another said?]"I'll be the post in the middle." [Another said?] "I'll be lots of people." [Another said?] "I'll be your power, so that you can see everything on the outside: nothing can come near that you won't see."

Coyote started to sing. The big deer from the mountains heard Coyote singing. The big deer asked all his children, "Who told Coyote to sing our song? That's our song that he's singing. Which one of you told him?" But all the little deer said they did not know which one of themselves gave him the power to sing their song. So the big deer said to Bluejay, "Go and kill Coyote. He's just lying: we didn't give him the power to sing our song."

Bluejay started, but Coyote knew that Bluejay was coming. He had his stick (a cane with deer-hoof rattles tied on top, for thumping on the ground when dancing.) Coyote pointed it at Bluejay and told himself (by his dung power) just how near Bluejay was coming at various places on the way. [When telling the story to Indians, the narrator would name the points on Bluejay's path, as Coyote saw them.] When Bluejay got up on top of the tipi poles, Coyote made a motion of thrusting this stick at him — and Bluejay rolled off the tipi. He lay there till he was all right again, and got up and went back. When he got back to the big deer, Bluejay told him, "There was no use in sending me down there, because he knew I was coming all the way. When I alighted on the tipi poles, he pointed at me with his stick and I fell off and lay on the ground dead for a long time."

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44 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.)
45 Told by Andrew Tillson (M.M.).
46 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.)

So big deer gathered all his people and asked them again. He said, "Don't hide it. If any of you told him to sing our song, why, we'll all go down there and join in with him." He asked them all, and they all said they did not give Coyote power. But the smallest deer of all said, "Well, I was the one that gave him the power to sing our song." So the big deer told him, "Well, all of you get ready and we'll go down there."

So they went, and they all went in Coyote's house. The little one that had given him the power was the first to enter. Coyote's dung told him, that when he sang, he should wait till all the deer and the biggest deer of all had come in; then he should stop singing. They kept on going in and going in till Coyote saw a great big deer going in. The very biggest deer, the chief deer, had not yet gone in; and there were a whole lot more big ones that had not yet gone in. But Coyote thought that the biggest had come in, so he stopped singing. Then the deer started to go out again. All the deer got away, except the very smallest deer that had given him the power. He was the only one they caught. They killed him. So they had to give up, because they let all the deer get away except the little one. Then I came back.

COYOTE IS TRICKED EATING DUCK EGGS[43] [1]

Coyote was going along, gathering duck eggs from among the tules at the shore of a lake. He set the eggs to roast in a pit oven. Fox and Wolf came along as he was resting on the hill waiting for the eggs to cook. They blew a wind and he fell asleep. They dug out the eggs and ate them. Then they pulled his ears and nose, and they painted him yellow and smeared eggs on his mouth and hands. He went to the pit but there were no eggs there. He felt hungry but he saw the yolk, so he thought he must have eaten. He went to the lake to drink and saw his shadow [reflection]. He was frightened by the new face he saw there.

Then he realized that Fox had done it and he started running after him. Fox got tired of the chase. He jumped behind a rock and started pushing it. Then he called to Coyote, saying, "Come help me hold this rock. It's falling on me." Coyote forgot all about the quarrel and helped hold it. Coyote pushed and pushed, while Fox ran away. Finally Coyote realized that he was being tricked, but Fox had already run away, and he could not get him.

BUNGLING HOST[44] [1]

Kingfisher lived by the river with his wife and his children. Coyote lived near there too. He said, "I'm going over there

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[1] [See p. 233(A). --Analyst]

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and visit Kingfisher. I'm getting awfully hungry." He went over to Kingfisher's house. Kingfisher sent his little boy to get four sticks of service berry wood. When the boy got home, Kingfisher warmed them slightly and twisted them all up. He got up with them and flew up to the top of the house through the smoke-hole. He sat on top of the house. Then he flew down to the river and right through a hole in the ice. When he came out his sticks were full of all kinds of fish. He strung them on the sticks and took them back to the house. When he got back he had a lot of fish: four sticks full. They cooked two sticks for their visitor. They set it out for Coyote and he began to eat. When he finished, they said he could take the rest of the fish home with him for his children. When he was going out, he said, "Tomorrow you come after your dish." Then he went home and his wife cooked all the salmon and they had a good meal.

Kingfisher said, "Well, I'm going for my dish over at Coyote's house." He went there and went into the house. All of Coyote's children had their forelocks tied and so did Coyote and his wife. (This was in imitation of Kingfisher's crest.) Then he told his little boy, "Go get four sticks." The little boy ran out and got the sticks, and gave them to his father. Coyote took them and warmed the sticks. Kingfisher thought, "Oh that Coyote; he's coyote enough to imitate me. It's my way of doing." Coyote twisted the sticks around. He climbed up the smoke-hole, having a hard time to get up there. Kingfisher thought, "Oh, that Coyote; he is liable to kill himself." Coyote made a noise and jumped, but he fell down outside, and hit the ground and died. Kingfisher said, "You children better see what happened to your father." The oldest one ran out. He came back and said, "My father is dead." Kingfisher took the sticks away from Coyote and flew up to the top of the house. Then he flew to the ice and got a lot of fish. When he got back to the house Coyote was all right again. Kingfisher told Coyote, "You shouldn't imitate me, because that's my way of doing it. You couldn't fly like I could." Then he got his plate and went back home.

Then Coyote said, "Well, I'm lucky I got something to eat now. If I didn't do that maybe I wouldn't have gotten something to eat." Then I came back.

COYOTE AND THE WATER MONSTER[47]

Coyote had a son, a very good looking son. This son got a woman from under the water. Finally she wanted to go back to her father and mother. Fox told Coyote; "You stay here; don't go with us. We might all die. I'm not man enough to save my nephew (Coyote's son); I might not be able to save him if you're along." Coyote's son had a little boy. Coyote said, "I might get so lonesome for him that I'd die." Finally Fox

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[47] Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.)

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told him, "All right. You can go along. But you'll have to behave yourself and do what I tell you or you will cause us all to die." Coyote said, "All right. I'll do what you tell me." So they started.

They took a canoe and went down the rapids. Fox had the paddle. Fox would put the paddle in the water and they would go a hundred miles at a stroke. Coyote began to be frightened by the rapids. Coyote cried out, "We're going to die." But his son told him to keep quiet, and Fox told him to behave himself and not say too much. They went over a fall while Coyote was shouting that they were going to die. His boy kept scolding him and telling him to keep quiet. They went over the fall and landed. They started to climb up the bluff. The woman went up the bluff as if it was nothing to her. She went in [the house] and did not wait for her husband or anybody. Finally Fox got hold of his nephew and Coyote, and Fox trotted up the bluff like the woman did. When they got up there, they found the door was made of rattlesnakes. Coyote cried out, but Fox told him not to pay any attention to those rattlesnakes. The rattlesnakes began to rattle, but Fox walked right in. But when the snakes jumped at Coyote, he shouted,"I'm going to die! I'm going to die!" Coyote got in. [Johnnie does not know how.]

When he got in he said that he was awfully lonesome for his ntImtn (his son's father-in-law) and that was why he had come to see him. Coyote made him believe that he was awfully lonesome for him. Finally they were all in there. The monster said to his child, "You'd better feed the strangers." Fox said to his nephew, "Now, if your father doesn't keep still, we'll all die. I'll put you all in my pipe and I'll lie on my back." So Fox put Coyote down in the pipe first,and then the little youngster, and then the son. He told the son to keep his father, Coyote, down in the pipe. The monster told his children to get the food. They got a lot of garbage and put it on the fire, and they blocked up all the openings in the rock (in which they were), their lodge. Finally Coyote shouted, "I fell pretty good in here. I'm sleepy now." The chief said, "They want some more [garbage as food]. They haven't got enough." They put some more on [the fire]. Coyote's boy scolded him, saying, "Don't say anything." The garbage on the fire smoked very bad. Coyote shouted again, "Ho! ho! ho!" And Coyote's son said, "Don't say anything or we'll throw you out and you will die." Finally they got over that. Coyote did not shout any more. They opened the door and let all the smoke out. Coyote got out and Fox put his pipe away. Coyote said, "I didn't get quite enough. That was pretty good." So the monster thought, "They must live on the same thing that we do!" [i.e., eat the same food]. He had thought that he would smoke them to death with the garbage.

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[That is all Johnnie knows of this story.]

COYOTE AND THE HOUSE OF WOMEN[40] [1/a]

Coyote was going along, and he thought he would call his power. He said the word he had to call his power: "pIspIsk!tIUp." (He always said this over four times.) He told his power, "Well, I want you to tell me what to do." And his power told him, "All right, I will tell you what to do. You go along, and you will get to where there are a lot of people gambling. When you get to these people, don't stop. Even if they call you and ask you to come over to play the stick game, don't do it. You pass them and go on a way when you will get to another group of people. That group there are all drunk. If they call you to drink, don't drink." Then the power told him, "When you go along until you get to a group of women, and when the women call you, don't go. Even if they tell you, 'Come on; you will be my man,' don't pay any attention to them."

Then he went along and reached a house. His power told him, "When you get to this house you will see two chiefs inside. When you go into the house you will see one on this side (left) and one on this side (right) and when the man on the left side tells you, 'Come and shake hands with me,' don't let him. But when the man on the right side tells you, 'Come and shake hands with me,' go and shake hands with him."

Now from here it is the story. When the man on the right side asked him, "What do you want? And what is the reason you come here?" Coyote told him, "Well, I am looking for a wife, and I am coming to see if I can get one from you." The man on the right side told him, "All right, I will give you a wife." Coyote heard something like dancing and singing in the next room. The man on the right side opened the door and led him in there.

Coyote saw a whole lot of people in that big room; they were all women. The man told him, "If you want one of these women, you can have her." Coyote looked at all the women. There was neither one tall or short; they were all the same height and their faces were all alike. Coyote did not know what to do. He could not pick out one because they all looked alike. He just made up his mind that he would take one anyway, and he did. He took this woman and went back to the chief on the right side. The chief told him, "You go back to your country now, and as you are going along and make camp, don't sleep with this girl. But after you get home, then you can sleep with her. If you sleep with her on the way home, you

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[1/a] [See p. 235(c). --Analyst]

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will never see her again. But when you get home, then sleep with her, and then she will be your own." Coyote said, "All right. I will not sleep with her until I get home." And then he and the girl went.

They went along and camped. The next morning they went on and when it got late they camped again. The next morning they went along, and when it got late they camped again. And then they went along again and camped. Then he told the woman, "We will sleep together tonight." They did sleep together, and Coyote did not know anything more. When he woke in the morning the girl was gone. She went back where Coyote had got her from. He looked for her but could not find her. He could not see even her tracks. He shouted and hunted for her, but he could not find her. (That was just like Coyote to do that: if he had waited, he would have won her.) And so he lost her.[49] 1

COYOTE SEEKS A WIFE AMONG THE DEAD[50] 1

Coyote was travelling. He travelled for many days, but he did not know where he was going. Then he came to a river, where he saw a whole lot of Indians on the other side, thousands of them. He began shouting to them to take him across, but none of them would pay any attention to him. He shouted and shouted and shouted, but none of them would look over to where he was. Finally he got tired and lay down to rest; he was perspiring. He grew awfully sleepy; so finally he started gaping and the chief across there said, "There's someone across the river; you better go over and get him." So these people came across the river after him and they took him across.

He went to the chief's house. The chief asked him, "What did you come over here for?" He saw a lot of women; so he said, "I came over after a woman for myself." So the chief told him, "All right; I'll give you one, but you aren't supposed to sleep with this woman till you get back where you came from. If you do what I tell you, the people [i.e. humans] in the next world, when the world changes, will be able to come after the dead and take them back."

So Coyote took this woman, and those fellows brought him across again. When the two got back across the river, they started to travel. They travelled back toward Coyote's tribe. They travelled for a good many days, and camped on the way. He had been letting this woman alone until he had only one more day to get back. When night came, Coyote thought, "Well, I must try this woman out before I get back. I guess I'm close enough to home so this woman can't get away from me now." So he thought to himself, "I'm

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1 [See p. 235(C). -- Analyst]

p. 235 (B)

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48 Told by Michel Brooks (R.C.).

49 Michel's interpretation of the story was that the sqë'lmn (devil) was the man on the left in the house.

50 Told by Michel Brooks (E.G.).

p. 235(c)

*539

going to possess this woman before I get back." So they camped. They lay down and he turned the woman over toward him, and he tried to have intercourse. As soon as he turned her over and tried to have intercourse with her, he froze stiff. When Coyote came to his senses the woman was gone.

So he got right up and followed the woman back. When he got back to the river, he started gaping again. They came after him. Coyote asked if the woman was back there again. The chief told him, "I don't think I'll give you another woman, because this is what you did. I told you not to sleep with this woman until you got back to your country. If you did what I told you and didn't sleep with the women until you got back, then when the Indians came, whenever anyone died, they could have come after him. But now you spoiled it." And I got so angry at Coyote that I came back.

BUFFALO AND COYOTE CAPTURE A GIRL[51]

Buffalo and his people were on the warpath. They were going along when Coyote saw them. Coyote thought, "Well, I think I might die because these people might kill me." Then Coyote thought he was on the warpath himself. Then Coyote thought, "Well, I am going to try and get my power. He called his power; he had a word he used: "pis, pis, pis, ktło´p." Every time he said that, a woman would come there. He said, "pis, pis, pis ktło´p" four times and he got four women. He called them his sisters. With their help, if he could get a girl over the mountain, he would win her. Coyote stood there and told them, "I want you to help me. You make me a lot of people to help fight the enemy." One of these women said, "I am going to be a lot of people." Another of the women said, "I'm going to be a drum." Another of the women said, "I'm going to be a bow and arrows." And the last woman said, "I'm going to have a pipe with a lot of tobacco and a sack to carry it in." Then there were a lot of warriors out of [illegible] women, and the next woman turned into a drum. The third was a bow and arrows, and the last one was the pipe and tobacco and sack to carry it in.

Then Coyote went to meet the enemy. Buffalo saw them coming. Then they met. Buffalo asked Coyote, "Who are you going to fight?" Coyote asked Buffalo, "And who are you going to fight?" Buffalo said, "I'm going east to fight the enemy, and that will be the end of my people. I wouldn't have any more people, any warriors." He had along with him yearlings and calves. Coyote asked him, "What are you fighting about?" Buffalo said, "I'm fighting over a girl. Even if we don't kill the enemy, if we can get the girl over the mountain, we will win." Coyote said, "I'm going to the same place where you are going." Coyote was just deceiving him when he said that; he said it just because

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51 Told by Michel Brooks (R.C.).

p.236(A)

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Buffalo said it. Coyote said, "And me too; I'm doing the same, because these are all the warriors I have. If I took them over the mountain it would be the end of my warriors." He said that just because Buffalo said it. Buffalo told Coyote, "How would it be if we go as partners?" Coyote said, "It will be all right if we go as partners together." They went as partners. They put all their warriors together. Coyote had a good outfit: a nice drum, a lot of warriors, bows and arrows, and lots of tobacco and a pipe. Buffalo told him, "You will sing the war song and beat the drum and be the leader (qatō´s). The reason I want you to be the leader is because you have a better drum and I want to learn your song." (Just from his power Coyote has gotten everything nice, but Buffalo has no power.)

They went along together and camped. Buffalo told Coyote, "You beat your drum and sing your war song." They all started a war dance: then they danced, and their drum had the loudest sound. In the morning they went on their way. They went along until they got to a high hill, which overlooked a lake. The lake was wide, and there was a canoe lying on the shore on their side of the lake. Across the lake they could see a lot of people, and that is where the girl was. As soon as they got on the hill they stopped: they did not go down to the lake. The people across the lake saw them. The people across the lake said, "There is the enemy way up there." Then all the people from across the lake got ready. And the girl put on a red blanket and walked towards the lake. When the girl reached the lake, she sat on the shore and washed her face. Buffalo and Coyote came down and got into the canoe and went toward the girl, to get her. The girl's name was Sun (sxra´xn'nq).

They took the girl and paddled across again. The girl's people chased them. As soon as they got on their own side of the lake, they went up on the hill where the warriors were. They stopped. The enemy caught up with them. Then they started fighting. The enemy had more people than they. The girl kept going higher up on the hill, while behind her they were fighting. Coyote's power was so strong, they could never shoot at him. Buffalo never got shot, either. Buffalo got tired and told Coyote, when they were just about half way up the hill, "You better do something, because we are going to get killed." Coyote used his power: all at once it became dark and foggy, just like night. They could not see anything. Coyote and Buffalo sat down, and the enemy could not see them. The enemy started fighting among themselves because they could not see one another. They fought among themselves until there was a whole lot of them dead. After the fog disappeared, the enemy discovered Coyote and Buffalo sitting way up on the hill, and they had killed their own people.

The enemy started chasing them again. Buffalo got tired again and told Coyote, "Well, you'd better so something because we are going to get killed. I'm getting tired. It got dark and foggy again, and the enemy started fighting among themselves again. Coyote and Buffalo got out of the way and did the same thing again; went on the hill and sat down. The enemy killed so many of their own that they were hardly any left. Then they started fighting again and the girl kept on going up the hill; now she was pretty nearly on top. They got to the top of the hill and were fighting, and then they won the girl. The enemy had to go back because there was hardly anyone left. None of Coyote's or Buffalo's warriors were killed; not even one. They got up on top of the hill where they sat. Buffalo was very glad none of his warriors were killed.

Buffalo told Coyote, "We will go back," so they went back. They camped, and in the morning Buffalo told Coyote, "You can have the girl because you won her." Coyote told Buffalo, "No, you can take the girl, because you won her, and you are the leader." Buffalo said to Coyote, "If it hadn't been for you, we wouldn't have got the girl, and beside, none of our warriors were killed." Coyote said, "No, I am always travelling, and I can't be taking her along wherever I go." Finally Coyote made up his mind to take the girl. Then they parted. Buffalo went back. It did not make any difference where Coyote went, he had a wife. Buffalo wanted to give Coyote some of his warriors, but Coyote did not want them. Then they parted and Coyote went with his wife. Coyote's warriors all disappeared, because they were just made to help him.

Coyote and his wife went along and camped. When they camped the girl found out that her husband was Coyote. Then she thought to herself that she would leave him. She gathered some dry wood and burned it, and she went away in the smoke; went back to her country. Coyote did not know where his woman had gone. He called for her and she did not answer. Then he looked for her but he could not find her. He lost her forever. And then I came back.

CRANE AND LOUSE[52]

Crane and his grandmother had a tipi together. Crane did not have a wife. He was a very good hunter. So wherever there was a nice young girl, her parents would tell her, "Go over to Crane's house and have him for a husband." One girl went to Crane. When she got to Crane's house, he told his grandmother, "Close up the tent entirely so it will be dark inside. I'm going to try this girl." After his grandmother finished, he told her, "Go off somewhere by yourself; I'm going to try this girl." His grandmother told him, "Don't leave her, because I want you to have her for a wife." His grandmother told him that she was getting awfully tired patching up his moccasins and making moccasins and clothes. So Crane said, "I've got to try her, and if she's good I'll take her, and if she's no good I wouldn't want her."

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[52] Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).

So after he got through trying her, he told his grandmother, "Get her ready and let her go back. I don't want to take her as a wife." The old woman packed up a whole big bundle of deer meat for her and told her, "Well, you can go back." So the girl would go back to her people.

They would wait so long and a grandmother would tell her granddaughter, "Go to Crane. I want him to be your husband." Then this girl would go to Crane. He would tell his grandmother, "You close up the tipi. I'm going to try this girl, and if she's good I'll take her, and if she isn't I won't." After he got through trying her, he would tell his grandmother, "Well, I don't want her; you'd better send her back."

(Michel had forgotten the rest of the story, but says that Crane finally got a louse for a wife.)

COYOTE'S LONG PENIS[1]

When Coyote was travelling he had a packet on his back. He saw some girls across the [Columbia] river at Kettle Falls. The girls shouted, saying, "Give us some of what is in your pack." He said, "No; that isn't fit for girls to eat." But they said, "Give us some anyway." So he unrolled his pack and all it contained was his penis. He floated it down the Columbia, and when one of the girls was swimming, it went inside her. It swelled up so she could hardly get out of the water or get it out of her. There were a lot of children swimming there. They got a stone and tried to cut it, but they could not. Coyote worked it and worked it. When he got through he told the girls, "Go down the river and get a wide blade of grass (called xitxatpoê´cla, rip-grass) and cut away my penis." So the children went there. As soon as they got some and cut it, he rolled his penis into his pack again and went up the river. But the girl still could not get the end of his penis out of her. She got sick.

Coyote went on up the river with his pack: he went way up the river. When Coyote went to sleep, Fox and a lot of animals got Coyote's pack and cut the penis up. They divided it among the animals all over the world. Coyote did not have any left. So Coyote thought of the piece that he had left in this girl. He went back to the girl.

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[1] [See p. 237(c). -- Analyst]
p. 237 (B)

*539

52 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).

53 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.). "This story was told to me [W.B.C.] when I asked if the Okanagon had any short funny stories, such as we tell."

P.237(c)

*539

Mouse understood his language: Coyote made believe that he was a Kutenai: that he had just come from the Kutenai country. The girl was just about to die. The shamans could not get it out of her. She was the chief's daughter. Coyote said that he had dreamed that the girl was dying, so he had come to cure her. Mouse translated this to the chief. The chief said he should come to cure her. After Coyote got to the chief he said he would not treat her in the house: he had to treat her in the sweathouse. So they built a sweathouse for him. He went into it following the girl, so that he was behind. As soon as he got into the sweathouse he put himself between the girl's legs, and his penis went back where it belonged, and he pulled it out.

Coyote then started singing and blowing, and Mouse would shout to the people whatever he said. Coyote was blowing: suddenly he ran out of the sweathouse, and hit Mouse on the nose and tore Mouse's nose. When he got up on the hill he started laughing at the people, saying, "You had to get an Indian doctor to sexually initiate your daughter. She's initiated now." And the girl got well. I was waiting to initiate that girl, but Coyote got ahead of me.

TURTLE AND EAGLE RACE[55]

Once Eagle said, "I want to make races so that when people [humans] come they can have races." All the birds came. He said, "If you win, I will be your slave. If I win, you will be my slave all your life." All the creatures said, "All right, we must make the laws."

One of the birds ran against Eagle and lost his freedom. All of the creatures raced with him and lost. They were his slaves and had to obey him. Eagle was the chief, then. Turtle and his partner, Muskrat, lived together all the time. They did not race because they knew they could not run fast. Even Fox and Wolf lost.

One night Turtle dreamed. He was told, "You have to race with Eagle tomorrow and free all the creatures. When the Indians come, all of the creatures have to be free." Early in the morning, he told Muskrat, "Get up. Go for a swim. Get ready. We have to run against Eagle." Muskrat said, "You can't beat him. I can't beat him. He can fly fast." Turtle said, "I know all the creatures have lost, but in my dream last night I was told to race and win." They got ready together. They went to Eagle's camp. All the creatures said, "Turtle and his partner, Muskrat, are coming. Maybe they want to race against Eagle." Some made fun; "Turtle and Muskrat can't beat Eagle." They thought they would be Eagle's prisoners forever.

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54 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).
55 Told by Andrew Tillson (W.B.C.).

p. 238(A)

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Muskrat asked, "Who is the speaker here?" Eagle sent a speaker. Turtle said, "You can call out that I want to race with Eagle tomorrow." He crawled away and everybody laughed. Eagle said, "All right. Tomorrow when the sun is way up, we will race. If you win, all the creatures are yours." Turtle said, "All right." Eagle said, "If I win, I will keep you here. We are betting our lives on this race."

Next day they went to the race ground. Eagle told Turtle, "Name any distance you want and any place you choose: I am willing to race with you." Turtle asked, "Are you sure? Any place?" Eagle said, "Yes; the people hear me." Eagle thought that Turtle could not run. Turtle said, "All right. All you creatures heard Eagle. I'm going to name the place. Are you ready, Eagle." "Yes."

"All right," Turtle said, "Take me and carry me up in the air. When I say drop me, from there we will race." Eagle was worried then. He took Turtle way up in the air. Turtle said, "Get ready. Whoever reaches the ground first, wins."

"All right," he said, "let's go."

Turtle dropped like a rock and Eagle tried fast to catch him. Every once in a while, Turtle stuck out his head and said, "Eeeeeeee, Eagle, come fast. I'm going to beat you now," and pulled in his head.

The creatures were watching and shouting for Turtle. Muskrat jumped around and whipped his tail [Suszen waved his hands] because his partner was winning. Eagle was close behind all the way to the ground. He thought Turtle would hit the ground like a rock. Turtle did hit the ground and said, "Heeeeee." He stood up and said, "All you creatures go wherever you like, anywhere. I am your chief now."

"Now, Eagle, I am not going to stop your speed. You will always be the fastest creature. You can catch what you want to eat. When the people come, they can dream. You know I can't beat you, but I dreamed. Then you let me pick the place and I beat you. So I destroyed your laws so it couldn't be your way when the people [humans] get here."

All the creatures scattered. Eagle went too. He had lost his laws. That was the beginning of races. The creatures told the people [about] races when they came.

CRAWFISH AND FOX RACE" [1]

Fox was a fast animal; he could outrun all the other animals. Crawfish said that he was going to run a race with Fox. When Crawfish got there, he said to Fox, "Well, I've come to have a race with you." Fox

[1] [See p. 238(A). --Analyst]

looked at him and thought, "Even the other animals, who run forward, can't beat me; and how can this fellow who runs backwards race with me!" So Fox told Crawfish, "You can't run very fast. You begin to run." Crawfish said, "No; you start. You can't run fast." Fox said, "All right. We'll start." And they both started.

As soon as Fox made a jump, Crawfish caught on his tail. He kept telling Fox to do his best; that he was going to leave him. He was hanging on Fox's tail. He told Fox to run faster. Fox did not have time to look back, because Crawfish kept telling him that he was going to beat him; but Crawfish was hanging to his tail. When they got close to the finishing line, Crawfish cried, "Run, I tell you! I'm going to beat you." Fox did not look around, but did his best. When Fox came closer to the line, Crawfish told him to run faster because he was going to pass him. Just as Fox crossed the line, he turned around to look back. Crawfish jumped off, and crossed his legs. He said to Fox, "What's the matter? I told you I'd beat you." So Crawfish told Fox, "From now on you'll be nothing but a fox that goes around in the hills, and you'll not be a racer any more."

FROG AND TURTLE RACE-[1]

One time Frog had a long tail and Turtle had none. Frog ran races and always won because he could jump. Turtle had three brothers. He dreamed that they could beat Frog. He said to his brothers, "Get up. I had a dream that we would win from Frog."

They went to a camp where Frog was with all the people he had beaten. Turtle sent his three brothers to station themselves at intervals along the race track. Turtle bet his life against Frog's tail. Frog knew that Turtle could not run. He said, "All right, and you can free the creatures if you win."

They started. Frog ran fast and saw Turtle way behind him. Turtle stopped and hid himself. He called, "Whooooo." His first brother got up and began running. Frog looked ahead and saw him. He ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whooooo," and hid himself. The next brother got up and ran. Frog saw him ahead and ran fast and passed him. Turtle hid and called "Whoooo." So the brother at the turning point started to run back. Frog ran fast around the mark and came back. He passed Turtle. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The third brother got up and ran. Frog ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The second brother got up and ran. Frog ran fast and passed him. Turtle called, "Whoooo," and hid. The oldest brother, hidden close to the finishing line, got up and ran. Frog ran fast but he lost. [Suszen represented the hiding turtles with his right index finger, and the sprinting Frog with his left index finger.]

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[1] [See p. 239(c). --Analyst]

Frog sat down to hide his tail, but Turtle said, "Well, I want my tail now." Frog sat there a long time, so Turtle pushed his head down and pulled all of Frog's tail off. Frog has only half a backbone now.

THE MAN ABANDONED ON A LEDGE" [1]

There were two brothers. The older had a wife. They lived between the lake and the bluff called xötla'mist. The older told his brother, "We'll go up there and get the young eagles on the bluff." (That was before they would be able to fly.) They picked a lot of qö′lûs and made a strong rope by braiding it. Then they went way up the bluff and tied the rope to a tree. The older brother took the other end and went down the bluff holding on to it. When he was about half way down he stopped at a narrow ledge and said to his brother, "When I pull on the rope you'll know I'm standing on something and am safe." The younger brother thought, I'm going to cut the rope so I can take his wife." He cut the rope.

It was in the morning when this happened. The rope was tied about the man's chest, and when it was cut it nearly pulled him off the ledge. The younger brother went back to the camp. He told his sister-in-law, "The rope broke and your husband is dead now. Well, I'll take you and take care of you myself. It's too late to do anything to save your husband now." So they packed all their belongings, and moved away from the rock towards Kartaro. There is a place there called snktsê′χknatn, "burnt down house," and there they pitched camp.

The older brother stayed there on the ledge. It was high above the ground. He stayed there until just about dark. Then he took two of the eagles and tied their feet with the bark. Just about morning the mother eagle came back. He saw all kinds of bones there: deer and all kinds. He seized the mother eagle and tied her up too. Later the father eagle came, but he was afraid of the man and would not come there. Finally the man got him tied up. So he had four tied together. Then he thought to himself, "If I stay here I'll die anyway and if I go down I might die too." So he tied a bird to each ankle and each wrist. When he went down he lost consciousness but the birds flew to a nice place where it was not so rough and there they landed.

He came to his senses about sundown. When he woke, he looked at the eagles and their mouths were wide open, they were so hungry. He took them to the water and took

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[1] [See p. 239(C). --Analyst]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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P.239(c)

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56 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.). Another version, told by Andrew Tillson, substitutes Hummingbird for Frog.

57 Told by Cecile Brooks (M.M.).

a feather from each. He said, "I am not going to kill you, because you saved my life. I am just going to take a feather from each of you."

By now three days had passed. When he went back to the camp, he found that his brother and wife were gone. He followed their tracks and saw their camp at the little spring. He jumped back into the brush and hid. He got close to the house and heard them laughing and having a good time. First he killed his brother. His wife pleaded with him, saying, "I didn't want your brother: I want you." But he killed her too.

He laid them both down. Then he took all their mats and other things, and laid these on them, and just set fire to it all. That is why they named the place "House burned down." And I left them there and I came back.

THE MOUNTAIN GOAT GIRLS[58]

(People say, "Look. Here are deer bones. How can they come to life again?" Here is a story about a real Indian in Canada.)

One time there was a good hunter who killed lots of deer, maybe one or two for each person. All by himself, he could help all the people in only a few days. When he hunted, many people followed him. The stronger women followed him with the men. One day he killed four for his people; the next he killed for himself. All followed him in the summer.

One day he saw two mountain goats a little way from the dead deer. The hunter followed the goats. He went over the hill, following their tracks. He saw a little lake with good water. He saw two pretty women swimming, but no mountain goats. They stood off there and called, "Come on. After swimming, then we will go." He thought, "They don't know me." He sat down and waited. They came out of the water and put on two mountain goat hides that he saw lying there. Then they were mountain goats again. He tried not to follow, but his feet went right along. Finally on a mountain between two other big mountains, the man saw a lot of ice where he could not go.

The two goats told him to close his eyes and hold onto them, and not to open his eyes. He did that and went a little way. He could not feel the ice so he opened his eyes. Then he slipped down, clear to the bottom. They said, "Now, don't open your eyes again. You might get hurt." He closed his eyes and it was just like walking on a level place. Finally they told him to open his eyes and he looked back. They had come straight up, perhaps six miles.

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[58] Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

*539 He went a little way and saw a door with ladders sticking out. He went in and saw many people. He saw an old man there who said, "Hello, my son-in-law." The old man said to the other women there, "You'd better cook something to eat for your husband." The man thought. "Why, he is going to give me all his women for my wives." They gave him a good bed with goat skins to rest on. When he lay down, the two pretty women took off their hides and were women again. All the rest of the people were goats when dressed, but people when they took off their hides.

In the evening, everybody lay down to sleep. One women slept on each side of him. He attempted to copulate with them, but they said, "Not now. When the time comes, all these women will be your wives." Next day, he was sorry and thought about it. The old man said, "Why is your husband sorry?" The women said, "He wants to copulate when it isn't our time." Old man said, "Every year, there is just one time for our people to raise children."

Next day, the old man sent the boys down to the river to see about the salmon. They said, "The salmon stay still. They spawn now." Every day they went hunting, and the man went along. The old man told him, "When you kill deer, don't throw away anything; neither the intestines nor anything." The man obeyed four times, then he thought he would find out about this.

Eight boys went hunting with him one day. He killed three deer and only five boys came back in the evening. He thought perhaps the boys had turned into deer."[1] The next time he went hunting, he jumped quick and cut off the tongue of one deer and hid it. When they got to the house with the deer, they ate it all. The old man sent the boys to throw the bones in the lake, and all the deer came to life again. They returned to the house. One boy was sick and spit blood all the time. Other boys said, "Our partner is sick. His tongue is gone." Then the man knew. The boys would go hunting with him in the morning; they turned into deer and were killed, eaten, their bones put in the lake, and they were revived again. So the man gave the tongue to the old man, who put the tongue in the boy's mouth and it was all right. The man believed now. He knew. When deer bones are put in the lake, they come alive again.

In the morning, the old man sent the boys down to a certain Indian who was hunting. "You help this man, who wants something to eat. But there is one man there who makes fun of us. Don't go near him." All the deer put on their skins and went down. All the Indians, except the man who mocked them, killed deer. Some of the boys came back very soon. Others were kept a long time

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[1] [See p. 240 (c). -- Analyst]

P. 240 (-B)

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P.240(c)

58 Told by Suszen Timentwa (L.V.W.W.).

59 The same confusion of deer with mountain goats occurs in another (identical) version of this tale told by the same narrator.

When the deer came back, some said, "That man fed me well: camas, berries and everything." (When Indians put camas and berries by the deer when he is brought into the house, they are feeding him.)

The old man sent the boys down to see about the salmon again. When they came back, they said, "The salmon are spawning now." The old man said, "All you girls go to the lake and swim. When you come back, all you boys go and swim. Tomorrow is your time. Go and have a good time." The two women told the man, "See, you were in a hurry some time ago."

All went swimming, and after breakfast all put on clothes and became deer. The old man reached out and gave the man a thick goat hide to wear. He said, "Wear that so your friends can't hook you with their horns and hurt you." It was so heavy that he could only walk while everybody else ran and played as they chose. Towards evening, the others came back and left him. He tried to get near the does but could not. He went back and took off his skin. Everybody was laughing and playing. He thought, "Because I am a man, I can't do anything."

The old man said, "Maybe someone did wrong to this man and he is sorry." They all said, "No, we didn't do wrong. But he is too slow." The old man said, "That is my fault. I gave him a heavy skin so he would not get hurt. Tomorrow I will give him a lighter one so he can go fast."

Next day the old man gave him a lighter skin. He went out, trotted and ran, and caught up to the other deer. He was bigger than all the other bucks, so soon he was alone with the does and had all of the women all day. Now the man remembered that he had a little girl and a little boy with his own people whom he had left. He went with the does for nearly a month. When a doe felt that she was going to have little ones, she did not play any more. Finally just a few does went out. Finally there were no more. So the man learned to be like the deer, and to have intercourse with women only once a year. He stayed with the deer three years and learned good ways from them.

The man's people had followed him when he left that first day. They had found his tracks between the two deer tracks going up the ice mountain. They knew that the deer had taken him away, that he was not dead. So the people used their power to find if he were dead or alive. Then they knew that he was living with the deer. They made power to make him think, "Let me go back to my people."

Finally after three years, he thought, "I have a boy and a girl. I am lonesome. I must go back." He told the old man who said, "All right. That is your affair; but any time you want to come back here, this is your home too."

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60 Told by Billie Joe (W.B.C.).

When the man came back to his people, he told them all about everything. And he did not know how many of the young deer were his children.

The old man had given him shoes to wear over the ice. Finally he came close to the camp. He became afraid of the camp odors; just as a deer would. For four days, he tried to go into camp, but was always scared and ran back into the brush. Finally, the people saw him and went there, and saw the tracks. They said, "Maybe he is scared, just like a deer. All of you who have power come and try to catch this man who is coming back."

They all came together and lined up on two sides of the brush where he came out. They said, "When he comes, surround him." All the men and women did this. The others said, "We have to get some certain roots and weeds to put medicine on him when we get him."

They caught him. He was just like a deer, running around. He died, just like a deer; scared. They took him to camp quickly and washed him with roots. He woke up and was sick for quite a while. So they made him tame again.

THE MAN WHO HAD HIS WILL OF A DEER"[1]

A man was lazy and lay in the tent all the time. His brothers told him to look at their deer snare. It was in the fall and they were snaring deer. He went out and saw a female deer in the trap. He had never had anything to do with women. So when she turned her buttocks toward him, he had intercourse with her. She told him to free her from the trap.

In the spring he went out to hunt. He saw little deer tracks, which he followed. A woman laughed from up on the hill, saying, "You want to see your children." He went up there and found the little fawns. The doe had turned into a woman and was sitting down by the little fawns. The mother told him, "Any time now when you go hunting, tell your brother to sit right in between two little mountains. You stay ahead with these deer, and tell your brother not to kill you, the leader deer, but that you'll take the deer right past him for him to kill."

He told his brother this, and left camp. The brother tried this; he went and sat in the gap. Soon he saw some deer coming. The man was the leader; and after he had passed, the brother was to kill the rest. "We're going to npEcqwĕ´ŏc" (down neen Wenatchee). (These people were Sinkaietk.) So the brother thought that he would kill the leader this time; that his brother was way down there at npEcqwĕ´ŏc. So he sat in the gap. When the leader came close, he shot him. His brother, the leader, jumped two or three times, and fell down dying. He turned into human form, and put his arms over his face.

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[1] [See p. 241(A). --Analyst]

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The deer brother told him, "That's the end of your hunting. You'll never kill another deer as long as you live. You've killed me now. I'm dying."

THE BOY FOSTERED BY BEARS[61]

They always used to go up Kettle River for deer hunting in the fall, and for trapping. There was a man, his wife, and their little boy who went up to Kettle River. They went way up and made camp at the head of Kettle River, near White Mountain (kpukamə´qin). They stayed there, while the father was killing game and trapping all through the winter. All this boy would do is to just lick the cooking pots out. His belly just grew until he had a great big belly. He would not mind his parents: he would not get water or wood. He would just lie there and lick the big horn spoons and the pots. When high water came in the spring, his father said to his mother, "I think it's time for us to go home." So he told his wife, "I'm going to tell you something. Don't be sorry about it. I've made up my mind to leave our boy here. When we get ready to go back, we'll just leave him here. He's not good for anything but to lick pots. It would be a shame to take him back among the people." His mother did not like it very well, but her husband said, "If you don't come back with me I'll kill you, and I'll kill the boy too." So he got ready and made a bark canoe.

When he worked on it, the little boy was so glad that they were going back that he ran here and there to help his father make the bark canoe. When the canoe was ready, the man told his wife, "Get everything ready; we'll put it all in the canoe. The little boy heard this, and was so pleased that he took his bow and arrows and put them in the canoe. His father was watching him as he did this. When they were just about ready to start, his father took the boy's bow and arrow back, and hung them way up on the tipi poles. Then his father asked him, "What did you do with your arrows?" He said, "I've got them in the canoe." His father said, "No; there they are on the tipi poles. You're so lazy you don't take care of them. Go and get them." The man and his wife were both in the canoe ready to start. The little boy went ashore and ran up the hill to get his bow and arrows. Then, as soon as the boy got on the bank, his father pushed the canoe out, and they went on down the river. When the little boy got his bow and arrows down, he looked around. His people were just going out of sight at the turn of the river. So he shouted, but it did no good; they went on all the faster. The little boy sat there and cried and cried. He stayed there at the camp for two or three days. Then he thought to himself, "All right. I guess my mother and father don't like me. I'll go up on White Mountain and find a grizzly so it will kill me." So he started out.

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61 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).

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He went up, and looked and looked and looked for a grizzly. Finally he came to a grizzly bear that had two little cubs. He went ahead of them and lay down where he thought they were going to go, so they would find him and kill him. But the mother just went so far and turned away from him. So he went around and lay ahead of her again. But she went just so far and turned away again. The little cubs, who were running around, found him. They shouted to their mother to come over and see this little boy. The little cubs told her, "We want him for our brother. You'd better come and make him our brother." But she said, "No, he's lazy. His mother and father left him because he's lazy. All he would do was lick pots. You don't want a brother like that." So the cubs cried and finally left the little boy. Then the little boy got up again and went around in front of the bear for the third time. This time the bear turned around and went the other way. The little cubs stayed with him, and cried and cried.

Finally their mother told them, "If you don't get lazy, I'll fix him for your brother. See the belly on him. We'll have to wash all that out." So the mother took her little finger and split the little boy's guts open with it. All the pots and spoons that were inside of him fell out. (Every time he licked a pot out, that would be a pot, you see.) Finally the two little bear cubs took a bucket apiece and fetched water from the river, and their mother washed out the inside of the little boy. She washed it and washed it and washed it, and after she got through she found just one little, little power that this little boy had. It was all crowded in among the pots: a little white weasel. So the mother took that out, and washed it clean, and put it back inside him. Then she put his belly together, and gave it one rub, and the rip was healed over.

She turned to her children and said, "Now, here's your brother. You'll have to be good to your brother now, and do what he tells you to do." So he took his bows and arrows, and killed birds and squirrels for his brother and sister to eat. He got to be a smart boy. The little bears were very pleased that they had a brother who could kill something for them to eat. Finally, when fall came, their mother told them, "We'll have to go back to our den." So they went back and got into their den, and stayed there all winter. The next spring he hunted for his little brothers and sisters, and they would dig roots for him to eat. So he stayed two years with the grizzly bears. Then the grizzly bear fixed him so that he was an awfully nice looking boy.

The second year she told her young ones, "We'll bring your brother back to wherever he came from." The little bear cubs started to cry. They went down the Kettle River;

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started early in the spring, and when they got down to Kettle Falls, there were all kinds of people at the falls catching salmon.

When his parents first got home, the people asked them where their little boy was. They both replied that their little boy had died; that that was the reason they came back. The people believed it; that their little boy was dead. They did not think that they had left him in the hills.

So when the grizzly bear and the cubs and the little boy got back to Kettle Falls, the old mother bear told him, "Here you are now, a nice looking man. You're going to leave your brother and sister. If it hadn't been for them, you wouldn't be a nice looking boy now. When you grow up to be a man, never kill your brother and sister. Never touch me at all. If you want to kill a grizzly bear, kill a big he-grizzly, but never touch me or your brother and sister. So now, all right; you can go." He went close to where the children swam, where he fainted and fell down: he smelled the Indians. [Here Johnnie launched into a description of the odor of Indians; saying that when one has just had a sweat bath, his clothes smell strong when he puts them on, and he smells the other Indians strong when he first comes among them after the bath.]

The little children ran back to the Indians, and told them they had found a little boy with a small scar on the cheek, and that it looked like the little boy who the parents said was dead. The people rushed down and saw it was the same little boy. So they put him in a buckskin robe, and smoked him with xacxac root, and he came to life again. His mother and father were ashamed to claim him. He had an aunt who had a son. He stayed with his aunt and cousin till winter came.

Then he told his cousin, "If anything happens when the Indians are dancing, if they hit me just right, I'm bound to faint. Pierce both of my arms (near the shoulder) with a feather: I will get up and sing, and you come right behind." When the Indians were dancing the cta′xwa"[1] dance [Procession dance], he did what the bears had told him to do. And his cousin did what the boy had told him to do. So he got up and went on. The dogs were following as if it were a grizzly; and at every tent he went to, people would follow him out. Finally he had all the people following him.

He came to his father's house, and his father becamed ashamed [because?] of him. He said to his wife, "I wonder where he got the song that he is singing." His father stood inside the door, and when the boy came in, his father took a bow and arrow, and shot him

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[1] [See p. 243 (c).--Analyst]

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right through the body. His boy gave the grizzly cry. When he went out the door, the ends of the arrows broke on the door posts and hung down. So he told his father, "You hit me just right. That's just what I wanted you to do." He went out. Someone came and told the father, "Your boy is dying," but he was not; he was going around singing. He went around again just because his father shot him, went into every tipi. When his father heard him coming again, he told his wife, "We'll go with our son. Get your best things, and you put them on him when he comes, and we'll go." When the boy came in again, his mother started to throw the blankets on him. He told her to keep them, that he did not want them: that he just went around to show the people that he was a man: he was no longer a pot-bellied child,"as you called me," he told his father. And the ends of the arrow were still hanging from his sides. He danced till he got back to his aunt's house, where his cousin pulled the arrow out. So he healed himself.

In the spring they used to go hunting. He always killed grizzlies and deer, and was a very good hunter. When he got in a valley and saw the smoke from a black bear's den, he would go right to the den, and if there were cubs and a mother in there, he would never touch them.

Finally, one day he got a woman,and had brothers-in-law and a father-in-law. It was in the spring; in the breeding time for bears. They saw a great big he-grizzly and a mother bear and two cubs. Whenever he would see bears with cubs, he would always go up and pet the little cubs, and play with them, and get something to give them to eat. This time when they found the big he-grizzly and the mother and cubs, he killed the he-grizzly, and played with the little cubs a while, then let them go. His father-in-law and brothers-in-law asked him, "Why don't you kill the cubs and the mother? We'd have that much more meat." So he turned to his brothers-and father-in-law, and told them that there was plenty of other meat to get without killing them. They laughed at him, and told him, "That old mother bear and her cubs must be your wife and children," making fun of him. Finally he told his father-in-law, "All right; you'll see. If you want me to die, all right; I'll kill them." So he told the little cub bears, "Don't be sorry. It isn't my fault I'm going to kill you. They make too much fun of me for not killing you. They want me to die, I guess." So he killed the two little cubs, and went up to the mother bear and shot her. As soon as he shot her, she picked him up and tore him all to pieces. So his brothers-in-law and father-in-law started to cry. They went back, knowing that he was killed. He had told his wife before he went out on this hunt that he

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62 In this the shaman, barefoot, leads the people (who wear moccasins) around the tipis in the winter (Colville). Johnnie stated at another time that this Procession dance is Colville, not Sinkaietk. At this dance they paint the face of the shaman, who has gone into a trance, to make him come to himself.

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was going to die through the fault of his father-in-law and brothers-in-law.

The bear went off way up [in the mountains?] and became sorry for him; that it was not his fault. She thought, "I'll go back and bring him back to life again." So she went back and gathered up all his body that was mixed with dirt, and put it all together. She healed him again, and told him, "From now on you can kill me and you can kill your brothers: you've already begun to kill us. It was through that little brother and sister of yours that you became a man. You can go ahead and kill us now. I'll give you the power."

THE BOY WHO KILLED THE GRIZZLY BEARS[63]

They called the bird kiamqI'hqō, a chickadee (?). He had a grandmother. After he grew up he asked his grandmother if he had any relatives, a father or mother or any other. His grandmother told him he had a sister, but she did not know where she was, because Grizzly Bear had captured both her and her husband Wolf. They had been captured for many years and she had lost track of them. Grizzly had charge of them.

So he asked his grandmother where the Indians got their bows and arrows. His grandmother told him that the place where the Indians got their bows was very dangerous; that nobody ever had a real bow from the proper woods that Indians use for bows. (That is bluewood and dogwood.) He begged his grandmother to tell him where this place was. Then his grandmother told him where to go. He said nothing to his grandmother, but early the next morning he got something to eat and started out to look for this place.

When he got close to this place he could hear the trees — well, the trees would spring way back and then crash together. Nobody could get close to that place: as soon as an Indian got close, the trees would draw him to them and smash him. He had a little power that he had got when he was a child. He took this power and put it on the end of a stick. When he got close, the trees were coming together, and he hit them as he spoke. He broke the trees right in two. (That was when Moses Mountain was a man.) And he (the boy) said that in the next world, people [humans] would not have to be killed just because they were looking for bows and arrows. He went and got the wood. He tied a big bundle of it and carried it on a high hill, where he threw it all over the world. He said, "This wood will be there, and there, and there," and so on; so that when the Indians came afterwards any Indian — children and all — could have bows, and they need not be afraid to go and get it. After he did that he took what he wanted and went home. His grandmother said to him, "I told you not to go or you'd get killed." He said, "I did

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[63] Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).

*539 that because in the next world they have to have bows and arrows, and yet not get killed." So his grandmother thought that he must be a great man.

He asked his grandmother where they got their arrows. His grandmother said, "You'd better not go there. That's a dangerous place, and there's a big bear there. As soon as you get there, the crane that is watching the serviceberry bushes will shout and the bear will come out of the bush. Nobody ever gets away from that grizzly." He said, "Well, I'll take a chance." So he started for this place. When he got near the place and got close to the crane, he took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush, and stood it right up on the plain. It began to rain, and then poured. The crane put his head under his wing. He thought there was no use watching because nobody would travel in such a storm. So the boy went in and began to cut serviceberry bushes, as many as he could cut and carry. He started to carry them out. He carried the bundle out on the plain, and spread the serviceberry bushes all over the world again. He said that when the people [humans] come they were not supposed to get killed while getting arrows: that they should get arrows any time they wanted them. So he got what he wanted to use. Then he went back to his grandmother and his grandmother thought that he was quite great for a boy. So he made his arrows.

After he finished he asked his grandmother where they got their flint. His grandmother told him that that was impossible to get, but she thought to herself that he was great enough and might get that, too. So his grandmother told him that they got it from a place above; that there was an old fellow there, who would tell him that he got his flint across the river, but not to believe that. She said, "That's the way he kills men. He is a kind of man-eater." And so the boy said that he would try it. And he went.

When he got to this fellow, this fellow said to him, "You're a relative of mine, and I know what you're looking for. You're looking for flint. I have lots of it across the river. I'll take you over and show you where it is buried around the trees, and you can get some for yourself. I haven't time to dig it myself." So this old fellow took him across and told him, "Well, I'll wait for you here, and when you get some, we'll go back across the river." So the boy went up on the hill.

When he got up on the hill, he heard a canoe and looked around. The old man was back on the other side of the river, where he took his canoe out [of the water] and covered it up. The boy started to run back and shout, but the old fellow just laughed at him and told him to go to look for flint; that when he had found flint arrow heads, he

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would come back after him. This old man went back in his house and covered everything up, and began to sing his song. It started to snow. It just rained and snowed, and the boy got wet through and through. He started to go under the bank, where he thought he would have a little shelter. As soon as he had popped under the bank, he found himself in a tipi, where it was nice and dry.

The man in the tipi told his wife, "There's your nephew. Take his clothes off and dry them, so he can have them to put on in the morning." These two were not people at all: they were mud-hens, that always go in pairs. After they gave him something to eat, they said, "Well, here are your cousins. I don't like him [the boy?] to kill them [his cousins, the eggs], but I would like you [the boy] to get what you're after." His aunt told him to go and hide; to take these two eggs, and just about midnight to break one of the eggs, and to come back and stay. After he broke that egg, he went back and stayed in their tipi. Just before daylight his aunt sent him out again with the other egg and he burst that egg just before daybreak. It made a cracking noise. The man-eater heard the crack and thought it was the boy's eyes that were cracking. So he stopped his song then and said, "Well, I guess I'll go over and get that young boy and have a nice tender breakfast." So he went over there, but the boy kept himself hidden under a root. His aunt told him, "When he comes across the river to the bank to look for your body, let him go up on the hill. Then get in the canoe and start to paddle. Don't pay any attention to him. When you get across the river, sing the man-eater's song to make the snow and cold come." His aunt sang it to him, so that he would know the song. Then he went and hid himself under the root.

Pretty soon he saw the man-eater come down to his canoe and put his canoe on the water. When the man-eater got across to where he was, he heard the man-eater say, "I heard his eye pop up on the bank: he went up there." So he got out of the canoe and went up on the bank. Then the boy got in and pushed out. He was just about in the middle when he struck the canoe with his paddle. Then the man-eater saw him and began to beg him to come back and get him; that he would give him all kinds of flint. The boy paid no attention to him, but kept on paddling till he got to shore. When he got to shore, the man-eater thought there was no more use in begging him to come back, but he begged him not to sing the song that he (the man-eater) sang. But the boy paid no attention to him.

He went in [the man-eater's house] and blocked all the openings and started to sing his song. The man-eater had all kinds of human bones on his dance-pole to make the cold and snow come. He sang this man-eater's medicine song and made it rain and snow all day. Just about evening he changed his song and made it turn cold and clear so that it

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would freeze. He kept up his song until midnight. It was freezing and cold and it started to blow. At midnight he heard the man-eater's eye pop [from the cold]; and as soon as his eye burst, he [it?] turned into an owl (sinē´na) and sat on a tree. The boy said, "You're not going to be a man-eater all the time. After a while you'll be nothing but an owl that people scare children with." Towards morning his other eye popped, and he [it?] turned into an I´hēn (like a nighthawk). And the boy said to the I´hēn that he would be nothing but a bugaboo to scare children with, not a man-eater, just as he had said to the owl.

After this fellow died, the boy went to the place in the tipi where the man-eater kept all his flint. He went back to his grandmother, and on his way he threw this flint all over the world, so that when the Indians came they could have flint without any trouble or dying for it. So he went back. His grandmother was glad to see him return and she thought that he must be an awfully great boy. Now he had those arrows and bows and flint.

Then he asked his grandmother how they got deer sinew to put on the arrow and bow. His grandmother told him that not everybody could get the sinew; that he had an aunt quite a way in the mountains who had a big deer for a husband; that she might be able to get some sinew for him. He told his grandmother that he was going over to his uncle's house to get some sinew, that is, to this big deer.

He went to his uncle's house and asked his aunt for some sinew. His aunt told him that she did not have any and that her husband was way up in the mountains; that she might be able to go over there and get some sinew from him. Sc she started up to her husband. When she got there, this big deer asked his wife what she wanted. She told him that she wanted some clothes for her children, that it was getting cold for them. So she tore a place in the back of his neck and pulled on the sinew. He got up and asked her what was hurting him so. She said she was not doing anything but getting hair to keep the children warm. He said, "All right," but it was hurting him. Finally she pulled all his sinew out. When all the sinew came out, this big deer died. So the boy's aunt shouted for him to come. He came and took all of his [the deer's] hair, and threw it all over the world. He said, "There isn't going to be only one deer in the world for people to get meat and sinew from; that will be yours, and yours, and yours; for people not to be in want." He went back.

He worked on his bow and arrows, and prepared all his flint [arrowheads]. Then he saw one thing that he did not have; that was a feather. He asked his grandmother, "How can I get some feathers for my arrows?" His grandmother told him that they got feathers from birds, but she said she did not know [how?] he could get them. But the birds were flying

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south (it was in the fall), and he shouted to the leader bird, and finally he came down. That was the goose (? qōcI´h^{u}). He got feathers from them. He got all kinds of feathers from all birds, and he put marks on them [the birds] in payment. After he got all kinds of feathers — grouse, eagle, hawk, and so on — he let them go. He went back and feathered his arrows.

He told his grandmother, "Well, I'm going to leave you now;" that he was going to look for his missing sister. So he left. He travelled until spring came — all through the winter — and kept on travelling and travelling. So he travelled for about three or four years. He came to a place where somebody had made a fire. He thought it had been just about a year since someone had made a fire there. He followed that fire sign for about two years till he came to a pretty fresh sign of fire. He kept on till he came to where they had just made a fire the day before. So he travelled till he caught up to them.

His sister was dragging their tentpoles along. He saw his sister, and, she told him, "You came here to die, because we're with grizzlies." She and her little boy were in danger all the while from the grizzlies; that her husband had to go and hunt for the grizzlies all the while. (Her husband was Wolf [ntsI´tsin].) She thought that he had better hide himself. So she put him in her pack and laid her pack down where they were going to camp. As soon as Grizzly saw them he told them to camp, and they camped just as far as they could from him. They put up the tent. This boy kept in hiding till the sister had tule mats [on the tipi frame] all around him. He got up and sat down, but she said he would have to keep in hiding or they would kill him. He said that he was not afraid of their killing him. When her husband came back, he was glad to see his brother-in-law, but said that he was awfully sorry that the boy came; that they would kill him if they found him. But the little boy said, "That's all right. I want to destroy everything that kills people."

When evening came his brother-in-law said, "Well, I'm going over to Grizzly's camp to get a piece of the meat that I killed for them." The boy jumped up to go with his brother-in-law to Grizzly's camp. When they reached Grizzly's tent, Grizzly said to his daughters, "Make room for your husband. Let him sit over there between you." Grizzly told the boy to go sit between the girls. He went over and sat between the girls, while his brother-in-law went and got meat. When Wolf had gotten meat he said to the boy, "Let's go back." The boy tried to jump up. He could not; the bears' power had glued his legs together so he could not get up and walk. Finally his brother-in-law went away and left the boy. The boy just lay there and the girls started to play with him.

The next day they got ready and travelled. They carried the boy. His sister was

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crying all the while. They carried him till they came to a big river in a canyon; then they threw him over the bluff into the river. He struck the water with his feet, but he fell on a little level place, and he stayed there. His sister came over the top of the bluff and cried and cried. He told his sister, "It won't do you or me any good to stay there. You'd better let me die here, but take good care of your little boy." So she got up crying and left him. So his feet were hanging in the water. All kinds of little fish came and sucked on the cords with which the bear power had bound his legs.

He stayed there for three days till the sun told his daughter, "You'd better go get that boy out of there, and you can have him for a husband." She went down and took him out. He said, "I'm not fit for you at all." The girl said, "My father sent me down here to get you out. You are to be my husband." He said, "If you think I'm all right for you, I'll go with you." So this girl fed him some white stuff; he did not know what it was, but he ate a very little and it filled him up.

So they travelled till they caught up to his sister. She was dragging the tipi poles and calling his name and crying. He stepped on the tipi pole; she pulled and pulled, and let go. He stepped on the poles again, and her little boy looked back, and said, "Oh, my uncle is here." She said, "Keep quiet. Your uncle is dead. He won't catch up with us." He stepped on the poles again, while his sister kept pulling and pulling, and the little boy said, "My uncle is stepping on the poles, mamma." Finally his mother whipped him again very hard. The uncle could not stand it any longer, so he said, "Don't whip the boy, sister. He's telling the truth. I've caught up with you." Then his sister looked back, and there he was, with a woman. They sat down there and talked. The woman's sister-in-law [i.e. Sun's daughter] got this white stuff out and fed it to her and the little boy. There was little of it, but, while they ate and ate and ate, the white stuff did not diminish. Finally they were filled up and they went on.

When they got close to Grizzly Bear the sister put him and his wife in her pack. Grizzly Bear told them to stop; not to come any closer. So they stopped and made camp. They got through putting up their tent. He [KlamqI´hqō] had a lot of small flints in his pockets. He sent the little boy over to Grizzly Bear to get some deer grease. When his little nephew got over there and asked Grizzly for some deer grease, Grizzly asked him, "What do you want it for?" The little boy said, "I want it for my head, because my head must be awfully hard on your buttocks when you wipe your buttocks with it." So they gave the little boy some deer fat and he went back. His uncle washed and combed his head, cleaned all the bear dung out of his hair, and greased it well. Then he put all these small flints on his head, and told the little boy if they happened to call for

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him to come, to hit them in the buttocks with his head, and just keep rubbing as hard as he could, no matter if they cried out or not. Just as his uncle got through with his head, one of the grizzlies shouted for him to come, that the dung was getting dry on their buttocks. So he ran and bumped the old bear in the buttocks with his head, and the flints cut streaks in the bear's buttocks The bear said, "What's the matter with your head?" The little boy said, "Well, I thought it was getting awfully hard on your buttocks with all that dry dung in my hair, so I washed it, so as to make it soft, but I must have done wrong." He kept on till he had done that to all the grizzlies; cut up their buttocks so they could hardly walk.

When Wolf came back he saw his brother-in-law at the camp. He saw that he [Klamqi′hqō] had a woman. Wolf told his brother-in-law; "I wish you wouldn't let them see you, because they'll certainly kill you this time." Klamqi′hqō told him that he was not going to fool them any more. He sent his brother-in-law [Wolf] over there, telling him to tell the grizzlies not to move camp the next day, because they wanted to go after moss and steam it under ground; they would be there for three or four days.

The next day the young bears went out in the hills to gather black moss. He told his sister, "You prepare the sweathouse for me. Put one blue rock on one side of the fire, and put another one on the other side." This young fellow [Klamqi′hqō] started out. He told his brother-in-law where to go to hunt, and that these two young grizzlies would be with him all the time. He caught up to his brother-in-law, and asked him, "Where are the young grizzlies?" And his brother-in-law told him, "They're on ahead." So he went on and caught up to one of them. The young grizzly looked back and was going to charge him, but he threw his glove over [beyond] the bear's head, and his glove turned into a deer. He told the young grizzly, "Look ahead. There's a big deer." Then the young grizzly looked and saw the deer. Klamqi′hqō put an arrow in his bow ready to shoot the young grizzly. He shot an arrow into the young bear, killing him. Then he ran after the youngest grizzly and killed him. He turned back and caught up to his brother-in-law.

He told him to run back down and shout that Klamqi′hqō had killed all of Grizzly's daughters and sons. So his brother-in-law went down where the girls were getting moss. They were up on the trees. He killed them also. He stuck the youngest one on a stick and put her by the fire: he took a stick and ran it through her and stood her by the fire and pried her eyes and mouth open, and then went back to the camp. When Grizzly heard Wolf shout that his children were all dead,

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64 Told by Michel Brooks (W.B.C.).
65 Told by Johnnie Louie (W.B.C.).

he threw [put] his teeth in his mouth (the teeth that bears wear when they are fierce), and went up on the hill. There he found his wife[?] and children dead. He came down again and found all dead but the youngest. She was standing by the fire. When her mother and father came, she was laughing. They slapped her and she turned round on the stick; that made them cry more. They saw thht all were killed, so they rushed back to the camp.

When Klamqī'hqō got back to camp he heated the stones for the sweathouse. When the bears came, one of them charged him, he poked the hot rock, and it flew into the bear's mouth, ripping her open, going right through her. Then the other one charged him and he poked the other rock. It flew into the other bear's mouth and killed him. So he said, "Now you're all killed;" that when the day came when there would be [human] children and men busy getting food, they would not have to fear bears all the time when searching in the hills. "Sometime you'll be nothing but a grizzly bear, but you won't be a man-killer all the time. You will kill a man now and then, but not all the time." He had killed them all. Then he went back and told his brother-in-law, "Well, we'll get ready and leave." So I left them and came back to Okanagon.

GRIZZLY AND RABBIT PLAY THE STICK GAME" 1

Grizzly Bear and Rabbit were playing the stick game together. Rabbit's song was qʷēxqʷēxhōlēwē'a, qʷēxqʷēxhōlēwē'a, qʷēxqʷēxhōlēwē'a. Finally he beat Grizzly. Grizzly told his partners, "Don't guess the bones. Let me do the guessing. If Rabbit beats me, I'm going to kill him." So Grizzly started to play, and started to guess. All the rest were afraid of Grizzly, so they did not guess, but let Grizzly guess all the time until they were beaten. Then Grizzly got angry and went after Rabbit to kill him. Rabbit jumped up and ran. Rabbit did not know which way to run. He ran onto the ice, and Grizzly ran after him on the ice. But when Grizzly ran on the ice, he broke through it and was drowned. So Grizzly's partners said, "It's all right that he was drowned. He was too mean [fierce; bullying]."

THE ORIGIN OF BLACK BEAR" 1

The black bear used to be a man. He had three brothers. He told his wife never to eat the brisket of a deer. He and his three brothers were hunting. He was the only one of the brothers that had a woman. One day after hunting he came back and saw his wife had eaten the brisket. He told her he would give her one more chance: if she ate brisket again, he would turn into a bear and leave her. He caught her eating the brisket again, so with his snowshoes on, he left her.

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1 [See p. 247 (A). -- Analyst]
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After two days his brothers thought he was dead, and asked his wife what had happened. His brothers followed his snowshoe tracks; after a while they saw one snowshoe and that foot had left bear tracks; further on they found another snowshoe, and the track of the other foot was a bear track. They followed until they found him in a cave. He said, "I've turned into a bear, and I've left you forever." So his brothers started to cry. He told them, "Whenever you see me, never kill me. I'll be red." (That is the cinnamon or little brown bear.) So they returned and killed his woman. And when they got back they told the tribesmen all about it.

A CAPTIVE WOMAN'S SONS GIVE WARNING[67]

A long time ago the Shuswap came down to fight the Methow. They captured a girl there and took her up to Shuswap country. She stayed there a long time. Two boys were born to her. As soon as they grew up, she told them that they belonged down at Methow. She told them, "When you go down there, don't fight the Indians down there. You will be the ones to tell the people there before they fight. Never kill any of the people there, because they are your own people.

They found a canoe while they were coming down the Columbia from the Shuswap country. As soon as they got in sight of qKlă'tsEmEn (on the Columbia River near Kartaro), they saw some men standing in a canoe, spearing salmon. One of these boys pretended he fell down and his paddle made a big noise against the canoe, so they could hear him. Those men who were spearing ran back and told the rest of the people that the enemy were coming. They all got ready and left there. The two boys told the Shuswap, "They couldn't have been people: they must have been ghosts standing there, who we thought were real people." These two boys went alone to see if there were any people there. They got there, but all were gone.

Then they went on down the river. When they got to where the Okanagon empties into the Columbia, they did not see any people. Then they went on up the Methow river, but they never killed any people. It seemed they were seen every time.

Then they told these two boys, "You are not trying to kill any people." But they never tried to kill the boys, because they were afraid of them. So they had to go home without killing any one.

Next year the two boys came down with some more people. They got way down where Okanogan [town] is now. There was a trail right there. The Shuswap spread out in a half-circle across the road. The two boys were in front, one on each side of the road.

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[66] Told by Cecile Brooks (R.C.).
[67] Told by Michel Brooks (E.G.).

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A couple was coming along that road. The boys held up their bows and arrows so the old couple could see them, but they did not. They came right on and were killed. The man tried to run away, but the woman said, "You said you would never run away if anybody was pursuing us," so he stayed. The woman was killed first and then the man. But the two boys did not have anything to do with killing them. Then they went back."

THE DOG WHOSE BARKING DROWNED PEOPLE"[1a]

There is a hole in the bluff in which a blind dog lived. The Columbia River is right below the bluff. Every morning after sunrise the blind dog would go on top of the bluff to lie there. This old dog had some little sparrows to give him warning when anything happened. So every time people went down in canoes, the sparrow would see them, and the sparrow would tell the dog, "Here comes some people down the Columbia." Then this dog would bark at the people, and as soon as he barked, there would be a big current that would tip the boat and the people would drown. Just as soon as the people were drowned, he would go up on the bluff again and lie down. The sparrow would watch, and just as soon as there were some more people coming down, the sparrow would tell him again, and he would begin to bark and the boat would turn over. This old dog did not want any people to go by him along the river.

The sun was angry with him because he was killing so many people. The sun thought that if he did not destroy this old dog, then, when there were people [humans] later, he would kill them: they could not go by there without his drowning them. So the sun came down and got behind him in the west. They would always be looking toward the east, because the river comes down from the east. Sun got quite close to him, when this little sparrow jumped up and made one little noise. The sun motioned to him not to make any more noise to warn the dog, because he would pay him, "because I want to kill him. I'll give you something you'll be proud of." The old dog said to the sparrow, "What's the matter that you made that one little noise and stopped?" And the bird said, "I went to sleep and I was dreaming when I cried out like that."

The sun hit the old dog over the head with his spear pole and broke the dog's head. The dog ran down the bluff and all over the bluff, but he could not find his den in the bluff. He went back in the den, where he died. That was the end of people getting upset. That is why the sparrows are marked all over: that is what the sun gave him in payment.

In the early days when a party passed there, they could hear a dog barking, and

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[1a] [See p. 248 (A). -- Analyst]

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they would say they were going to have bad luck; that one of the party would die. The sun told the dog that when the people came, they would be able to hear him bark; that when they were going to have bad luck, he could give them warning. (Swaham'hatłtsin is

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the name of the dog and the bluff near Chelan where the story is located. The name means "barking dog" in the Wenatchi dialect: the bluff is in Wenatchi territory. It is still called "Barking Cliff" by the whites.)

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ABSTRACTS OF TALES

The Origin of People

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God creates the world and animals. He is to return in a year, when he will name the animals and create humans. Coyote desires to be the first named, hence leader, but falls asleep and is named last. God puts an object in the water, which becomes Beaver. In the future, humans will arise from twelve pieces of Beaver. Coyote is left in charge of the earth. When God returns, Coyote asserts he has the most power. Coyote is challenged to move mountains by pointing: he succeeds once but then fails. Coyote, having lost the opportunity to make humans, is placed by God in a house in the sea. God is to rejoin Coyote in the future.

Four wolf brothers prepare spears to kill Beaver. The youngest wolf uses his three brothers' spears, but they break. He pierces it with his own spear but is dragged down the Columbia, despite his clutching at plants on the way. Beaver is killed. The beaver is cut into eleven parts, instead of twelve. The animals take these portions and the blood, which serves as the twelfth part, to various localities. They breathe life into the so that each part becomes an Indian tribe. The humans are shown what is food and told to pattern their utensils after certain pictographs.

The Naming of the Animals
(First Version)[3]

God is to name the animals: the first to arrive is to be chief. Coyote decides to be first, and tries to keep awake by falling on a stake and by propping his eyes open, but he falls asleep. Fox arrives first and is named chief. The animals are named. When Coyote arrives, God offers him the choice of the names, coyote and sweathouse. God offers him power in his dung. Coyote tests his dung, which enables him to move a mountain by the wave of his hand. He imagines he is more powerful than God. He accepts the name coyote.

Fox, as chief, commits wrongs. God sends Coyote to right them. God, naming the sweathouse, tells it to be wherever there are people. Coyote and Fox travel over the world. God places Fox on a log in the northern ocean, Coyote on one in the southern ocean. God turns the world over and the creatures become animals. Coyote is still

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[1] Explanatory elements are underlined.
[2] See Religion.
[3] See Religion.

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in the ocean and will return to destroy the whites.

The Naming of the Animals
(Second Version)

A chief calls all the animals into his house to be named. Coyote wants to be first in order to get the best name. He tries to keep awake by first leaning against a stake, and then by propping his eyes open, but the chief's power makes him sleep. The chief names each animal and directs it to its proper home. When all are named, Coyote wakes and asks for the names of powerful animals. The chief gives him the only remaining name, coyote, together with power.

Origin of the Sun and Moon[3] [1]

In the beginning it is dark: people decide to have a sun and moon. Crane is chosen as sun, but his body is so long, that the day is too long. Coyote is chosen in his place, but he gossips about what he sees, and he, too, is too long. Woodpecker is chosen, but he causes great heat.

Frog-woman causes a rain to force Coyote's sons into her tipi. Frog clings to the face of the elder: she cannot be cut loose. They decide the elder son shall be the moon, with Frog on his face, and the younger the sun.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(First Version)

North Wind is preparing a sweathouse. Coyote comes prying and impudently goes into the lodge. North Wind throws the hot stones inside: Coyote suffocates. Fox revives him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. They see no signs of the sweathouse.

Coyote calls on his power for help. Following instructions, Coyote goes into North Wind's house of ice where are the latter's wife and son. Coyote's power causes heat; the house, melting, tumbles down and kills the woman and boy. Coyote decrees that the north wind will be able to kill only those who are insufficiently clad.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(Second Version)

Coyote sees North Wind preparing a

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[1] [See p. 250(A). -- Analyst]

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sweathouse. He says that he too would sweat but North Wind refuses to answer. North Wind removes his clothes and enters the lodge. Coyote, in anger, kills him as he comes out and dons his clothes of ice. North Wind revives. The ice clothing freezes Coyote to death. North Wind recovers his clothing. Fox steps over Coyote, reviving him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. [Incomplete.]

The Contest of the Winds

There are four North Wind brothers and four South Wind brothers. The former have a black bird as a relative, the latter Crane and Insect. The wife of the youngest South Wind is pregnant. Half the world is cold, half warm. The North Wind brothers kill people.

The oldest North Wind challenges South Wind to wrestle on the ice to decide whether the whole world will be cold or warm. Oldest North Wind wrestles with the South Winds in turn and kills them. Youngest South Wind, knowing he is to die, hangs up a bow and a digging stick. One of these will fall, informing Crane and Insect whether his wife has given birth to a boy or a girl. Youngest South Wind accepts the challenge and is killed. The whole world becomes cold. The wife returns to her home in the south.

Black Bird uses Insect's head and Crane's legs to clean himself after defecating. The animals are cold and starving. Each sings to bring back warmth and food, but fails. Duck sings and it becomes warmer.

Crane sees the bow fall: he knows a son is born to South Wind. North Wind is kept in ignorance of this. The boy grows rapidly and goes north to challenge North Wind. Young South Wind puts obsidian blades on Insect's head and Crane's legs. When Black Bird cleans himself, he is badly cut. Young South Wind instructs Insect to prepare soup to pour on the ice to assist him when wrestling.

Crane calls a challenge to North Wind. Young South Wind wrestles with the North Winds in turn and kills them. Each time Black Bird pours cold water under their feet to make it slippery, but Insect pours the soup, helping Young South Wind to win. Each time a North Wind is killed it becomes warmer.

Young South Wind pursues Black Bird, who escapes over the ice. Young South Wind decrees that Black Bird will always stay in cold places. He decrees that the North Winds will not remain dead, that he will bring summer, they will bring winter, and they will kill only those humans who mock them.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(First Version)

Big Deer was chief of animals inside a mountain. The four wolf brothers went to kill Big Deer for his horns. The youngest brother sings to make snow fall, sending the oldest out at intervals to report how much has fallen. He purposely reports less than the true depth. Finally the second youngest reports the truth. Youngest Brother then sings to make rain, and then to freeze a crust on the snow, with the same false reports. Youngest Brother makes snowshoes for his brothers.

They open the mountain: all the animals inside run out. When Big Deer comes out, Youngest Brother pursues him. Their footprints can now be seen. Deer takes refuge with Old Man, who has two fish daughters. Old Man hides him beneath a canoe and throws his gloves to an island to become deer. When Wolf arrives, Old Man denies seeing Big Deer. Wolf sees the deer on the island and swims toward it. Old Man and Big Deer pursue Wolf in a canoe. Big Deer kills him. Because they think all hands are against them, wolves are now killers.

Old Man gives his daughters to Big Deer as his wives. The animals are ashamed for Deer because his wives are ugly. A woman under the water wants to marry Deer.

Old Man and his daughters go fishing each night. When Deer takes his plac[illegible] is warned against going downstream. He does; the underwater woman seizes him and throws his wives back to their home. His fish wives give birth to two sons. A son is born to the underwater wife, who exactly resembles Big Deer.

Big Deer is made chief under the water. His followers agree to sending the third son to Big Deer's parents in the mountain. The boy goes, telling his two half-brothers to join him. They dawdle, eating pine nuts. The boy throws them into a tree, where they become a certain kind of bird. The boy arrives at his grandparents' home in the mountain and becomes chief of the animals there.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(Second Version)

Four wolf brothers live with their family. Whitetail, chief of all the deer-like animals, takes their sister for his wife. The wolf-wife makes moccasins for their son in the form of wolf paws, while Whitetail wants them made like deer hoofs. When she complains to the wolves, they decide to kill all the deer.

The wolf-father has the oldest son sing to bring snow. The son sends the father out to report: each time he returns with a misleading report that it is not deep enough. The son then sings to cause a thaw and then to freeze. Whitetail takes all the deer through the air and distributes them over the country. Whitetail fleeing comes to the Columbia and calls on a fish to carry him over. The fish refuses to heed when addressed as a blood relative. He accedes when addressed as father-in-law because he

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wants Whitetail to marry his daughter. The fish throws his coat into the river to look like a swimming deer.

When the oldest wolf brother arrives, he demands that the fish take him across. The fish decrees that humans shall not ask for ferryage to take revenge. When the wolf is swimming after the mock-deer, Whitetail shoots him. They take his body ashore. The second wolf brother arrives and is similarly dispatched. The youngest wolf brother arrives and after several false starts, gives up the attempt and goes home. Whitetail magically causes his wolf-wife to become blind.

Whitetail has three children (birds) by the fish's daughter. He sends them to join his son by the wolf-wife. On the way the two youngest birds decide to stay in the trees. The oldest, Woodpecker, reaches the wolf-son, who decides Woodpecker can live on grubs in the trees. The wolf-son becomes a bird, never seen, which causes animals to become dormant with the cold. Whitetail throws his fish-wife in the bush, where she becomes robins, always crying. He puts the fish in the river.

The wolf-father fails to cure his daughter's blindness. He appeals to the birds, who refer him to their chief. The chief bird tells him to enumerate all the rivers and to break the beaver dams on Yakima River to release the impounded water. Coyote warns Wolf to spear only the third, the oldest beaver; a man-eater. Wolf allows the first two to pass and spears the third beaver. He cannot release himself from the spear shaft. Beaver drags him toward the Columbia. Each bush tells Wolf to hold to it, but the bushes break. Wild hops repeat this advice: their root system is long and tangled. He holds to them and is saved. The wolf-father and Coyote kill the beaver. They use the beaver's entrails to cure blindness in the wolf-wife.

Killing the Water Elk

Elk lived in a lake. The wolf brothers want to kill him, to use his horn for a spear. When Elk comes out and sleeps, the youngest wolf brother cuts off his head. The three other brothers run up a hill with the head, but are pursued by the rising waters of the lake. The youngest brother has them surround themselves with grass, which the water cannot pass, so they are saved.

Fisher and Marten
Cut off the Sea-Monster's Head

Fisher's wife goes swimming and seats herself on the sea-monster's horns, mistaking them for roots. The sea-monster steals her for a wife. Fisher and Marten, his brother, track her to the river edge, where Fisher's little son is crying. To soothe him, Marten makes a fawn in a cottonwood grove by using his power: Fisher provides bow and arrows. The child plays at shooting the fawn.

Fisher and Marten see two girl birds

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(sisters of the sea-monster) approaching in a canoe, which they make move by wriggling. Fisher orders them ashore, but they refuse. Fisher and Marten have their power in canes. Fisher makes his cane long: it jumps into the canoe and brings them to shore. Fisher questions the girls, who are seeking food for the sea-monster's wife. He learns where they sit at home and how they carry out the wife on a mat to defecate.

Fisher kills the girls. He and Marten don the girl's skins. Marten tears the skin at the eye, so his eye waters. They set off in the canoe, propelled by their wriggling. Their canes take them ashore.

When in the house, the sea-monster suspects. In the evening they carry out the wife on a mat and reveal themselves to her. When the sea-monster sleeps, Fisher and Marten take off their disguise. Fisher cuts off the monster's head. The three flee in the canoe, taking the head. They cannot get away because of the monster writhing. Monster's people pursue them: they throw the head overboard.

Coyote volunteers to dive for the head but fails. Turtle dives and locates the head, but complains his shoulders are open to the cold. A shaman closes Turtle's shoulders. Turtle brings up the head, which the people place on the monster's shoulders. He revives.

The sea-monster causes a flood to pursue the three up the highest mountain. To save them, Fisher sets up his cane, which they climb. When the flood reaches Fisher, Marten sets his cane on top: it reaches into the sky: he boasts of his superior power. They climb this, but do not wish to go to the sky. When the water recedes, Fisher and Marten decide to stay in the mountains, where they will always live. (Evidence of the flood is seen in a cottonwood log high on Moses Mountain.)

Skunk Takes Revenge

Skunk and Fisher are bachelors: Fisher is a good hunter. Rabbit sends two granddaughters, chipmunks, to marry Fisher. They hide under Fisher's pillow. When Skunk arrives, the younger chipmunk laughs, so that Skunk discovers them. He hides them under his own pillow. At Skunk's request, he and Fisher put food under their pillows. Skunk's food disappears, so Fisher discovers that Skunk has taken the chipmunk girls.

Fisher goes hunting while Skunk stays with his wives. When Skunk goes out, Fisher returns and takes the girls. They burn the tipi and go off in the smoke, so that Skunk cannot discover their tracks. Skunk returns, but cannot find their tracks. Building a fire, he sees the tracks in the smoke. He follows them.

Looking into the water, Skunk sees a reflection of them perched in a cleft of a cliff. He squirts his fluid at the reflec-

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tions to kill them. When they laugh, he discovers them in the cleft. He squirts his fluid up but fails. Going to the top of the cliff, he squirts it down, killing Fisher. Skunk goes off with the chipmunk girls. At night they camp in a cleft in the rocks. The girls cause the cleft to close on him, while they go away.

Skunk frees himself by putting his body outside piecemeal. Raven steals his anus. Skunk reassembles his body and stuffs grass in his open buttocks. He goes on to a group of people who are playing at rolling his anus. He sits where it falls, so that it rolls into his buttocks.

In revenge, Skunk has them assemble in a tipi to hear his story. On the pretext that he does not want his story to escape, he has them close every crack. He tells the story of his adventure, and then, squirting his fluid, kills them. Only those who could not crowd into the tipi are saved.

Raven and His Brother's Widow

Raven desires his brother's widow. He announces a dance and sends the people for wood for the fire. Devil fish goes upriver, where he discovers Raven's sister-in-law and her grandson in embrace. He returns where the people are gathered. They whisper the scandal among themselves: Mouse overhears it. At the dance, Mouse cries out the scandal. Raven goes to take revenge on the grandson. The grandson shoots Raven and the others, decreeing that thereafter the latter will be a raven. He shoots Sucker and Chub; his arrows are their bones. He decrees they will be in the lakes; he will be a rock bird

A Brother and Sister Commit Incest

A brother and sister have sexual relations while their parents are away. When the sister is pregnant, the brother sends her into the mountains to live alone. He finds she has borne a daughter there. Later he discovers the daughter knows that he is her father, so he kills her. The sister's digging stick breaks so she knows something has happened. When she finds her daughter dead, she smears herself with the blood and goes to the village. She kills all the inhabitants by making them look at her. Her brother will not look until she has cleaned herself.

They dig a pit to bury the bodies. She induces her brother to enter it to straighten the corpses and attempts to bury him with the bodies. He induces her to take her turn and buries her alive. He returns to the village and eats all the pretty things, whereon he becomes small, ugly, and bloated. He wanders along the frozen river but no one will have him because he is ugly.

Two Louse girls take him home to their grandmother. He vomits the pretty things, and in the process again becomes full size and handsome. He warns his wives, the Louse

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girls, against going to the burial pit. He does not know that his sister has escaped. The older Louse girl wanders where the sister is living and is killed by her. Then the brother kills his sister.

The Origin of Death

A chief has a son and two daughters, the older of whom is in a menstrual lodge. The son goes out at night, sleeping by day. The mother discovers that the son has intercourse with his sister in the lodge. The daughter puts paint on her unknown lover to identify him. In shame, the chief kills his son and places him in a canoe at the foot of a bluff. The younger daughter is warned against telling her sister what has become of their brother, but she disobeys. The older sister escapes the surveillance of the younger and flees toward the cliff. Fox catches her, but she frees herself and jumps down into the canoe, where she dies.

The chief wishes his children alive again. At a meeting, he insists that the dead shall always revive, but the people declare against it. Soon Raven's daughters die. Raven asks the chief to reverse the verdict, but the chief declares the dead must remain dead.

The chief sets his wife down at the waterside to become a sweatlodge. People are to come to it to sweat when ailing. He tries making places in which to stay; at last he is satisfied. He is called qEĺEnsöltEn.

Coyote Liberates Salmon
(First Version)

Two sisters have a weir near the Dalles which prevents salmon ascending the Columbia. Coyote transforms himself into a bowl and floats into the weir. The sisters take the bowl in which to keep salmon. Coyote eats the salmon, so they decide to burn it. Coyote reveals himself as a little boy, who they adopt. He eats voraciously until he is strong. He tears down the weir and liberates the salmon.

Coyote takes the salmon upstream. When he wants to eat them, he falls asleep. Wolf and Fox eat them, smearing fish on Coyote's face. He repeats this: Wolf and Fox stretch his body into coyote-shape. He finds these two roasting duck eggs. He steals and eats the eggs, smears the remains on Wolf and Fox, and stretches them into their animal forms.

As he passes up the Columbia with the salmon, he calls together the creatures on each river in turn. He offers them a perpetual annual supply of salmon in return for their prettiest daughters. Salmon runs are established on those rivers where they accede. Where they refuse he builds dams to prevent the salmon ascending, thus establishing the present distribution of salmon. He shows how to build traps, use the spear and gaff hook, to teach humans their use. He makes certain pictographs, a sliding rock, and pothole.

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Coyote Liberates Salmon
(Second Version)

[The first part is identical with the whole first version, except for the omission of the instructions for fishing, the pictographs, sliding rock and pothole.]

A daughter is born to Coyote. When she grows up, he desires her for a wife. He pretends to die after instructing his wife to store food at his grave and telling her that a Kutenai will come to marry the daughter. When the food is gone, he calls on his power [faeces?], which becomes a canoe and clothing for him. He arrives as a Kutenai: Mouse acts as interpreter. He is given the girl to wife.

His daugher sees Coyote's hair on herself. Prairie Chickens know the truth and call out his name. The Kutenai (i.e. Coyote) protests, but they tell that Coyote has married his own daughter. Coyote runs off: the daughter throws herself in the falls. She [evidently as a star] is in the south: Coyote tells her to turn to the north.

Theft of Fire (First Version)

The animals debate on how long night and day shall be. The bears and other big animals insist on a night of six months, in winter: Frog and others demand short nights so they will not starve. Frog begins repeating "Tomorrow;" Black Bear, "One year." When winter comes, the bears hibernate; Frog stays in the water, croaking "Tomorrow."

The animals decide to procure fire for the humans of the future. Coyote tells them it can only be gotten in the sky, where there are people. He tells them to make an arrow-chain. The animals try but fail to hit the sky.

Coyote meets a little bird who has a very strong bow. He scouts the bird's ability to bend it and induces the bird to shoot at him to prove it. The bird shoots and Coyote falls dead. Fox revives Coyote who maintains he has only been sleeping.

The bird shoots at the sky and forms an arrow-chain. The animals climb it. Grizzly Bear is left to guard the chain, but he destroys it trying to climb up. That is why he is now angry at all animals. The animals make holes into the sky-land.

Frog and Watersnake are sent to spy on the sky-people. Watersnake accidentally tastes Frog's foot, eats him, and returns. Dog and Faeces are sent. Dog eats Faeces and returns. Beaver, Eagle and Woodpecker are dispatched to steal fire from the sky-people.

Beaver lies as dead in their salmon trap. They skin him. When the skin still adheres only at the mouth, Woodpecker alights nearby to create a diversion. The sky-people try to shoot him. Eagle flys over and

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they try shooting him. When others fail, those skinning Beaver leave off to try. Beaver steals fire, hiding it under his finger nail. He escapes into the river. The three return to the animals with the fire.

The arrow-chain having been destroyed, the animals must jump down to earth. The birds fly down: the animals and fish jump but are killed. Sucker jumps with squaw fish in his quiver. Coyote transforms himself into a rock and falls. It goes too fast, so he tries being a tree. Again too fast, he becomes a down-feather, but this floats upward. He turns into a leaf and drops to earth without harm. Coyote resuscitates the animals. Sucker lost his mouth: Coyote repairs it with bear grease. So now Suckers have no mouths [and the mouths are greasy]. The squaw fish had pieces of arrows stuck into them so that now these fish are boney. Black Bear is only half revived. Certain berries sing a song which revives him. So humans now sing this to revive the bears they kill.

Beaver puts the fire from under his finger nail into trees he gnaws. Hence beavers now gnaw wood for food and humans make fire with wood.

Theft of Fire (Second Version)

Coyote wins all of Chickadee's arrows at a shooting match. He offers to return them if Chickadee can hit him at a great distance. He goes off, forgetting his agreement. He mistakes the whistling of Chickadee's arrow for the wind, and is killed. Fox revives Coyote by stepping over him: Coyote pretends to have been asleep.

They join people who want to get fire from the sky. Everyone has failed to make an arrow-chain. They scout Chickadee's ability. He shoots his own arrows into the sky, then everyone else's, forming an arrow-chain.

Only Dog and Dung, Beaver and Woodpecker go to the sky. Dog and Dung are sent to spy. Dog, lieing behind Dung, laps it up, and returning, can only report, "Licked him."

Beaver pretends to be dead and floats into the fish trap. The sky-people skin him, except for the corner of his mouth, which he holds in his teeth. Woodpecker, to create a diversion, flies about. When the sky-people rush to shoot Woodpecker, Beaver siezes fire, and the two escape to earth. Chickadee pulls down the arrow-chain to get his own arrows.

Grizzly, as chief, decides that fire should be distributed over the earth. Horsefly and Hummingbird are dispatched to distribute it.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves
(First Version)

The Shuswap descend the Kettle River on a raid. They massacre the Colville, captur-

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ing two sisters, while the two brothers of these women are away hunting. The brothers are preparing a sweatlodge. One of them is warned of the massacre by his power. He throws water on the fire: the steam which rises is thought to be fog by the Shuswap. The Shuswap go north with the women. They see the brothers in pursuit. The latter turn back, changing themselves into wolves. One of the sisters escapes. The Shuswap, with the other, camp in a swamp. The powerful brother turns his grizzly-head cap so that he can smell their tracks by his grizzly power. They free their sister, seize the enemy's weapons, and slay them with their own spears. Three Shuswap are spared to carry the tale home. The powerful brother plunges into the river where he is caught on a submerged root and nearly drowned. He is released by his frog power.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves
(Second Version)

The Shuswap come raiding, slaying everyone, and capturing the sister of two brothers who are away hunting. The brothers prepare a sweatlodge. The enemy mistake its steam for a cloud. His power tells one of the brothers of the disaster. The enemy see them in pursuit: the two turn into wolves to deceive them. The enemy camp in a swamp. The powerful brother transforms himself into a grizzly to find their tracks. They free their sister and slay all the enemy except two, who are sent home. The powerful brother dives into the river but is caught on a root. He calls on his frog spirit, who comes and frees him. The bones of the slaughtered Shuswap can still be seen.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife
(First Version)

The youngest of four wolf brothers steals Salmon's wife, Mourning Dove, and takes her to his home at a spring. A year later Salmon goes there and hides in the mud in the spring. He ambushes and kills three of the wolves. He takes his wife back to the Columbia, pursued by the youngest wolf. He cannot be shot because his skin is slippery. Rattlesnake sees Salmon in the air fighting. He throws his teeth at Salmon, hitting him in the back of his head and killing him.

Two river birds pour water on Salmon until he revives. They make a raft for him. Salmon and his wife go downstream on it. Salmon tires of his wife weeping and throws her ashore. He decrees that when salmon run upriver Mourning Dove will sing for her husband.

Next summer he comes upstream again. He finds some fishes who are disparaging him for not coming to feed people. Salmon makes them spit in water to show much fat they have: he spits more fat, showing he is greater. He throws them into the river, decreeing that they shall live in the eddies where people can spear them for food at any time.

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He reaches Rattlesnake's house. Rattlesnake is dancing and singing in triumph over Salmon. When Salmon enters, Rattlesnake wets his eyes and pretends to have been weeping over Salmon's death. Salmon closes the house and sets it afire. He decrees rattlesnakes will live among the rocks and be only able to bite people when stepped on.

Further upstream he hears others talking of him. Truculently, he asserts he is the better food for people. He throws them on a tree, declaring them moss which will be eaten after salmon. He similarly throws prickly pears, wild cherries, and service berries where they should grow, and declares them food to be eaten after salmon.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife (Second Version)

When Salmon's wife becomes pregnant, he sends her to her relatives. After the child is born, the three wolverine brothers steal her. Salmon ambushes and kills the first two wolverines. He cleaves the third in twain: half escapes to the mountains. Salmon takes his wife and son down the Columbia. Although he defeats other animals, Rattlesnake kills him. He lies drying by the river. Two birds revive him by pouring soup over him. Meanwhile the three wolf brothers steal his wife. He goes to the ocean to stay a year and returns to kill the wolf brothers.

Salmon Ends Rattlesnake's Destructiveness

Fox makes certain animals fierce. Rattlesnake among them, until Coyote stops him. Rattlesnake kills Salmon, whom Coyote revives. Salmon paddles to Rattlesnake's den, where he hears his song of triumph. Rattlesnake pretends to have been crying in sympathy for Salmon. Salmon burns the den. One of Rattlesnake's eyes bursts and becomes an owl. Salmon decrees it will be harmless, but used to scare children. The other eye bursts and becomes a rattlesnake (?). Salmon decrees that Rattlesnake will kill people only occasionally.

Rattlesnake and Micaui

Rattlesnake and Micaui (a root?) are both handsome. Micaui wants Rattlesnake for her husband, but he refuses because she stinks. She decrees rattlesnakes will always be among the hot rocks, while micaui will always be in cool, green places.

The Mountains Fight for a Wife

The mountains are men. The handsome daughter of a Kalispel chief goes to marry Mount Chopaka, taking camas with her. The other mountains in jealousy fight Tcipaka, their blows making the gullies on that mountain. Tcipaka wins and stepping over the others, becomes the tallest mountain. The woman, disgusted, goes home, throwing the camas to Kalispel (so there is none in Okanagon country now). She becomes a stone

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which is still there and at which Indians leave offerings.

The Rock Who Wanted to Marry Moses Mountain

The wife of Moses Mountain dies and leaves him holding the baby (a pinnacle?) in his arms. A rock goes to marry him, carrying various plants. He refuses her and she turns back. At various places she eats the plants, throwing away the remains, so that the plants now grow in these localities.

Coyote Kills the Cannibal Woman

A cannibal woman has a dog who kills visitors: she eats them. Coyote visits and is beaten by her dog. She throws his body away. Fox revives Coyote by jumping over him: Coyote pretends he has only been sleeping. Coyote calls on his three powers to help: they bestow strength, invisibility, and certainty to kill. The invisible Coyote kills the dog and says he will be forever docile. He fights and kills the cannibal woman and decrees she will be a woman, no longer fierce. Hence there are women and dogs.

[illegible] Cannibal Woman

A couple have two children, a boy and a girl. The father deserts the family. The mother orders the boy to fetch water: he is lazy and disobeys. The mother decides to abandon them. She covers herself with crow feather and flies off, although the boy hurries to fetch the water.

Cannibal Woman keeps children in her house, to whom she feeds humans. When she hears the deserted boy and girl crying, she comes to steal them. The girl tries to hide her brother and herself, first by an unsuccessful transformation into sticks, then by transforming into worms under the fire stones. Cannibal Woman carries off the stones and worms in her basket. They are retransformed into children.

The little girl tells her that her children are on fire. As Cannibal Woman hurries, the pair make the basket heavy. Cannibal Woman suspends the basket in a tree and hurries home. The children cut the basket rope with a flint concealed in the boy's mouth and escape.

They run from Cannibal Woman, who finds she has been hoaxed. She repairs her basket and pursues them. They call across a river to a man to rescue them in his canoe. When the Cannibal Woman arrives, the man persuades her to wade after them. The water insects drown her. One of her eyes flies out and becomes an owl. It will no longer kill people: parents will frighten their children with it. Her teeth become ducks, which people will cook and eat.

Chipmunk and the Cannibal Woman

Cottontail Rabbit makes soup for her

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granddaughter, Chipmunk. The latter wants something to eat with it, so climbs trees, uttering a cry which makes the berries ripe. Cannibal Woman (Spatła) comes to entice her down, by saying that various relatives want her. Each time Chipmunk says they are long dead and refuses to come down. When Cannibal Woman says Chipmunk's grandmother wants her, Chipmunk agrees provided Cannibal Woman covers her head with a basket. When Chipmunk descends, Cannibal Woman grasps at her, but she escapes.

Rabbit hides her in a shell, but Chipmunk's heart beats too loudly. Robin advises hiding her among the cast-away bones. When Cannibal Woman arrives, Robin tells where Chipmunk is hidden. Cannibal Woman eats her.

Cannibal Woman asks how Rabbit became so white. Rabbit pretends she used hot pitch and sends Cannibal Woman to gather it. Meanwhile she revives Chipmunk by stepping over her and sends her for forked poles. Rabbit prepares a pit to melt the pitch. She shows Cannibal Woman how a drop of hot pitch leaves a white spot and induces her to lie in the flaming pit. She and Chipmunk hold Cannibal Woman down until she is dead. They then cover the pit with dirt.

The three sisters of Cannibal Woman arrive and think the pit contains food. The two oldest eat their sister's flesh; the youngest recognizes it and abstains. When these two go to the lake to drink, their teeth become ducks, although the two became owls.

Coyote and the Cannibal Sisters

When the cannibal sisters are coming, Coyote asks his four powers for aid. They become a house, pitch on its walls, people, and a song. The sisters arrive. Coyote invites them inside, deceitfully saying that the pitch which will spatter on them is only the spittle of their admirers. The youngest sister does not enter. [Incomplete.]

A Boy Kills Cannibals

A chief's son shoots a raven. Seeing its blood on the snow, the boy wishes he had a wife with red cheeks. He goes travelling until he finds a man being killed by dogs. The people stop this at his request. He buries the body. He reaches the ocean where a little boy stands. The latter wants to accompany him. After protesting, he accepts him as a younger brother. He is carried across the ocean on the back of the younger brother while keeping his eyes closed. The younger brother then reveals he is the man who fought dogs and offers help.

The younger brother warns him not to accept the human flesh offered by the cannibals. At the first cannibal's house, the boy is challenged to throw a huge rock with which the cannibal plays. In his stead the younger brother throws it. They take a shirt from this cannibal. A second cannibal

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challenges the boy to replace a mountain he moves. In the boy's stead, the little brother makes the mountain into a plain. They take a knife from this cannibal.

The little brother puts on the shirt and takes the knife. In a few steps he is back at the boy's house. Returning to the boy, he reports the boy's relatives well.

They reach a third cannibal house; the cannibal's wife has red cheeks. The younger takes the knife; the older the shirt. Inside the house, the younger cuts off the cannibal's head, but each time he does so, it flies back into place. Cut off again, the older puts the shirt over the cannibal's neck, whereon the head and body sink into the earth.

They whip the woman with rose bushes, until she is purged of the child inside, a frog. The boy then has her for a wife. The younger brother then rises in the air, to return a year later.

The couple have a girl born to them. A year later the little brother appears again and demands half the child as payment for his help. In anger the boy chops the little brother in twain: half remains standing, half sinks into the ground. The little brother then says the child is safe; all three will go to heaven when they die.

The Son of the Giant

A giant carries off a wife. Each night when he goes out, he fastens the door. A son is born, who asks his mother where she comes from. He asks his father for his big coat: the father brings him a grizzly bear coat.

The boy tries to open the door at night so that he and his mother can escape. When he grows strong enough, they steal out. They carry off the giant's best things, which the boy makes small by rubbing. He overthrows the giant's power-pole. When the giant returns, he sees the uselessness of pursuit. On the way the boy turns into a grizzly when he puts on his coat.

When the son disappears in the morning, the mother wakes in a richly furnished house.

Coyote Tricks Cougar into Providing Food

Coyote and Fox are hungry. Fox asks Coyote to provide food. Coyote seeks help of his dung, which changes him into a handsome girl. Fox leaves in disgust.

Coyote goes to the village of cougars. The chief, Cougar, has no wife. Cougar's sisters take the disguised Coyote to the woman's work-house, where he excells at basketry. Cougar agrees to take her as his wife. When Cougar desires intercourse, Coyote insists on his waiting until meat has been carried to his fictitious parents for four days. Each day Coyote and Cougar's sisters carry meat to Coyote's home, which he

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forbids them to enter. His power answers as though his parents, misleading the sisters. The prairie chickens are aware of Coyote's deception. When the men are sweating, they tell Cougar he has Coyote for a wife. Coyote runs off, howling in derision. He has the meat to himself.

Coyote Attempts to Capture the Deer

Coyote's son sickens and dies. Coyote becomes ill. He asks his dung (his power) why this happens: it is due to the son's power. His faeces provide him with a song, a dance-pole, an audience, and power to know what is going on outside.

When Coyote sings, the largest deer asks his children, who has given Coyote the song? Not one admits having done so. The big deer sends Bluejay to kill Coyote. Coyote knows he is approaching: when Bluejay perches on the tipi, Coyote points his power-stick at him so that he falls dead. Bluejay revives and reports to the big deer. The latter again asks his question. The smallest deer admits having told Coyote.

The deer go to sing with Coyote. The dung tells Coyote to stop only when the largest deer has entered the tipi. The deer enter, smallest first. When a big deer enters, Coyote thinks it is the largest, and stops singing. All the deer escape, except the smallest.

Coyote is Tricked Eating Duck Eggs

Coyote is roasting duck eggs. Fox and Wolf cause him to fall asleep and eat the eggs. They stretch his ears and nose, paint him yellow, and smear the yolks on him. When Coyote wakes he is hungry and thinks he must have eaten. He is frightened by the reflection of his new face.

He pursues Fox, who pretends to be holding back a rock. Coyote, forgetting the quarrel, goes to his help, and is left holding the rock.

Bungling Host

Coyote, hungry, visits Kingfisher. Kingfisher sends his son for four sticks, which he warms and twists together. Then Kingfisher flies up through the smoke-hole with the sticks and perches on the roof. He flies through a hole in the river ice and returns with the sticks covered with fish. Coyote is served half and given the remainder to carry home. Coyote invites Kingfisher to come next day to take back the dish.

Kingfisher visits Coyote. All the Coyote family have their forelocks tied up in imitation of Kingfisher's crest. Coyote sends his son for four sticks. He warms and twists them. Then he struggles up through the smoke-hole to the roof. When he attempts to fly, he falls to the ground and dies. Kingfisher takes the sticks and repeats his first feat. Coyote revives.

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Coyote and Porcupine Dance[4]

*539 773 Coyote's son, Muskrat, gives a power-dance. Porcupine warns Coyote to respect his son's power. Coyote, scornful, joins the dancing maggots and calls on them to feed on him. They eat away his flesh. Porcupine following in the dance, shakes them off himself. He resuscitates Coyote, who pretends that he has been asleep.

Coyote and the Water Monster

Coyote's son marries Water Monster's daughter. When the young couple want to return to the wife's parents, Fox attempts to dissuade Coyote from accompanying them. Coyote is frightened when their canoe goes over the falls. They pass a rattlesnake door into Water Monster's house in a rock. Coyote is repeatedly warned against making a noise. Fox puts Coyote, his son, and grandson in his pipe for safety. Water Monster tells his daughter to feed them, by putting refuse in the fire to burn. Coyote keeps repeating that he is enjoying this, so they burn more, but they fail to suffocate the visitors. [Incomplete.]

Coyote and the House of Women

Coyote asks his power what to do. The power warns him against various groups, gamblers, drunkards, and soliciting women. He reaches a house in which is a chief on each side. His power warns him against the chief on the left side. The chief on the right reveals a room full of women, of whom Coyote may have his choice. Coyote, in a quandary because they are all alike, selects one at random.

He is warned against having intercourse with her until reaching home. On the way he refrains until the fourth night. In the morning the woman has disappeared (to return to the house of women) and Coyote fails to find her.

Coyote Seeks a Wife Among the Dead

Coyote, wandering, reaches a river, across which are many people (the dead). He shouts to them to fetch him across, but they pay no heed. Tiring, he yawns, which to the dead is a shout. They fetch him to their side. The chief of the dead gives him a woman, but warns against intercourse with her until reaching home. Coyote refrains until the last night of the journey. When he tries to have his will, the woman disappears. Coyote returns to the land of the dead. The chief refuses him another woman, saying that had it not been for his disobedience, humans would have been able to bring back their dead.

Buffalo and Coyote Capture a Girl

Buffalo and his people, on the warpath,

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[4] See Religion.

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are seen by Coyote, who fears for his life. He evokes four women helpers by his power: one becomes many warriors, a second becomes a drum, the third bow and arrows, and the last becomes a pipe and tobacco.

Buffalo announces that he is going to fight; to get a girl by bringing her over the mountain. Coyote says that is exactly what he intended to do, so they combine forces. Coyote is appointed leader.

They come to a lake; on the far side lives the girl (Sun) with her people. The two paddle across and seize her. Her people pursue them up the mountain. Twice, when Buffalo tires, Coyote creates a fog, in which the enemy kill each other. They escape over the mountain without loss of a warrior.

Buffalo and Coyote each insist that the other, as leader, take the girl. Coyote takes her as a wife. They part and Coyote's warriors disappear. The girl, discovering her husband is Coyote, makes a fire and goes home in the smoke. Coyote fails to find her.

Crane and Louse

Crane lives alone with his grandmother. He is a good hunter, so people send their daughters to marry him. He has intercourse with a girl, but is not satisfied with her, so his grandmother sends her home with a present of meat. This is repeated. [The story is incomplete: Crane finally marries Louse.]

Coyote's Long Penis

Some girls entreat Coyote to give them what is in his pack. It contains his penis. He floats it down river, where it enters one of the swimming girls. She cannot free herself. The children fail to cut if off with a stone. Coyote keeps copulating with her. He bids them fetch rip-grass with which they cut it free. But the end remains in her, making her sick. Coyote freed, goes upriver.

While Coyote sleeps, Fox and the animals cut up the penis and distribute it among them all. Coyote, having no penis, goes to get the portion left in the girl. The shamans have failed to cure her. Coyote arrives, pretending to be a Kutenai and to have dreamed a cure. Mouse acts as interpreter. They prepare a sweathouse for the cure. Coyote, pretending to cure, embraces her and his penis is restored. He rushes out, striking Mouse's nose. He runs off, jibing at the people for letting a shaman sexually initiate their daughter.

Turtle and Eagle Race

Eagle wins races with all the animals, who thus become his slaves. Turtle and Muskrat alone do not race with him. Turtle dreams he is to race Eagle and win, setting

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the animals free. The two go to Eagle's camp, where Turtle challenges Eagle. Eagle agrees, boastfully letting Turtle set the conditions of the race. Turtle has Eagle carry him high in the air and drop him. The dropped Turtle reaches the ground before Eagle, thus setting the animals free.

Crawfish and Fox Race

Crawfish challenges Fox to a race. Fox, who outruns all other animals, scouts Crawfish's ability. He tells Crawfish to go first: the latter refuses. They start together; then Crawfish holds to Fox's tail. Crawfish continually prompts Fox to run faster. As they cross the goal, Fox turns around to look back, so that Crawfish finishes the race first. Crawfish decrees Fox will be only a fox and no longer a racer.

Frog and Turtle Race

Frog has a long tail. Frog always wins his races with others because he can jump. Turtle dreams he can win. He wagers his life against Frog's tail. Turtle stations his three brothers along the race course. When the first Turtle is outdistanced, he hides, calling to his brother ahead to continue the race. This is repeated by each brother in turn; Frog unwittingly racing with all four. Thus Turtle wins and bites off Frog's tail. Now Frog has no tail.

The Man Abandoned on a Ledge

The older of two brothers has a wife. They go for eaglets, the older brother being let down a cliff by a rope to get them. The younger brother, who coverts his wife, cuts the rope, leaving him on the cliff. The younger brother takes the wife and goes to a place named "House burned down."

The older brother captures four eagles and ties them to each wrist and ankle. They carry him down from the ledge in safety. He frees the eagles, taking only a feather from each.

He follows his younger brother and his wife to "House burned down." He kills them heaps their belongings on their bodies, and sets fire to the whole. Hence the name of the place.

The Mountain Goat Girls

A very successful hunter kills deer for his fellows. He follows the tracks of two mountain goats. He sees two girls swimming: when they come from the water, they put on mountain goat hides and become goats. He is impelled to follow them. He cannot climb a mountain of ice until he obeys their injunction to keep his eyes closed. He disobeys and slips back. Again with eyes closed he succeeds. He reaches the house of the goats; when they remove the hides they are again people.

He tries to copulate with the girls, but they tell him there is only one season for

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this. They go hunting: he is enjoined not to throw away the deer [sic] bones. He surmises that the boys he goes hunting with turn into the deer he kills. To test this he cuts out a deer's tongue. When the deer bones are thrown in the lake, the deer come to life; but one boy lacks a tongue. The deer allow themselves to be killed by those who feed them(i.e, place food with the carcases) and do not mock them.

At the proper season, the deer-people put on their hides and are deer again. The man is given a hide so heavy that he cannot catch the does. In pity he is given a lighter hide. Because he is then the biggest buck, he possesses all the does.

His people, knowing he is alive, make him remember them. He decides to return. On his return, he is frightened by the camp odors, like a deer. The people surround and catch him. They tame him.

The Man Who Had His Will of a Deer

A lazy man is sent by his brothers to inspect their deer trap. In it is a doe, with whom he has intercourse. Later when hunting he finds the doe in human guise with the fawns, his children. She tells him that his brother can hunt by lying in wait while he, in deer-guise, leads the deer to him. When the brother thinks the lazy man has gone away, he decides to shoot the leading deer. He does so, thus killing his brother.

The Boy Fostered by Bears

A lazy boy grows fat by licking the pots. In disgust, his parents decide to abandon him. When they break camp, the boy puts his bow into the canoe. His father puts it ashore, orders him to get it, and slips away. The boy determines to let the grizzlies kill him. He lies in the path of a she-bear and two cubs. The she-bear repeatedly ignores him until implored by the cubs to take him as their brother. She rips him open and washes out the pots he licked up. In him is a power, a white weasel, which she replaces. He lives with the bears.

The she-bear returns him to his home, telling him that he can kill male grizzlies, but never herself nor her cubs. He faints at the odor of humans; the people restore him with the smoke of a root. His parents are ashamed, so he lives with an aunt and her son. He instructs his cousin how to restore him (the boy) if he is struck during the procession dance. The boy dances this at all the tipis, leading all the people. When he reaches his parents' tipi,his father shoots him. When he reaches it a second time, he refuses to let his parents accompany him.

He is a good hunter, but always refrains from killing she-bears and cubs. When he marries, his wife's relatives taunt him with failing to kill such bears. In chagrin, he agrees to kill them, although he knows he

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538 562 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However, Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 861 [868] [864] Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as directions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all implicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sunshine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlêncôltên, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (χôîxEntsχal or xîkê´kîkê´nsplâk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI´klâh (?), myth; insIm'a´pElûks, "French" fairy tale; kûmaIxI´ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

525 were "professional" gamblers to the extent that they spent their time on little else, especially in summer when large groups were gathered at a camp site. Such individuals would travel from camp to camp, playing for stakes with anyone who chanced to be free. Power was requisite for success in gambling, more than in any other activity. The "professionals" were usually persons whose guardian spirits were especially dedicated to gaming, or to the particular sport in which the gambler excelled. In games played by teams, the leader of each team was usually a man whose power gave him supernatural aid in the game concerned. Often this leader (xatō´s, "man with power"; the same term is used for the leader of a hunting party), did not play in the game, but went aside to smoke and think of his power, in order to give his team the requisite supernatural aid. A team winning under such circumstances was supposed to have been assisted by a leader of stronger power than that possessed by the opposing leader. Betting was especially high on the side of a team known to have a strong power behind it.

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778 Individual players had various gambling powers. That for a racer was usually some swift animal or bird. One informant told a dramatic story of a race lost by a champion with sage-hen power because the opposing runner had been blessed by a mouse, a more insignificant but a quicker animal:

> Suszen's grandfather was a good racer. He got power from sage hens and won many races. Once he went to the Inc'lI'Ūm tribe to get salmon with the others. As he used to do, he looked for someone to race him and found a man for it. His people asked him what power he had, and he told them he woul say after he had won or lost. They ran and Suszen's grandfather lost. The Inc'lI'Ūm man shook hands with him and said, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't think I would. When I was a young man I saw a mouse running fast. He talked to me, and told me that I was going to be a good racer. He said, 'Listen to me. I can run fast, and I will give you my power." The winner said, "Maybe your power is good, but my power beat you, yet it is only a mouse." Suszen's grandfather stopped running after this, for all the people laughed, that a man with sage hen power should be beaten by one with power from a mouse.

A player of the hand-game might be blessed by a power which told him to prepare special bones for hiding-sticks. These would insure victory for whatever side the dreamer championed. The bones must be kept away from the influence of a menstruating woman, who would draw away their power if she chanced to walk over them. This influence could be avoided by wrapping the gaming bones in buckskin and burying them in an ant hill. The strongest power for the hand-game was given by the woodpecker, who made the same sort of noise with his bill as did the gamblers beating time with their sticks during the game. A man's power might also give him, in a vision, a special song to sing at the

551 A few of the otner names end in -pitsa, "blanket:"

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cIpI´tsa`	shouting blanket(?)
qōlpI´tsa`	red blanket
hūctamI´tsa	walking blanket
cIkomEnI´tsa	part of the blanket is floating
amtEpI´tsa	———

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals, or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged from the form they would have as non- human names. They never have plant names, "because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -a´xn, -ē´xn, -Exn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snkalI´p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'lEpstsI´nExn	coyote's ankle
spEpEēI´na	rabbit (a men's name, though the mythical creature is female)
skm'xst	bear
Intimtamilō´pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqēlaūnI´tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwaxwaQE´n	fox head
cqlékin	deer fat
sn.kstI´a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yIxōI'xō´txn	badger
spūk'mI´x	swan
asū´xl	loon
n·laqē´kn	a bird picking its back (?)
sqEma´ūtkEn	(swan's ?) long neck
kutclixcqōlExEn	running crane
pūkhpE´lExqEn	white horse
tciq!ulpa´ōc	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

sinlō´lp	lower intestine
qēmtI´kEn	rotten on the mountain (?)
cIltI´qEn	lost on the mountain
inmachwi´ct	keeps walking

1 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325. Teit remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson.
"Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do
not seem, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented"
(Thompson Indians, 290).

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1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 106(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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nōlōmE´lc	iron head
tExwista´skEt	walking in the sky (?)
slō´qExEn	moccasins no good (?)
ma'Eqō´n	big eddy
pax̣ūmtI´tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunmItsa	something went dry around his blanket
x̣ElEka´xn	twisting his arm(?)
hūntōx̣aEnI´lhū	tipi door
tcIxa´xElix̣	they've been driven
hicha´ca	don't know how
ntsEcpEckwa´ct	no name
xIlhka´x̣En	round wing
nIrqō´ctsIn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstilla´ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstIlIēōt) /
cpaqEō´l^{a}	two smokes
nx̣ē´tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chElxa´lt	daylight
cōqē´m	moonlight
sinōē´c	sunrise

"Burning back" (nōlē´qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl'qūIp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta´xn, s'al'EaI´, ōIa´pEkEn, kInEmI´lx, qalawI´ža, k!lō´pakn, kwa·alExnI´tsa, ckI´ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4] 553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash- 854

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2 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
4 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
5 See also Childbirth below.
6 See Adult Life below.

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ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.'[1] 854 [853]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day. 855 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.'[1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 107 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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855 sometimes slept when the village was very
crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most
of the adult games, but without the gambling.
Little girls made themselves little dolls of
of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treat-
ed as adults. The desires of children only
a few years old would be considered and con-
sulted in such matters as the making of pro-
tracted visits. In return, they were expect-
ed to act according to group standards, to be
polite and instantly obedient. While a
woman cared for her own children, even in a
plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was
punished by whipping, either by the parent
or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They
were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 281.

866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."[1]

lōt	kcōltc	hlcpōōtEn	IsimErI'm
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
Icqōcqwacl'atit		kstlaxpEmōha	
our children		grow.	

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.'[1]

865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabus. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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the religion of its elders.

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sEEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqōllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there;she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'l^{ūx} and up to Enaxxwūē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

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Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kali't'aman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big poker man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls would wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 221 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsûwī'st^{n}.

785 866 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

*539 will lose his life. He kills the bear cubs. When he shoots the she-bear, she tears him to pieces. The she-bears, realizing that
773 he was not at fault, restores him to life and tells him that he may kill them.

The Boy Who Killed the Grizzly Bears

A boy is told by his grandmother that his sister and her husband, Wolf, have been captured by the grizzlies. Planning revenge, he asks where bows are to be obtained. His grandmother warns him of the danger of opening and closing trees guarding the place. He goes there and destroys the trees with his power, and scatters the bow wood over the world. He asks about arrows and is warned that they are guarded by a bear and his sentinel, a crane. He goes there, makes it rain so that the crane takes refuge, gathers and scatters the arrow wood over the world. He asks about flint for the arrowheads and is warned not to obey the cannibal who guards the flint. When he reaches the cannibal, the latter transports him across a river to search for flint, and abandons him. The cannibal causes a great snowfall to freeze the boy to death. The boy takes refuge under a bank where he finds a mud-hen couple. The mud-hen woman gives him two eggs to burst outside to deceive the cannibal. When he bursts them, the cannibal thinks the boy's eyes have burst, and crosses the river. The boy seizes the cannibal's canoe and flees to the latter's house. The boy sings the cannibal's song, causing a great snowfall in which the cannibal is frozen to death. When the cannibal's eyes burst with the cold, the boy decrees that they will be owls and nighthawks, which will be only bugaboos. The boy scatters the flint from the cannibal's house over the world. He asks for sinew and is told to get it from his aunt who is married to a big deer. The aunt deceives the deer by pretending to pluck hair from his shoulders but pulls out his sinews. The boy scatters the deer's hair over the world so that there will be deer everywhere. He asks for feathers for the arrows. He shouts to the flying birds, who come. He takes feathers and in payment, gives the birds their characteristic markings.

The boy goes in search of his missing sister. He finds successively fresh traces of their camp fires. He overtakes his sister dragging tipi poles. She hides him in her pack and takes him to camp. He accompanies his brother-in-law, Wolf, to the grizzlies' camp. Grizzly gives him to his daughters as a husband. The bear's power glues his legs together. The grizzlies throw him into the river.

Sun sends his daughter to rescue the boy for her husband. She feeds him with a magically increasing morsel of food. They overtake the boy's sister dragging tipi poles. He steps on the poles, but she does not heed. Her son recognizes his uncle. Finally the sister knows he has come. Again Sun's daughter feeds them.

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The boy sends his nephew to the grizzlies for grease, on the pretext of softening the nephew's head, which the grizzlies are accustomed to use to clean themselves after defecating. With the grease, the boy sets small flints on the nephew's head. When the grizzlies make use of him, their buttocks are lacerated by the flints.

Grizzly's two sons hunt. The boy throws his glove, which becomes a deer. When the oldest grizzly son goes to shoot it, the boy kills him. He kills the second and all Grizzly's daughters who are gathering moss. He props up the youngest daughter's body, with mouth open. Grizzly and his wife rush out to take vengeance: they find their children slain and the daughter apparently laughing at them.

The boy heats stones for a sweathouse. When Grizzly's wife charges him, he causes a hot stone to fly into her mouth, killing her. He repeats this to kill Grizzly. He decrees humans will gather food in safety,being killed by grizzlies only on occasion.

Grizzly and Rabbit Play the Stick Game

Grizzly and Rabbit play the stick game. When Rabbit wins, Grizzly scolds his partners for guessing. But he guesses and they lose. Then, in anger Grizzly pursues Rabbit. Rabbit takes to the ice, where Grizzly breaks through and is drowned.

The Origin of Black Bear

Black Bear is a man. He warns his wife not to eat the brisket of a deer, else he will change himself into a bear. She does, and he goes off wearing snowshoes. His three brothers follow his snowshoe tracks. One of the tracks changes to that of a bear, then the other. They find him in a cave where he has become a cinnamon bear. He tells them never to kill him. They slay the wife.

A Captive Woman's Sons Give Warning

The Shuswap capture a Methow girl and take her home. She has two sons, who she instructs to give warning to her own people people when raiding with the Shuswap. Twice the Shuswap raid, but the boys give warning. An old couple fail to see the warning and are killed.

The Dog Whose Barking Drowned People

A blind dog lives in a cave in a bluff on the Columbia. Whenever people paddled past downstream, a sparrow gave warning to the dog. Then the dog barked, causing the people to drown. The sun is angered at this He approaches the pair, who gaze upstream, from the west. Sparrow gives one chirp of warning but, at the sun's behest, refrains. The sun breaks the dog's head. The dog dies in his cave. No longer are people drowned at this place and now passersby are warned of bad luck by a dog's bark.

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NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

/For a collection of Sinkaietk myths and folktales, see pp. 197-260, category 116./

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THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation. 122 [115]

TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Columbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third tribe, the .nkutᴇme'xʷ or Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux̣ of The Dalles country. However, the affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1] 101

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People, names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were considered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais, Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a shaman) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside, attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticulations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were sometimes called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be 173 101

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

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differentiated. The name Wenatchi is, with little doubt, of Yakima origin, probably from Wĭna'tc̣a (river issuing from a conyon), referring to Wenatchee River;[3] or from Klickitat awena'tchᴇla (coming out or source), said to be with reference to the position of the tribe above or beyond the Yakima and at the sources of the streams;[4] but the term may have some connection with Wenatchee River. Pisquows (and variations) was also a common name for the Wenatchi, and is derived from their own name. 173 101

The Middle Columbia Salish (or at least the Moses-Columbia) call themselves .tskowā'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx, which word seems to have some connection with "main valley," probably with reference to the Columbia valley. My notes do not make it clear whether the term embraces all the Columbia people or simply the Moses-Columbia, most of whom originally lived on the river, near Priest's Rapids. It appears that the Wenatchi and people on the west side of the river are not included in the term. The Columbia also use the name .nkeĕus or .s.nkeiĕus for themselves in a general sense, and the Moses-Columbia recognize it as applied to them by all the other Salish tribes. They say, however, that the term is properly and originally the name of a band or division of their people who once inhabited the Umatilla valley. A few of the Moses-Columbia include the Wenatchi under the names Columbia and .nkeĕ'us, because they speak the same language and are supposed to be of the same origin; but most Columbia, as well as all other Salish, class the Wenatchi as a distinct tribe. The Wenatchi call themselves .s.npeskwa'ux̣ux̣, and are so called by the Moses-Columbia. The name appears to be used in a general sense for all the people speaking the language of the Middle Columbia Salish west of Columbia River. It also seems to be in a special sense the name for the people of Wenatchee River and district, who were the leading division of the tribe.

NAMES GIVEN BY NEIGHBORING TRIBES

The Columbia and Wenatchi are called by the following names by the neighboring Indian tribes:

By Salish Tribes	Columbia	Wenatchi
Thompson	s.nkaiā'us, Nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkeiĕ'usᴇmux	.s.npᴇskwā'ustᴇmux
Okanagon	.s.nkeiĕ'us, .s.n-qai.ā'us	.npiskwā'u.six
Sanpoil	.s.nkaā'usᴇmᴇx	.s.npᴇskwā'uzᴇx
Colville, Lake	.s.nqeĕ'us	
Spokane, Kalispel	.s.nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkai-ĕ'use	.s.npᴇskwĕ'us
Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead	.s.nkaiā'use	.s.npᴇskwā'use
Cœur d'Alêne	.s.nkeie'usᴇms	.npᴇsqwe'us

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[3] See *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 932.
[4] See p. 91, note 7.

BY OTHER INTERIOR TRIBES

Wasco	Ti'attluxa[5]	Wina't.ca
Klickitat		Awena'tchɛla (people[7] at the coming-out or source)
Nez Percé	Papspē'lu[8] (firs or fir-tree people)	

BY COAST TRIBES

Snohomish	Bŏ'tcacɛd[9] (arrows or arrow people)	Tsŏ'kwob.c
Snohomish	.sā'ladebc,[10] an interior tribe west of the Columbia River (south or below the Yakima)	
Snohomish	Suwa'dabc (inland or interior people)	general names for all interior tribes
Twana	.swă'dab.c (inland people)	
Nootsak	.swa'namc (inland people)	

The Klickitat call the Chelan Tcɛla'lpam, and the White Bluffs people Wa'napam.[11] According to the Cœur d'Alêne, the name in the sign language for the Columbia is squeezed, or wedged ("with reference to their having been pressed or squeezed between other tribes," as some say); and for the Wenatchi, bent or broken joint. Whether these terms have been given owing to some peculiarities of the tribes, or have been derived from translations of place-names, is not clear. Possibly they are due to folk etymology. [198]

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[5] Said to be the name for a tribe on the east side of Columbia, west of the Spokane, probably the Moses-Columbia.

[6] From the Yakima language.

[7] Said to be with reference to their occupying the country at the heads of the rivers or above the Yakima. Bands of Wenatchi occupied the heads of all the streams between the Yakima and the Cascades.

[8] Compare Yakima name for the Kalispel (*Handbook of American Indians*).

[9] A tribe in the interior, west of or near the Spokane, probably the Columbia, but possibly the Palous or some other tribe. Another name for them was warriors. Their principal village or headquarters was called Bo'lbol, and they sometimes attacked the Snohomish and Coast people.

[10] Probably the Shallatoo, a band or division of the Wenatchi formerly living on the upper Klickitat River (probably before the Klickitat spread there), and latterly farther north (see *Handbook of American Indians*). It is hardly likely that the .s.nia'ltmɛnic (Pend d'Oreilles) are meant.

[11] Said to mean distant or people at the end or extremity. Compare the name of Wenatchi, also the Klickitat name Wanakshila' (with the same meaning) applied to the Puyallup, and the name Wanu'kt applied to the Tai'tnapam.

NAMES GIVEN OTHER TRIBES

The Columbia call the neighboring tribes by the following names, in which the suffixes *-e, -ᴇx, -ox, -ux̣, -mᴇx, -mexʷ, -mĕux̣, -mix, -mux̣,* ᴇ*mux̣, -*ᴇ*ms, -omc, -abc,* mean people:[12]

Interior Salish Tribes

Shuswap	Sixʷa'pmᴇx
Thompson	Lükᴇtame'ux, Nẹkụtame'ux̣[13]
Similkameen	Smilkᴇmī'x, Smelkamī'x
Okanagon	.s.oqᴇnâqai'mᴇx (said to be from a place-name)
Nespilem Sanpoil	Nesilᴇxtcī'n, .n.selixtcī'n, (probably "Salish-speaking")
Lake	.s.nai'tcᴇkstᴇx (?)
Colville	.sxuiē'lpᴇm, .sxuiē'lpᴇmᴇx (said to be from a place-name)
Spokan	Spō.qei'mux̣ (said to be from a place-name)
Kalispel	Kalispa'lᴇm (thought to be from a place-name)
Pend d'Oreilles	.s.nia'lᴇmᴇn (?) (said to be from a place-name)
Flathead	Sa'lᴇmux̣
Cœur d'Alêne	.ski'tztsu
Salish tribe formerly near The Dalles	.nkutᴇmē'xʷ, Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux̣ (same name as applied to the Thompson Indians)

Shahaptian Tribes

Palous	.spalū'.sox̣ (said to be from a place-name)
Yakima	.siā'kᴇma
Klickitat	Tĺkā'tat
Wallawalla	.swalawa'laox (said to be from a place-name)
Umatilla	.sumatē'lamux
Nez Percé	Tsha'ptᴇnox

Other Western Tribes

Kutenai	Shalsā'ulkᵍ (said to be from a place-name)
Cayuse	Kaie'us, .skeiē'us (said to be from name of Umatilla valley or a place there)

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[12] I obtained no list from the Wenatchi.

[13] There are several slightly variant pronunciations.

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Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people") 101
Klamath	Ła'mał
Wishram	Wi'sxam
Wasco	Wasqo'pᴇm
Chinook	Tsᴇnū'k
All Coast Indians	Sukᴇti'kᴇnux̣, Sukoti'kᴇnux̣ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)
Lower Fraser tribe	.sʟᴇmsiū'ᴇx
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ᴇtsᴇn (possibly the Cowichan)

DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alêne, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct. 197

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsᴇnux̣ or .nkeēus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé. 131

2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

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[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

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DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, 621
but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected 131
bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kᴇtᴇmux̣ or Tiā'kᴇtux̣[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kᴇtux̣,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchᴇn or .niā'qɛtcᴇn, 101
which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or 105
Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tcᴇm in .nia'kᴇtcᴇm means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iā'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iākᴇma and stia'kᴇt, etc.

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern 159
Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over 622
all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were: 621 131

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcɛlē'nɛx, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zux̣, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zux̣ or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20] 101 621 131

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[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Pisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pewa'nwāpam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallatoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutɛme'xᵘ, Nekɛtɛme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about 621 131 197 167 173

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 204–205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai's people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located
near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[28]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[29] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[28] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[29] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

161 131 4 least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

167 131 101 I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except that of the NekETEmē'ux tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

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[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
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passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

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[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanuḳt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 167 197 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tɛnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached 131
its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large 721
war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[23] At this

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[23] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south 167
side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly near- 131
ly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at dif- 721
ferent times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31] 167 131 197

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux̣, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kɛtux̣ or Stia'kɛtɛmux̣. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

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[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

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ion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name 167
is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from 131
the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and 197
because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco
(at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake. [72]

The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are 167
rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when 131
Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

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[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Paleuse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and 167
occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane 131
seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of 115
the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[36] During my con- 167
versations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at 131
Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweē'tca, or Kwoiē'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers.

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[36] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

167 131 The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[27] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[28] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

[164] The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[29] regarding

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[27] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[28] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

159 115 [29] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French-Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tună'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tună'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood 167 or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, 131 that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were [101] Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. 159 He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east 115 of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern 167
parts of the upper Umpqua River.

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, 131 or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters 101 were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar.

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the [72] upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam.

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. 159
He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his 115
mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement.

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived 167
from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this
place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made 131
their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The 101
language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two
tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining
each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam.
In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and [721]
killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined,
and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable
number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the
Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from
Snoquolmie Falls.[40a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most
of them underground lodges, ~~could be~~ seen until very lately, about a hundred
in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After
intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent
incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of
seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish
about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three 551
descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among 167
the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are 131
preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior
Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson 101
and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who
migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been
displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may
have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣, as some of the latter are said to have
crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or
heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the
names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[40a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is
found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pcwa'nwapam, showing that a small 114
movement of Pcwa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tᴇxaidek or Tᴇxai'nᴇk (chief)	Toxei'.nᴇk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsᴇlᴇxkai'nᴇm	Tsᴇlē.xkai'nᴇm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cᴇlᴇkqai'n	Sᴇlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sᴇmkᴇn	Zu'sᴇmkᴇn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sᴇmkᴇn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolᴇk	Zā'xᴇlᴇk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nᴇmkᴇn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nᴇmkᴇn or Zanᴇmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkᴇni'tsa (the youngest)	Mex.kainī'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wᴇtskᴇla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwi'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake. 167 131 177

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

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[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -I'nᴇk, -qai'n, -kᴇn, and -itsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tsᴇl, sᴇl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where
the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the 167
Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to
the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia 131
valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and 177
middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding
the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon,
then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the
Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE

The Columbia and Wenatchi are said to have been superior in stone-work 324
and in weaving to the tribes of the Okanagon group; also woven articles and 285
objects made of stone were more plentiful among them than similar articles 412
among the Salish tribes to the east and northeast. Besides arrow-heads, spear-heads, knife-blades, and drills, which were all chipped of various kinds of stone found in their country, many stone mortars, pestles, hammers, adzes, and celts were made by them. It seems that more stone-work was done by the people on the west side of the Columbia, where various kinds of good stones were more abundant, than on the east side. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, and knife-blades, according to description, appear to have been of the same form as those used by the Thompson. The common materials employed in the making of these as well as some other implements of stone were found scattered over the surface of the country. Real quarries were scarce. The principal stones used for arrow-heads, and the like, were quartz, agate, jasper, light and dark obsidian, red, yellow, and mottled chalcedony. Black arrow-stone or glassy basalt is said to have been scarce in most places. Stone was flaked with instruments of antler and bone, similar to those used by the Thompson. Most knives had leaf-shaped blades and were double-edged, but a few had triangular blades and were single-edged. If a piece of stone was unsuitable for working both edges, only one edge was worked. Celts and clubs were made of greenish mottled stone, probably serpentine and jade, and some of the former were long and double-edged. Skin-scrapers, large and small, for use with one or both hands, were of flaked arrow-stone or of thin pieces broken from boulders. In shape they were the same as those of the Thompson. Stone arrow-smoothers and whetstones seem to have differed in no way from those of the Thompson.

Stone mortars of various diameters and depth of pits were made, and used for catching grease drippings and for grinding paint, tobacco, roots, dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. Flat stones were used as anvils, for crushing bones or for the extraction of marrow, and probably for other purposes. Some small mortars had pits on both sides, and some mortars were ornamented with incised rings, short incised lines around the rims, and other kinds of ornamentation. Elongated hammer-stones of a dark tough rock were used for battering and shaping hammers and pestles. Stone pestles were common. Some were short, for one hand, and others over a foot long were used with both hands (one I saw was eighteen inches long). Pestles for berries were made of wood, and a great many mortars, especially those used for mashing roots, were made of wood incased in hide. Hand-hammers with wide flat bases were common, and appear to have resembled those of the Thompson. Some had deep and others shallow striking-heads, and a few had bases rather square in shape. The tops of some were hat-shaped, like the tops of many

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were 324
pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have 412
been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alêne and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, 321
and the like. Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, 285
common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-
making appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is [314]
doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]). 113

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

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BAGS

Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parflèches and square 281
hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use
with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian- 531
hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which 285
other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

WOVEN CLOTHING

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some 291
called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly 285
by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of 531
these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, 221 as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended 342 chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the wintertime, because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson, only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through 417 the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson. It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer, but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter, parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds, hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same 343 as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia. The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[43] I did not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also used by some people when travelling. 343

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[43] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood.

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CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

DRESS AND CLOTHES

The clothing of the Columbia Salish, as far as I could learn, varied somewhat in different bands, but, on the whole, it seems to have been about the same as among the Sanpoil. Robes were of dressed skin painted, but more generally of skins of deer, fawn, marmot, and the like, dressed in the hair, and sewed together. Marmot robes, woven goat's-wool robes, and woven rabbit-skin robes, were much used by the Wenatchi, Chelan, and western and northwestern bands. Small robes, cloaks, and capes of fur and of dressed leather, were also used by both sexes. Ponchos of deer-skin, coyote-skin, and the like, were also worn. 291 281

Women wore long dresses with and without sleeves; those with sleeves, however, but rarely, as sleeves were a modern innovation. The common style seems to have been similar to the Yakima dress figured by Wissler.[44] A few dresses retained the tail-pieces of the skin. Some dresses were of three deer-skins. Two skins sewed together formed the skirt. I did not learn definitely whether the tail-ends were down or up, but it seems that in most cases they were down. The third skin was doubled and sewed to the others transversely, forming the yoke or shoulder-part. A slit for the head was made in the middle of the one forming the yoke. Sometimes, instead of using tie-strings, the slit was drawn together at the neck with draw strings. Fringes followed the joining of the yoke with the skirt-part across the body. All the edges of dresses were generally fringed. In the winter some dresses retaining the hair were used. Some old women and young girls wore fringed bodices instead of dresses. Short vests of fur, laced at one side or at both sides (or at the back?) were used by both sexes in the winter-time. Some women in the summer-time wore short sleeveless shirts of light leather in conjunction with bodices.

Short leggings of dressed skin of deer, antelope, and the like, were worn. Fur leggings were used sometimes instead of buckskin ones by both sexes in the winter-time. Long mittens, similar to those of the Cœur d'Alêne, were used in cold weather. They were generally made of coyote-skin, reached to the armpits, and were fastened with a loop or string around the neck. In the winter-time sometimes sleeves of coyote-skin were used in the same way, especially by people who wore sleeveless shirts or vests and capes. It seems that they were tied above the elbow.

Women wore conical grass caps of the Nez Percé type; and others, more pointed ones woven of willow bark. Many caps, however, were made of buckskin. Head-bands were used by both sexes.

The men wore long leggings of dressed skin, breech-clouts (some used aprons instead), and shirts with and without sleeves, mostly the latter. Shirts

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[44] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains Indians* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 17, 1915, 39-91), fig. 18.

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were 301
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 331
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, 321
hair-ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for necklaces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common, and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other animals, and others of teeth of elk and horse, were used. Some pendants were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used, also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was 304
universal, and some people tattooed.

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and preparing 252
it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts,
and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were
cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes
were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight
extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican.
Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47]
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four 411
or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The
best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were
painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have
been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods
of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish
tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish,
especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to
the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the
Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became
scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places
of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was
a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets
were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears
were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones
for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

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quantities of salmon, which were dried in the wind. Some oil was put up in fish-skin bottles or bags. Salmon pemmican was often put up in special woven rush sacks, and in others like those sometimes used for berries.[48] Some say a special kind of rush bag was used for salmon pemmican, but I did not obtain a detailed description. Cured salmon and other foods were cached in the ordinary pits or cellars, which were lined with grass or bark. Usually certain cellars were used solely for fish; while, roots, ~~and the like, were stored in others.~~

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[48] A specimen of such a bag is in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, No. VI.M.80.

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501 and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481 like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231 Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177 1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579 much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231 other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some 177 claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556 appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish 439 people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, 487 where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country.

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded 439 with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a 487 tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by 173 Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost 366 anything brought to them, and resold it again.' Grande Ronde, in eastern 439 Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the 487 Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles 567 long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes 439 dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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[49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different 101 language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE

713 The weapons of war appear to have been the same as among other neighboring Salish tribes, and consisted of bows and arrows, and short war-spears with points of bone, antler, and flaked stone; double-edged war-knives of antler, flaked stone, and in later days iron; clubs in one piece of wood, antler, and stone. Club-handles and handles of war-knives were often ornamented with short incised lines, crossed lines, zigzags, and occasionally the tops were carved in rings or animals' heads. Round-headed clubs encased in skin, with wooden handles, and others with only a handle of hide, were used, and also tomahawks or spike clubs. Shields and armor of several kinds were in use. The former were circular, and oblong or oval. I did not learn whether lances for throwing were in use. The Snake are said to have used them, and the Wasco adopted them from the Snake. Low embankments of earth, and 712 trenches, were used in warfare by the Columbia Salish and Okanagon, and probably by other tribes, at places where they could be made with little trouble. Usually they were made on the sides of a canyon or some other commanding place to ambush enemies or shoot at parties passing underneath. Rarely were they made as defenses of villages. Sometimes piles of rocks partly covered with grass, bush, or earth were used for like purpose. Underground passages and pits and forts of logs were used in a few places.

WARS

721 As far as I heard, very little regular war was carried on with neighboring tribes, at least during the last century. It seems that the Columbia Salish never attacked the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, Wasco, and Wishram, and only rarely other interior tribes. Occasionally war-parties of the eastern Columbia crossed the Cascades, and attacked and plundered some of the Coast tribes, but the Wenatchi were generally friendly with the latter. Long ago, perhaps about a hundred and fifty years ago, some wars were carried on against the Yakima and Cayuse, and probably the Wallawalla and Palous. On rare occasions war-parties of Nez Percé attacked the Columbia, and Columbia parties went to the Wallawalla and Nez Percé. During the last century, war with the Yakima consisted of fighting between small parties engaged in horse-stealing. It seems that the Yakima at one time were not as well provided with horses as the Columbia. Kweē'tca (Blue-Robe), my chief informant, had scars he had received in fighting a party of Yakima who had stolen some of his father's horses. He killed two of the Yakima, and recaptured the horses. Almost all the Moses-Columbia band went to the Plains buffalo-hunting. They were always well mounted, and were noted as skillful and intrepid fighters. When on these excursions, they had frequent encounters with the Blackfoot and members of other Plains tribes. Kweē'tca's father

was killed in battle with the Blackfoot. According to information gathered 721
from the Upper Chinook, parties of Salish (probably Columbia and some
Spokane) came down Columbia River in canoes on combined trading and war
expeditions. Some of them went as far as Fort Vancouver, marauding on
the way.

In the Yakima war against the whites, some of the southern Wenatchi 648
bands appear to have helped the Yakima and Klickitat in fighting both east 721
and west of the Cascades. Some of the so-called Yakima chiefs and war
chiefs spoken of as prominent in the war had Wenatchi (Salish) names.
Some of the Indians engaged in the attack on Seattle are said to have been
Wenatchi. Probably bands who joined the Yakima were those who adjoined
the Yakima and had more or less Yakima blood.

PASTIMES AND SMOKING

Many games and pastimes were the same as among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and other tribes. A favorite summer rendezvous for horse-racing and playing games was at Moses Lake. In later days some of the Umatilla and Spokane went there to meet the Columbia. 524

SMOKING AND PIPES

Smoking-ceremonies were in vogue, and stone pipes were made in large numbers. It seems that the common kind of pipe in use long ago was tubular. The bowls of some were long, and of others short. Wooden stems were used with all. Pipes were ornamented with raised rings, flanges, and incised lines filled with red, white, and yellow paint. The most valuable pipes were of a semi-transparent greenish soapstone, similar to those of the Thompson Indians. Pipes of catlinite were also highly prized. Other colors of pipe-stone were white, gray, brown, black, and mottled. It is said that the elbow shape of pipe was common, at least at the end or in the latter past of the eighteenth century. Some pipes had small "hatchets" underneath the shank, close to the elbow.[30] These were occasionally perforated for attachment of ornaments and charms or used for strings by means of which the stem or mouthpiece was attached to the pipe. Simple bowl-pipes were also used. Some of these were similar in shape to short tubular pipes, except that the small end was closed, and the mouthpiece was set into the side instead of the small end.[31] Others had the bowl projecting upwards at right angles from a square base or platform which was bored for the stem.[32] The disk-shaped pipe[33] was fairly common among the Columbia Salish, as well as among the Sanpoil and Okanagon, but as far as I know, it was not used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Revais or some other informant told me that it was also used by the Nez Percé and Cayuse. Bowls of a few pipes were carved in human and animal forms. The tobacco appears to have been the same as that of the Thompson and Okanagon. The kinnikinick used seems to have been bearberry-leaves and red-willow bark. Pipes were occasionally made of antler, wood, and clay. 276

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[30] See Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, fig. 306; Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley*, fig. 113.

[31] See Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 275.

[32] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 113; Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 273.

[33] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 107-109.

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SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes. 622 554

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot. 198

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children. 854

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head. 856

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca 551

(Blue-Robe), used also by Okanagon and Thompson. According to the Indians, persons having the same name are of a common descent, and the name must have been inherited through one line or another from the same ancestor. On p. 109 is given a list of a few names, probably Wenatchi, with translations. 551 611

BURIAL

764 The Columbia interred their dead in the earth and in rock-slides. Earth burials were in knolls, low mounds, edges of sandy terraces, and generally wherever digging was easy. Graves were lined with mats, pieces of bark, and slabs of stone, where these were convenient. Nearly all earth burials were covered with a heap of stones or encircled with a ring of stones, and further marked by a small pole. It seems that tents were not erected over graves, except occasionally among the most southern bands along Columbia River. Canoes were hauled up on the top of the graves by some people, but this does not seem to have been general.

Rock-slide burials were common. A place was cleared at the bottom of the slide for the body, a pole was stuck up at the head of the corpse, and the latter covered to a depth of three or four feet by pulling down the slide-rock on it. Sometimes a place was cleared of rock, or a shallow hole made in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the slide, the body placed in the cleared space, and covered to a considerable depth by pulling the rocks from the slide over it. This formed a little rocky mound at the foot of the rock-slide. Poles or sticks were erected at all graves. In small bluffs near the larger camps, burials were sometimes made in the slide-rock in tiers from bottom to top of the slide. Graves were made at irregular distances in a row at the base of the slide. When all the available room had been used up there, rocks were pulled down and levelled off over the old graves, and a new row made above; and so on as far up the bluff as required or as was possible. Thus the rows of graves formed narrow irregular terraces on the side of the bluff. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting, and usually buried on the side. The method of interment depended on the environment. If slide-rock was at hand, it was used, and if not, burial was made in the earth. Some articles were placed with the dead, chiefly necklaces, pipes, and the like. Some things were buried in the graves, while others were suspended from the grave-pole. The Indians say that the piling of rocks above a grave was to keep animals from digging up the corpse, which in some places was buried rather shallow.

RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those of other interior Salish tribes. Shamans were numerous, and some were credited with great powers. 771 756

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were performed. Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done. The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent 535

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center around him. It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground. Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish, but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain. 773

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For oral historical traditions relating to the Columbia and Wenatchi, see entire source.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

BY

JAMES A. TEIT

EDITED BY

FRANZ BOAS

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

PREFACE

The following papers contain descriptions of the Salishan tribes of the interior, excepting the Middle Columbia tribe.[1]

The material presented here was collected by Mr. James A. Teit in 1904, 1908, and 1909 while he was traveling over British Columbia and the States of Washington and Montana for the purpose of determining the distribution of Salishan dialects and the general movements of tribes so far as these could be ascertained by tradition.

122 This investigation was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, of Pasadena, Calif., who for many years defrayed all the very considerable expenses of Mr. Teit's work.

123 Mr. Teit was thoroughly conversant with the Thompson Indians, among whom he lived for a great many years. This facilitated his investigations considerably. It will be understood that the information given here is almost entirely based upon questioning of the Indians. The ancient customs have disappeared to such an extent that direct observation is impossible. The historical data contained in the following account must also be considered in this light. They are the records of oral tradition among the Indians and not based on documentary evidence.

On account of Mr. Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson tribe, it is natural that his inquiries were very largely guided by what he knew about the customs of that tribe. It is not unlikely that this may have colored, to a certain extent, the descriptions. I doubt particularly whether the negative statements contained in his report can always be taken as conclusive, because the question whether a certain custom is in vogue may be misunderstood and similar customs may have existed. Mr. Teit's statements of opinion must be taken as those of his informants, not his own, unless expressly so qualified.

125 The material here presented has been edited from a manuscript written by Mr. Teit and from notes scattered over many years of correspondence.

124 Mr. Teit's spelling of native words is not quite certain; particularly the distinction between *k* and *q*; *hw*, *x* and *x̣*, *tl* and *l* is uncertain. The variability of vowels probably represents real differences.

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[1] A description of this tribe has been published in the Anthropological Publications of the University of Washington, vol. II, No. 4.

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194 The following is an explanation of the symbols used:
Vowels have their continental values.

é	open e, as in "fell."
ó	open o, nearly as in German "voll."
E	obscure vowel, as e in "flower."
tl	affricative.
ł	voiceless *l*.
q	velar *k*.
c	English *sh*.
x	medial palatal continuant, corresponding in position to *k*.
x̣	velar continuant, corresponding in position to *q*.
'	glottal stop.

Special attention is called to the use of *x* and *x̣* which has been changed from earlier usage to conform with the system now generally employed.

Mr. Teit uses the period (.) to indicate in some cases a glottal stop,
194 in others strong voicing.

128 Dr. Gladys Reichard had the kindness to revise with native informants all Indian words in the chapter on the Coeur d'Alêne. She was able to identify most of the terms. The spelling of Indian words in this chapter is, therefore, reliable, except in the case of a few words that could not be identified and which are marked with a query.

Franz Boas.

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Coeùr d'Alene

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THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

101
131
Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

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101 621 DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. 101 161 164 621 I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

Villages of St. Joe River division

103 361

	Location
1. *sti'qʷtaksᴇn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tcɫti'ctacsᴇn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsᴇɫa'wᴇs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcaɫ'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *ntca'mtsᴇn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

101 621 There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'[illegible]ntsᴇn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

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Coeur d'Alêne River Division

	Location
1. *tcla'tcolx*	On Coeur d'Alêne Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alêne River.
2. *gwa'lit* (probably "black pines").	Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. *alqwa'rit*	At Harrison.
4. *ne'aiaẋa'ẋstEm*	On Coeur d'Alêne River a little above the preceding
5. *nêsl'a'qwast*	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. *qöqolc'tēlps* ("black pines," *Pinus contorta*).	A little above No. 5.
7. *sma'qEqEn*	At Medimont.
8. *hinsā'lut*	On Coeur d'Alêne River, a little above No. 7.
9. *sEncā'lEmānts*	A little above No. 8.
10. *nalstqā'lxwEn*	A little above No. 9.
11. *sk'wat'o'*	At old mission.

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361

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River Division

	Location
1. *nt'a'q'En*	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alêne Lake
2. *tcllā'icEllicEmEn*	Halfway down Coeur d'Alêne Lake, on the east side.
3. *ntc'Emqa'lnqwa* (probably "head").	At Coeur d'Alêne City.
4. *smElxlc'na*	Near No. 3, on the same side.
5. *tp'ō'snē'lpEm*	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. *ncā'rEpt*	A little below No. 4.
7. *stcatkwe'i*	A little below No. 6
8. *q'āmi'len* ("throat," "gorge").	At Post Falls.
9. *hinsaq'e'lpEns*	About 1 mile above the Spokane bridge.
10. *ne'Ewa'calqs*	A little below No. 9.
11. *ntsetsakwolsa'ko* (?)	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. *nexxwa'xwe*	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. *nesli'ẋum*	A little below No. 12.
14. *tcanokwā'kEn* (?)	A little below No. 13.
15. *mu'lc* (probably means "cottonwood").	At Green Acres.
16. *tcatenwa'ẋelpEm*	A short distance below Green Acres, and about 20 miles above Spokane City.

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alêne on Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alêne and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

POPULATION.—The Coeur d'Alêne claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages,

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161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox
164 twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 MIGRATIONS.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
157 what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
577 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 WORK IN STONE.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

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stone, and also for cutting some of the finer-grained stones. Adze blades and chisel blades were made of fine-grained hard stones of several colors, and were cut and sharpened with quartz crystals and grit stone. They were all, or nearly all, of short type. However, stone adzes and chisels were not much used. It seems that no long celts, like those of the Lillooet, Thompson, and Columbia, were made or used. Adzes were hafted in the same way as among the Upper Thompson [1] and other tribes. It seems that adzes and chisels were more commonly made of antler. Stone hand hammers and pestles were made of river bowlders selected for size and shape to save labor. They were worked down by pecking with the edges of hard unworked stones or river bowlders selected for hardness and for handiness of shape and weight. The pecking was first done in rings [2] parallel to one another or in spirals, and then the intervening ridges were battered down, the process being repeated until the desired size and shape were attained. They were finished by smoothing with grit stone.

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Pestles were conoid in shape. They had a rather small and almost flat base, and tapered gradually to the head which was often more or less pointed. A few had heads carved to represent animals, or had simple rim enlargements at the head. They were of two sizes—short ones, about 12 or 15 cm. in length, for use in one hand;[3] and long ones, up to double that length, for use in both hands.[4]

Hand hammers were of about the same length as the short pestles, but varied in size and shape. They were round, and usually had wide, deep striking heads and well-defined tops, like some of those used by the Thompson Indians and Nez Percé.[5] Most tops were flat; but some were pointed or rounded, and others hat shaped.

Stone mauls were made, some of which were of the type figured by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[6] Others were shaped somewhat like stone hammers; but they had deeper, narrower bases, more or less square or flattened, and the handles were longer and thinner than hammer handles. Some of them may have resembled the flat-sided hammer of the Nez Percé,[7] but were not so short and thick, while others may have more nearly resembled wooden mauls or some stone clubs of the Thompson Indians.[8] In these mauls the side of the base was the striking surface, instead of the bottom, as in hammers. Both ham-

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[1] a, fig. 123.
[2] See Yakima, i, fig. 25.
[3] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 8, No. 8; compare Yakima, i, fig. 21, 22.
[4] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 8, Nos. 6, 7; compare Yakima, i, figs. 29–36.
[5] a, fig. 120; Nez Percé, b, pl. 8, No. 10; Yakima, i, fig. 27.
[6] c, fig. 1.
[7] b, pl. 8, No. 9.
[8] a, fig. 250.

324 412 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles. These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 237 324 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 322 324 412 WORK IN BONE, WOOD, ANTLER.—Wedges for splitting wood were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23–25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

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stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers,
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for 322
incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone [17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 412
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of 386
them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *aäpl yu'tsamɛn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *b*, pl. 6. No. 14.

386 paint was procured at a place about 10 miles below Rockford, and consisted of a red mud which was collected and kneaded into balls. When dry, it was heated over a fire. When cooked, it became brittle and on the slightest pressure turned into a fine powder. Nearly all kinds of mineral earths used as paints were also used as dyes, different shades of red, yellow, blue, and black being obtained from them. Some materials, such as grass and bark, were dyed black by being buried for a time in wet black loam. A common yellow dye was obtained by boiling the roots of the Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.) and a common yellow or lemon colored dye was obtained by boiling wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*). This lichen was also used as a paint. It was dipped into cold water or applied to a damp surface. A reddish dye was obtained by boiling alder bark (*Alnus rubra*); and a green dye, from the leaves of the snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.).

281 Preparation of Skins.—The processes of dressing skins were similar to those practiced by the Thompson Indians.[21] Of old (also employed at the present day) the common method, especially for medium-sized skins, was to soak the skin in water for several days. It was then placed on a smooth log resting against a tree, as among the Thompson, and the flesh side scraped clean. It was then reversed, and the hair scraped off, along with the outer cuticle of the skin. Some people scraped the hair side first. The scrapers or fleshers used were the ulna of the deer and the rib bone of elk or horse.[22] The skin was again soaked for a short time, and then wrung by twisting with a short stick, as among the Thompson. It was then stretched on a frame of four poles with lacing, and pushed and rubbed with a long-handled grainer with a stone head, like those of the Thompson,[23] until dry and soft.

If to be smoked (and most skins were smoked), two methods were used. One was identical with the process of smoking among the Thompson Indians, the skin being spread over a framework of sticks above the smoke hole.[24] The other method was to fold the skin in the form of a conical bag, closed at the top. The edges were pinned together. A crossbar was placed inside near the closed end and a rope was tied to it for suspension. The skin was kept in shape by means of a number of braces and hoops placed inside. The small end was hung to the branch of a tree, beam, pole, or tripod overhead.[25] The lower edges of the skin touched the ground around the hole in which a fire was made. They were kept in place by small pegs—like a small tent. Sometimes, to prevent the escape of smoke, the skin, or part of it, was covered with a piece of canvas, blanket, or other old material. This process of smoking in time almost entirely superseded the former, and is used at the present day. In either method the skin was usually reversed, and the opposite side also smoked. However, many skins were smoked only on the inside. The materials used in smoking skins consisted of rotten wood of the cottonwood tree, and of cones of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).

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[21] *a*, pp. 184–186.
[22] See Thompson, *a*, figs. 128, 129.
[23] *a*, fig. 127.
[24] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65; Thompson, *a*, p. 185.
[25] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 176 and fig. 3.

Skins to be cured with oil were cleaned and dried, then soaked for several days in a basket with brains and water. They were then wrung and grained in the same way as already described. Occasionally, instead of soaking, the skin was smeared several times with brains or with oil until saturated, and then rubbed. At the present day skins are nearly all soaked in soap and water, as among the Thompson. When the hair was to be retained, only the inside of the skin was dressed. Animals' brains and salmon oil were much used for preparing skins, especially for those dressed in the hair, which were nearly always oil cured. As among the Thompson Indians, skins were occasionally treated by leaving them in water until the hair pulled out, or by burying them in ashes.[26] Some grainers or scrapers with short handles of wood or antler and with small stone heads, and a few of a single piece of bone with one end sharpened[27] but not serrated, were used for softening the skins of small mammals. This was done over the knee. These grainers were similar in shape of blade and handle to the large straight grainers, but only about 15 cm. in length.[28] Some small stone scrapers without handles, some of them like rounded knife blades or grainers,[29] were also used. Usually only large skins of deer and medium and small skins of elk and buffalo were stretched on frames and rubbed with long-handled grainers. Small deer skins and antelope skins were held down by the feet and worked by pulling over the knees and toward the body,[30] at the same time being rubbed with a short grainer held in one hand. Only rarely were they stretched and laced on frames.

Another method of treating these skins was to draw them back and forth over a stick implanted in the ground and provided with a stone head. Large, heavy hides, especially of buffalo, in a dry state, were pegged to the ground, and treated, it seems, as described by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[31] Adze-shaped scrapers, with blades of stone and iron, and handles generally of wood with hide shrunk over

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[26] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 177.

[27] See Thompson specimen, Field Mus. 111742.

[28] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352 *b*, *c*; Ottawa Mus. Nos. 161, 164.

[29] Similar to Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5 *a*.

[30] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

[31] See Blackfoot, *c*, pp. 63–70.

281 them,[22] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the
Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods
of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper
were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron
became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few
people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins
as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while
still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried.
In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry.
No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire
skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before
undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[23]
Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow,
blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes
entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with
water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss
or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[462] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the
work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were
whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it
was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with
a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes
are washed.

283 Sewing.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*)
and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plentifully
412 on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were
cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then
bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood
of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also
made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also
occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear
bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[24]
Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing
and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[22] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[23] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[24] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294 ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531 a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

MATS.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285 three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352] in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style [37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

WOVEN BAGS.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285 Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415 buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine [42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.

[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.

[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.

[38] *a*, fig. 133.

[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.

[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.

[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.

[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.

[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.

[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 61.

285 hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.[45] 415 Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somxone'lp*(?), which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur 285 415 531 d'Alêne country. The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying.

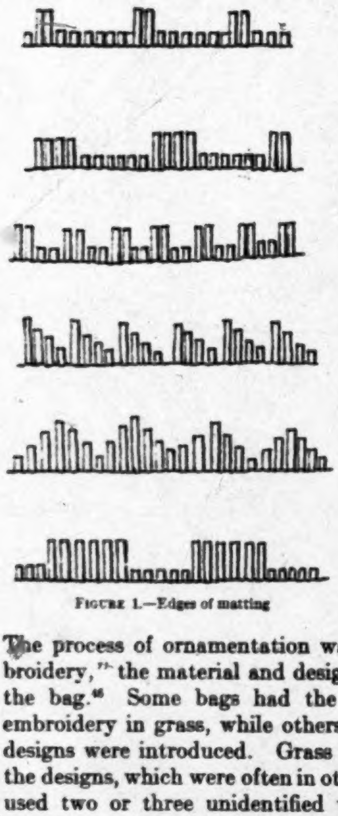

FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes. The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.[46] Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine

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[45] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

[46] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 219.

quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design 285
material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later 415
days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the
advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by 531
tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

Skin Bags and Pouches.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many 237
sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, 281
and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape 415
for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. 531
Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads
supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177]
fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] c. fig. 36.

237 281 415 531 Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddle-bags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflèches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflèches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflêches. 237 281 415 531

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflêches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint. [462]

Flexible Baskets.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[31] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these 285 415 531

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[31] 6, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

285 baskets: but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made
415 them.

531 **Openwork Baskets.**—Some openwork baskets or creels were made
long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for
314 other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[52]

Birch-bark Baskets.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[53] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare
[2B3] among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[54] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[55] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

285 **Cedar-bark Baskets.**—Many baskets were made of cedar bark;
314 but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made.
415 Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[56] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[52] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[53] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[54] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[55] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[56] Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. 285
The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, 314
being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The
other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, 415
and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

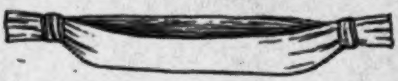

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

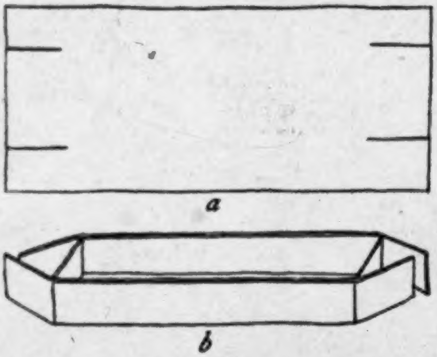

FIGURE 1.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no [322]
pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [323]

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe [177]
changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

177 baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making
285 many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discon-
415 tinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflêches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

295 Coiled Basketry.[b]—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were
415 at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*; pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and

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[b] See *o*, pp. 140-142.

also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. 285
They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*"
baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically 415
the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson,
were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the
larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had
lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds
and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs
attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong
handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water
baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as
the loops in parflêches. It seems no basketry handles were made to
baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn
whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another
kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without
bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down
to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl.
VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in
them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of
the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags
of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.)
Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbri- 285
cated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415
well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that
no cherry or willow bark was used. The grass was applied nearly 531
always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed.
Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by
burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal
colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other
colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar,
twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the
outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was
in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in
this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alène were largely a lake and 221
river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They 286
had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp
twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson
were in use.[57] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject 531
is meager. The Coeur d'Alène I interviewed had forgotten the
names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate
information regarding design forms and groupings of elements.
Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[57] *a*, fig. 134.

531 green, and the stems were cured. These retained their green color to a considerable degree. Later in the season the dry grass was collected. The stems were all sorted, the whitest ones being separated from the yellow ones.

171 DESIGNS ON FLAT WALLETS.—On woven wallets of the Nez Percé
531 type made by the Coeur d'Alêne the designs are said to have been of exactly the same kind as are to be seen on wallets of the Nez Percé (fig. 4)[38] and neighboring Salishan tribes. Some designs had names and others had none. All the designs were geometric, and each side of a wallet generally bore a different set of designs. So much alike were all the wallets of neighboring tribes, that a bag made by the Coeur d'Alêne could rarely be told from one made by the Nez Percé or some other tribe. I saw a few wallets among the Coeur d'Alêne, but obtained very few explanations of any of the designs on them.

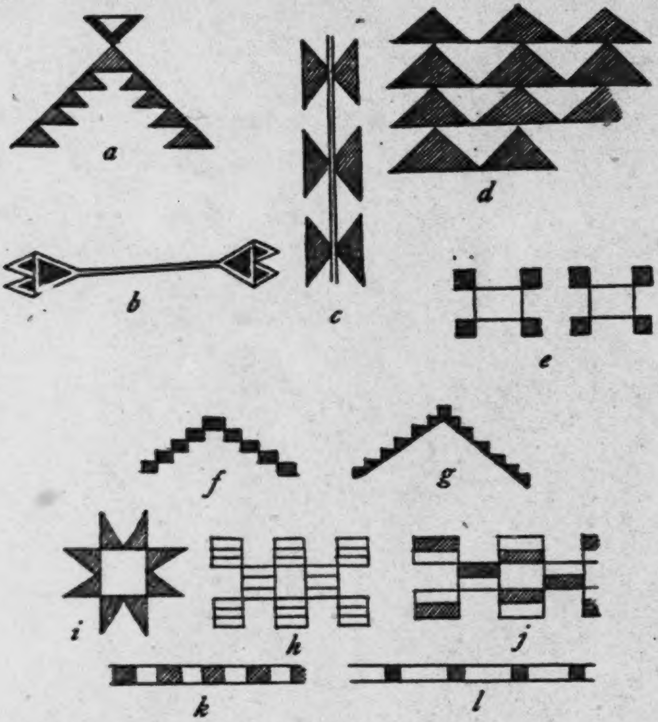

FIGURE 4.—Designs from woven wallets

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[38] b, fig. 6.

Designs on Beaded Bags.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly 531
geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide
bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time.
I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral
designs, and obtained a few explanations.

Designs on Rawhide Bags and Parflêches.—Rawhide bags and 177
parflêches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other 531
tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur
d'Alêne were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the
painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate
with the Coeur d'Alêne, the latter did not know the names or meanings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alêne women were [462]
constantly making and painting these bags and parflêches, on the
whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these
bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no
absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflêches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflêches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

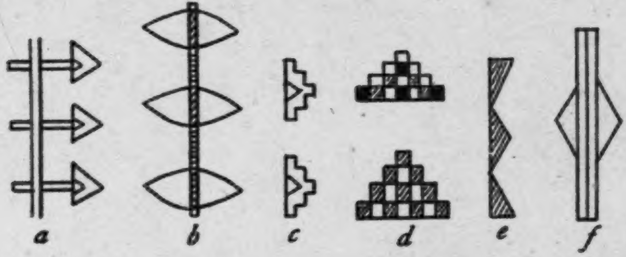

Figure 5.—Designs from beaded bags

531 Designs on Bark Baskets.—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 342 Conical Mat Lodge.—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark [332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double [314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From [592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

237 342 Skin Lodge.—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo- [531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 Long Lodge.—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end. [354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet for the smoke.

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for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[59] Nez Percé,[60] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. [574] It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. [561] When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. [533] During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. [354] The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[59] See a, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles a were placed outside of the horizontal poles c. The top horizontal pole c (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles a. The support poles b were also heavy.

[60] See b, p. 196.

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." [354] Each fire served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same [622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the [425] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property. [359] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use, and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule, the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination. All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds. [354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

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[61] See b, p. 180.

[62] C.P. 161, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62] 000

BARK LODGE.—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year 314
in places where good bark abounded. Both dry and green cedar bark 322
was used. These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to 342
four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.[63] When large, the horizontal side poles[64] were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles[65] and two fires were used [354]
instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles[66] were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,[67] to hold up the ridge poles.[68] At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.[69] In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.[70] The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. Usually there [354]
was only a single central fire in these lodges.

In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

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[62] c, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.

[63] a, fig. 137.

[64] a, fig. 137 b.

[65] a, fig. 137 a.

[66] a, fig. 142 b.

[67] a, fig. 137 a.

[68] a, fig. 142.

[69] a, fig. 142 a.

[70] a, fig. 138.

[484] Brush Lodges.—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 Women's and Girls' Lodges.—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

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342 Underground and Other Lodges.—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

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343 Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] b, p. 198.

[72] a, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

Scaffolds.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent 251 lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343 keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered 417 with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251] camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

Caches and Cellars.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251 in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322 used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, 343 roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [36]

House Furnishings and Utensils.—House furnishings, as among 285 other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where 314 people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 352 rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513] a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237] as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeür d'Alene

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 314
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow,
or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made
of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and
"woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281 x
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moc-
casins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the
women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm
weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all
except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded
by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breech-
clout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the
evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it
was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was
very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281 x
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were
sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were
fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut
into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair
on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes,
according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-
squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed
together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among
the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes
shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160. [74] a, fig. 161. [75] a, pl. 18.

281* consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo
294 robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others,
made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because
it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together,
making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair.
[531] All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted
designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for
[177] show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs.
Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used
on robes by the Blackfeet [76] and may have been copied from eastern
tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands
being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips
[286] of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they
were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as
I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven
of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe
used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes.
Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living
west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large
robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of
large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with
designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with
pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear
to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78] Some
buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before
the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo
hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar or small poncho, and, if not embroidered, was pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots. Long pendants of skin were often attached to the pointed ends and to the edges of the collar piece, both front and back; and similar pendants were sometimes included here and there with the cut fringes at the sides and arms, and occasionally some were attached to the body of the shirt as well. These pendants were usually pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots.

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[76] *c*, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] *a*, fig. 131 *g*. [78] *a*, fig. 301. [79] *a*, fig. 163.

Another common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. The head and neck skins were cut off, and this part was left open to allow the head to pass through. The sides were sewed up, and also the parts of the skins covering the arms and shoulders. The part underneath the arms was often only stitched with thongs here and there. This shirt was usually a little longer than the single-skin shirt, but appeared of about the same length, for the bottom part was cut in a long fringe. As all the seams were also fringed, there was fringing on the shirt all around—bottom, sides, shoulders, over and under the arms, and sometimes even around the neck as well. Frequently bands of quillwork followed the borders of all the seams excepting under the arm. Occasionally other bands of quillwork, in the form of stripes and triangles, were embroidered on the breast and upper part of the back, forming a triangular field, point down, similar to the corresponding fields in the clothing of the Plains Indians.[illegible]

A third kind of shirt, also common, was made of two skins, like the last; but it had no fringing along the seams, excepting sometimes at the sides. Occasionally also the bottom and the lower ends of the sleeves were cut in a fringe or pinked. The shirt was open under the arms, or merely stitched here and there. If stitched, the skin was sometimes fringed. A wide band of quillwork followed the seam of the skins over the shoulders, from the neck down to the ends of the sleeves, over shoulders and arms. For ornamentation a wide band of quilled skin passed at right angles over each shoulder and hung down in front and at the back to about the waist. Often these bands were stitched or sewed to the shirt, usually at the shoulders, but the ends hung loose. As in most shirts, large or small triangular areas (apex down) on the breast and back of the neck were worked with quills or otherwise embroidered. When there was no ornamentation at the back of the neck a long piece of embroidered skin similar to the front bands was sometimes attached there. It hung down the middle of the back to the lower border of the shirt.

Other similar shirts had quilled or beaded bands, which crossed the shoulders or connected with the shoulder bands, sewed down to the shirt their full length. The deer's tail was sometimes left on the shirt behind. Probably these shirts were cut as described by Wissler,

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[illegible] *d*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

281* 294 and the sewed-down bands covered the seams, but I did not obtain exact information on this point.

Scalp shirts ornamented with fringes of hair were also in common use. Sometimes the bodies of these were painted in two or three colors arranged in fields. For instance, the upper part of the shirt, including the sleeves, might be red, and the lower part yellow. Yellow, red, brown, blue, black, and green colors were used. Sometimes, instead of hair or scalp locks, ermine skins were used as fringes. The plan of decoration was the same as in the style just described. In some tribes the hair of slaves was used for making fringes on shirts, but it is not certain that the Coeur d'Alêne did so.

Some shirts of light-weight skin, used in the summertime, were covered with small punctures, painted with dots, and ornamented with painted or dyed fringes in the style of the type first described.

Some entirely sleeveless shirts of buffalo or other skins, dressed with or without hair, were in use. They reached to the hips and were laced at the sides. They were made of a single piece of skin folded over, with a slit cut for the head to pass through, like a poncho. Some were fringed at the sides.[illegible]

A few sleeveless shirts were also made of two skins of coyote or other small animals. The head part adjoined the neck. The tail remained attached and hung down in front and on the back. The skins were joined by pieces of skin at the shoulders and sides. They were laced or tied at the sides.[illegible]

Similar shirts were made of two pieces of skin of large animals in the hair.[illegible]

A fairly common shirt was made of buffalo-calf skin dressed in the hair. Most of these had long sleeves. Long ago only a few shirts had full-length closed sleeves, made of separate skins, and sewed to the body at the shoulders. A few were sewed to the body of the shirt at the el[illegible], the lower part of the sleeve was sewed up to the elbow. The upper arm was formed by part of the skin of which the shirt was cut, as in the specimens previously described, and was open or merely laced.

Most shirts opened only at the neck, where there was an opening left for the head, or a slit cut in the skin to allow the head to pass through. The opening was closed by pulling a lacing or with tie strings on each side of the neck, as in women's dresses. Some shirts had a piece of skin cut away to allow the head to pass through. This usually made the neck of the shirt lower both at the back and front, or sometimes only in front, according to the way the hole was cut.

[illegible] See *a*, fig. 162, but without collar.

[illegible] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 400, and Thompson photograph, Ottawa, No. 30985.

[illegible] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 398.

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Few shirts had slits in the front; the slits were always short. No collars or cuffs were sewed to shirts. No coats, jumpers, or vests were used long ago; they came into vogue after the arrival of the fur traders.

Neck wraps, belts.—Many men, especially in winter, wore small ponchos over their shirts. Usually they consisted of single skins of wolf, coyote, or otter. The head was passed through a slit at about the middle of the skin. The tail hung down the back and the head skin hung over the breast.[85] Sometimes pendants were attached to the head, tail, and sides of the skin. Some consisted of two skins, or parts of two skins, sewed together so that a tail hung down in front and behind, or more rarely at the sides.[86] Neck wraps of long pieces of fur doubled over and sewed together were in use.[87] They were fastened with tie strings at the throat and were used by both sexes. Armlets of skin ornamented with quillwork and feathers were used by some men. Belts made of leather were used to hold up the leggings. Some belts were worn outside the shirt and others inside. Many wide embroidered belts were used, some of them in addition to the belt for holding up the leggings. They were worn outside the shirt. Some belts were made of skin dressed in the hair and ornamented with pendent eagle feathers and other decorations.

Leggings.—Men's leggings were of skin, and reached to the thighs. They were fastened to the belt with tie strings, or with loops for the belt to pass through. Some were made rather tight fitting and others loose. All were fringed along the outer seams. The fringes of some increased in length below the knee. Some leggings were made wider below the knee, and others narrower near the ankle. Most of them, however, were about of an even width throughout. Many leggings had bands of beadwork or quillwork bordering the fringes. When cloth leggings came into use the fringes could not be cut, and extended as double flaps along the outside of the legs. Skin leggings also sometimes had uncut flaps embroidered with beads or quills, or painted. Garters were much used, and generally passed through slits in the outside of the leggings, so that they could be tightened without disturbing the fringes. No trousers were used long ago.

Breechclouts and aprons.—Breechclouts were seldom sewed. Most of them consisted of a loose strip of soft skin cut square at each end, and passed between the thighs under the belt. The ends (sometimes short and sometimes long) hung down over the belt in front and behind. Some of the same shape had the front and back flaps stitched down to the centerpiece, so as to make a place for the belt to pass through like a draw string. Some breechclouts had the ends

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[85] a, pl. 18.

[86] b, p. 217 otter-skin collars.

[87] Thompson specimen, Peabody Museum, No. 275.

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cut in fringes. In olden times some of the old men wore simple aprons of buffalo skin. They were oblong in shape, and fastened to a belt, or tied with strings around the waist. Some were double, one piece hanging in front and another behind. Another kind of apron used by old men consisted of two wolf skins. Most of the sides of the skins were cut off, leaving the backs, heads, and tails. These were sewed, heads up to a belt tied in front. The eyeholes were painted red and the tails hung down outside of each leg, almost reaching the ground. There was sometimes fringing in the spaces between the skins.

WOMEN'S CLOTHES. *Dresses.*—The common woman's dress of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been exactly like that described by Spinden for the Nez Percé.[illegible] About three entire large deerskins were required; two formed the body of the dress, the other being used for filling, to make the skirt even at the bottom, and to increase the flare and length, if necessary. The upper parts of the skins were folded down on the outside of the dress, forming a kind of false yoke at back and front. They were sewed to the body of the dress throughout, or stitched here and there with thongs. Pendants and tassels were often attached to the edges of the fold. The hair of the tailpiece was clipped in lines, and the end of the tail generally, but not always, cut off. Usually the sleeve parts were left open underneath, but sometimes they were stitched or tied here and there with thongs. Generally three rows of inserted fringe or thongs extended around the skirt below the waist. Single rows were also placed on the back and front of the dress below the yoke, but only rarely. Beads and shells of various kinds were sometimes strung on these thongs. Often all or the lower part of the yoke piece was beaded or quilled in lines following the contour of the edge of the yoke, or the dress itself was beaded immediately below the yoke. Some women's dresses had no folded piece or false yoke, and therefore no tailpiece; but imitations of the yoke and tailpiece were made in beading. Almost all dresses had fringes along the sides, bottom, and ends of the arms. Most dresses reached to the ankles, but some to about halfway between the knees and ankles. The sleeve parts of nearly all reached to the elbow, and occasionally almost to the wrist. Dresses were sometimes quilled or beaded with bands bordering the seams and fringes, and often with one or two additional bands or lines around the skirt near the bottom. Some had several lines of quillwork across the breast and back of the body and many had long fringes following the edge of the yoke.

Another kind of woman's dress was also of three skins; but in this case two skins formed the skirt, the third one being folded and sewed across the tops of the other two skins. A slit was cut in the

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[illegible] See *b*, pp. 219, 220; also *d*, fig. 18, Yakima.

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middle for the head to pass through. This kind had draw strings which pulled the dress tight around the neck;[59] or the corners of the opening were tied together with strings, as in most dresses. These dresses were also ornamented with fringes, quilled lines, and rows of thongs. Horizontal lines and triangular and semicircular pieces of embroidery were made on the yoke or upper skin. This kind of dress had fringes like others, and some dresses were painted.

A common dress used in the winter was also of three pieces. The upper part was made of a year-old deerskin dressed in the hair; and the skirt of two pieces of dressed skin joined to the body of the dress at the waist and to each other at the sides. It was fringed like all other dresses and was worn hair side out. A few had two pieces in front, the upper part with the hair, and the back of a single piece of dressed deerskin, with or without hair. Sometimes the back was a duplicate of the front.

Almost all women's dresses were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, and antelope.

Many women wore belts over their dresses. Some of these were richly quilled. Many wore small paint pouches attached to the belt.[60] These generally were quilled on the outside and had a fringe at the bottom. Other kinds of light bags were also sometimes attached to the belt or sewed to the skirt of the dress.[61] Some served the purpose of pockets.

Bodices.—It seems that no bodices,[62] or short skirts with long fringes, were used by women. These were only used by tribes along Columbia River, especially near The Dalles. It is said, however, that long ago some old women of poor families, who had not enough skin to make dresses, wore aprons of skin with long fringes. These were tied around the waist. Over this they wore only a robe. This may have been the same as the bodice used along Columbia River, or it may have been somewhat different.

Leggings.—All women wore leather leggings. They reached to the knee and were fringed along the outer sides. A few extended a little above the knee. Some leggings were closed and had to be pulled up over the feet. They were fastened below the knee with garters or with a draw string. Others were open on the outside of the leg and were fastened with tie strings. Many had beaded designs, especially on the lower part; others had cross fringes, one above the other, for ornament.[63]

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[59] See Thompson specimen, Ottawa photographs Nos. 35409, 35408.

[60] See Ottawa Mus., No. VI, M. 386.

[61] See Thompson specimens with small bags sewed to the dress. Peabody Mus., 316, 341, 347; and Ottawa photographs, 27093, 27075.

[62] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 185; and Ottawa Mus., No. 139.

[63] See Thompsou specimen with cross fringes, Peabody Mus. No. 351.

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CHILDREN'S CLOTHES.—Children generally went bareheaded in good weather and also often barefooted except when traveling. Some wore long skirts and dresses without leggings, and others small robes. Leggings were used by some in conjunction with aprons or with breechclouts. Many boys went almost nude in warm weather. Ponchos of spotted fawn skin were much used by boys. They were worn loose or confined with a belt around the waist. Sleeveless poncho shirts of skins dressed in the hair, like some used by men, and tied or laced at the sides, were also in use. Usually they consisted of single skins or parts of larger skins. A common dress of girls consisted of two fawn skins sewed together. Some were sewed only on the shoulders and laced or stitched here and there at the sides. They were worn with the hair side out. All children's clothes were dressed quite soft. Lads and young women dressed almost like adults.

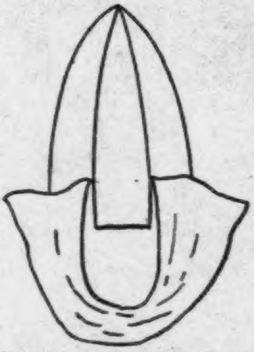

FIGURE 6.—Sketch illustrating cut of moccasin

MOCCASINS.—Moccasins were generally made of dressed buckskin and were of five main kinds:

1. A single-piece moccasin, with seam around the outside of the foot. This style was common to all the interior Salishan tribes, to the Nez Percé, and to some other tribes.[94]

2. A two-piece moccasin, with short tongue, seam down the front of the foot, and a short crosscut at the toe. This style is used by some of the interior Salishan and many Athapascan tribes, but among the latter the cross seam at the toe is generally longer than among the Salish.[95]

3 *a*. A two-piece moccasin like No. 2, with short tongue, and a seam down the front of the foot from tongue to toe. The seam ends in a small gathering at the toe and also at the bottom of the heel, so there is no trailer. This kind was also used by the Thompson.[96]

3 *b*. A moccasin (which seems to have been often called by the same name as the last) differing from 3 *a* in the form of the tongue, which consists of a long triangular piece placed in the middle and ending in a sharp point at the toe.[97] It was not very common. (Fig. 6.)

4. A two-piece moccasin with long tongue and round toe, like some eastern moccasins.[98]

5. A two-piece moccasin, the sole being a separate piece, like many moccasins used by Plains tribes.[99]

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[94] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 169; Nez Percé; *b*, pp. 216, 217; *c*, fig. 78.

[95] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 171.

[96] *a*, fig. 172.

[97] Also *c*, fig. 88.

[98] See Thompson Indians, fig. 170.

[99] See *c*, fig. 79.

281x 294 Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

SOCKS.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. [314] In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

MITTENS.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

MEN'S CAPS AND HEADBANDS.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather 237 headbands of various kinds were worn. 292 Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on 301 war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other

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237 292 301 eagles and of hawks and occasionally of flickers and other birds were fairly common. The headband itself generally consisted of a wide band of skin, often embroidered with designs in quill and bead work. Pendants of beaded strings, feathers, animals' tails, ermine skins, and twisted strips of otter and other fur-bearing animals were attached to the sides, and sometimes also to the backs, of many kinds of headbands. Some of the most common styles of headdresses were as follows:

1. Headband with a single eagle feather erect at the back.
2. Headband with two eagle feathers erect at the back.
3. Headband with a single eagle feather or two hawk's feathers erect at each side. This was considered a hunter's style, as among the Thompson.[100]
4. Headband with a single eagle feather erect in front.
5. Headband with two eagle feathers erect in front.
6. Headband with two eagle feathers in front slanting away from each other, or rarely having their butts crossed.[101] This was a shaman's style among the Thompson, but it seems it was not particularly so considered by the Coeur d'Alêne.
7. Headband set with eagle, hawk, or other feathers all round. The feathers were placed erect in some and slanting slightly backward in others. Each was attached independently and some distance from the next one.
8. Headband set with eagle feathers close together all round. They were placed erect and, like No. 7, attached separately. Sometimes they were made to slant slightly outward by use of a light hoop. Generally from 20 to 30 feathers were used. This style was called a "chief's bonnet" by many of the Thompson.[102]
9. Headband set with eagle feathers all round, erect, and so close together that they overlap. The butts only were attached to the lower part of the headband individually; the upper parts of the feathers were connected with a string so as to form a crown. This was the war bonnet or common headdress of the plains. It was claimed to be the best for windy weather and for riding. It became the common headdress after the advent of the horse, superseding entirely many of the others.
10. A feathered headband with streamers or feather "tails." The "tails" with feathers set horizontally were used only with No. 9. Those with pendent feathers, like a Thompson style,[103] were used with No. 8 and others. The tails were easily detachable, and in many cases merely an adjunct to the bonnet.
11. An eagle feather headband or bonnet with ermine skins pendent close together all round the sides and back. Ermine-skin ornamentation of this kind was used with bonnets like Nos. 6, 7, 8,

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[100] a, fig. 180.

[101] See Thompson, a, fig. 183, and Field Mus., 111767.

[102] Peabody Museum, No. 272.

[103] a, fig. 182.

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and 9. Usually with the last named the ermine was put only at the sides.

12. A headband of twisted otter fur, about 2 inches wide, and often provided with from two to four long "tails" of the same animal.

Headbands like Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 very likely had some special significance, and probably were not used by everybody, but I did not clear up this point.

It seems that the headdress of the plains type became common after the Coeur d'Alêne became buffalo hunters. It appears to have been first copied from the Flathead tribes. Later some alterations of details took place from time to time through the influence of one tribe on another. In later days the Crow style was thought to be the handsomest and best, and all the tribes copied it. In still later days the Sioux style came into vogue, and many men of all the buffalo-hunting tribes copied it. It seems that the "tails" to bonnets with feathers laid horizontally (in pieces of skin or cloth) sticking out behind, or double, the feathers in the latter case sticking out to both sides, were adopted from eastern tribes. The thick ends of the quills were held in place by a thong which was passed up and down crosswise through a long piece of hide, so that a short stitch held down the butt end of the quill. A thin thread was also passed through the quills and they were often sewed down to the margin of the strip of skin. The feathers were attached either to one side or to both sides. "Tails" like these were generally used only on dress occasions and in dances.

Headdresses of animals' skins set with horns were common. Buffalo, antelope, 2-year-old buck deer, mountain ewe, etc., were used. The tips of the horns were sometimes pierced, and small tufts of hair of natural color or dyed were attached to them.[194] In later days red cloth, colored yarn, and ribbon were sometimes used. The sides of these headdresses, and sometimes also the backs, were set with fringes or pendants of skin, hair, strips of fur, feathers, or ermine skins. The last named were most frequently used, the entire skins being attached. Sometimes only the backs with the heads and tails were used, and sometimes the skins were twisted into strings. The long, twisted strips of otter, fisher, or other fur attached to some were wrapped here and there with fur of a different color, or with beaded strings, hair tassels, or feathers. Headdresses made of head skins of buffalo or grizzly bear were also used. The eyeholes were sometimes painted red or had a large bead set in each. Some headbands or caps made of the head skins of black-tailed deer, mule deer, white-tailed deer, and elk, were used by hunters. They retained the ears, which stood erect. Other caps were made of head skins of animals like coyote or wolf.[195] The animal's tail was some-

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[194] See Thompson specimen, Field Museum, 111956.

[195] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 178.

237 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed
292 and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of
301 large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé[107]
285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown
294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé[108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or
294 less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.
[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.
[108] *b*, fig. 4.
[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

WOVEN PONCHOS, RAIN CLOAKS.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot; [112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [418]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] *a*, fig. 191.

[111] *a*, fig. 194.

[112] *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111753.

[116] *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[443] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
177 also common. White was the usual color for the background; light blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

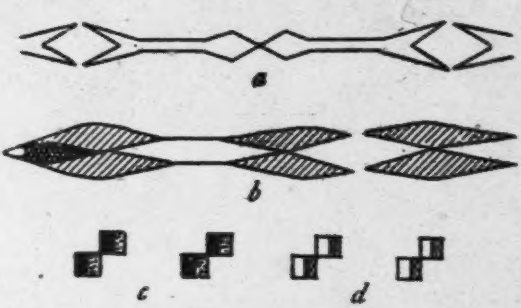

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

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[117] See Coeur d'Alêne bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alêne, No. 1.

[118] See a, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

294 about an inch wide, or sometimes more, and were composed of
531 oblongs and squares alternating in different colors. Sometimes all the lines were placed close together, so that the whole formed a field of solid beadwork. Horizontal meandering and zigzag beaded lines were also fairly common on the upper parts of women's dresses. Generally there were two or several of these at equal distances, one above another. Another ornamentation on dresses consisted of a fairly wide beaded line following the tops of the shoulders, and another following the edge of the yoke. Narrower vertical lines about 5 to 7 cm. apart connected the two all around. Beaded lines, one to four in number, composed of checks and oblongs, were often embroidered on the skirts of dresses.[119] The lines were 5 or 7 centimeters apart or more, following the bottom of the dress. On some men's shirts and women's dresses there was an embroidered or painted triangular line on the front and back. The end pointed downward, reaching almost to the waist. Inside the area inclosed by the line there were often small detached designs of dots, crosses, or triangles; and on painted shirts, sometimes realistic figures of men, weapons, animals, moon, etc. Sometimes the whole area was in solid beadwork. Some men's shirts were almost entirely covered with tiny spots of red paint, which, according to some, represented blood.

Robes were painted with straight and zigzag lines and other geometric figures, as well as with pictographs of mountains, lakes, people, and animals. Some pictographs represented incidents in dreams, incidents and feats in war and the chase; and some were representations of the guardian spirit and of objects connected with it. After hunting began on the Plains the old styles of pictographs fell into disuse to some extent and paintings on robes became for the most part pictures, made as realistic as possible, of personal encounters, battles, etc., after the style of the Crow Indians. Long ago designs were also made on robes by scratching off the outer layer of skin with a sharp bone.[120] As a rule, they consisted chiefly of small triangles and straight lines, made in various forms and combinations. Sometimes long lines were made, with short lines radiating from them; triangles, diamond-shaped figures, and squares. Lines of triangles, called "arrowheads," were also made, and stepped triangles called "mountains." It is said that no designs were made on robes or clothes by searing. Elk and deer skin robes very often had the hair cut in parallel, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stripes about 5 cm. in width. The hair in the lines was either uniformly clipped halfway down to the roots, or it was clipped in steps.[121] A

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[119] See Pend d'Oreille (Flathead) specimen, Field Mus., 111909.

[120] See designs made on buffalo-skin pouch of Thompson; *a*, fig. 300; also *f*, p. 192.

[121] See Thompson, *a*, pl. 18, and Thompson specimen Field Mus., 111915.

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294 few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were 531 painted red.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

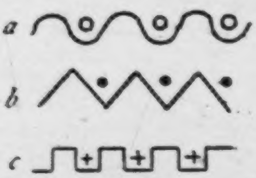

FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.[122] (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.[123] Red lines were also often painted on seams.

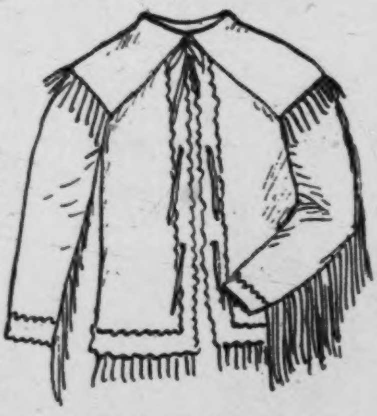
FIGURE 9.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern coat

177 MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders 294 the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.[124] Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from

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[122] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 191.

[123] For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, *a*, 163, 184; Lillooet, *k*, p. 220; also *f*, p. 192.

[124] See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settle- 294
ment on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change
became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becom-
ing settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get
supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be
worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago
the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now,
it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every
way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are
still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thomp- 321
son.[125] They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor,
hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were
tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider, flatter, and stiffer
(more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used
by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the
Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted
of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian
hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths,
and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper
suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several
of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded
necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a
series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the
other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest
reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some infor- 321
mants, the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east
of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced
by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut 325
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of
copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] c, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, b, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

301 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of
321 animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and
wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other
325 animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws,
generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially
warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were
abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces
of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones.
237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by
321 some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium
shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped
thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes
dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long)
ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of
these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends,
the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the
red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or
crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were
also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo
hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the
[17] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes.
They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color
and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter
often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string
into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small,
square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear
ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the
[304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there
were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mᴇtsᴇmᴇtsĕ'ᴇlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.)
were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear
with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and
301 ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair.
Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair
321 or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by
women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men;
and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or
beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered
skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In
later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth
took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short
pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, 301
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 321
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132] It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the 301
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 412
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

302 3. Gathered to the sides and tied in a knot near each ear. This was the common style of girls at puberty.[137]

4. Cut square across the back of the neck, or sometimes lower down, about on a line with the tops of the shoulders. This was the style of widows and all people in mourning.

5. Gathered at the sides and braided full length in a single cue at each side. This was a common style for both men and women; but the women always parted their hair in the middle, while many men parted theirs slightly to one side.

6. The same as No. 5, but the ends of the cues were tied together and worn on the back. This was a common style for women, but was never used by men. For women it is said to have come into use in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many people say that long ago braids of hair were tied together and hung down on the back.

7. The same as No. 5, but each cue braided for only from half to three-quarters of its length, where it was tied, and the ends allowed to hang loose. This was a woman's style.

8. Gathered at the sides and simply tied at each side on a line with the neck. This also was a common style for women.

9. Part of the side hair braided on each side (the lower part next to the face and ears) or rolled in wads, more and more hair being caught in the braid, until at the back all the hair was in one braid or the other. The braids were then untied and folded upward to the back of the neck and tied. This was a woman's style less common than the others, and used chiefly by young women.

10. Braided in two plaits on each side. A man's style, used by a few.

11. Gathered at the sides in two cues, the same as No. 5, and strips of otter skin interbraided with the hair or wrapped about it. A man's style.

12. Gathered together loosely at each side (without braiding), and tied rather close to the head. This seems to have been called the same name as No. 11, probably because of the similar attachments to the hair. Hair ribbons of several kinds, beaded strings, strips of otter skin and ermine skins, braids of scalp locks, scalps, etc., were attached to the hair. A man's style.

13. Simply combed back and tied behind. This style was chiefly used by men.

14. (a) Divided into three parts and gathered at each side and at the back, where it was tied close to the head.

(b) Sometimes the hair at the sides was braided and the hair at the back left loose. The hair was full length, not doubled up. A man's style.

15. (a) The front hair was done up in two small braids, one at each temple; and strings of beads or shells were interwoven in the

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[137] See Thompson, a, fig. 208.

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braids or attached to them. Usually the rest of the hair was loose or merely tied at the back of the neck.

(*b*) Sometimes the front hair was divided into three parts. If the person had a cut forelock it hung down in the middle above the nose and the small braids lay just back of the eyes over the temples. This was a fairly common man's style of hairdressing.

16. (*a*) The side hair was cut on a level with the neck or shoulders and tied at each side. Rarely was it left loose. The back hair was left full length and tied close to the head. To it was attached the entire head, back, and tail of an otter. Sometimes, instead, hair ribbons and beaded strings of various kinds were attached to the back hair. This was a common style for men.

(*b*) Instead of being merely tied, both the side hair and the back hair were braided in cues, three in all. Ornaments were attached to the braids. This style of hairdressing was rare.

17. Forelocks were used by many men. Usually the lock was narrow and cut even with the top of the nose. Sometimes it was combed down flat over the middle of the brow, but more generally it was crimped, so that the end curled up. Occasionally the short crimping-rod was worn in the hair. Hairdressing with forelock had a special name. Rarely was the forelock braided. The rest of the hair might be done up in any fashion. It seems that women never had forelocks, at least not like those of the men.

18. The top hair combed back from the brow, then brought forward and tied in a bunch above the brow or on the top of the head,[138] but not braided or stiffened with clay. The rest of the hair was fixed in different ways—tied together at the sides, made into a braid at each side, or made into small braids at the temples, the rest being tied behind the neck or left to hang loose. This was a man's style.

19. All the hair gathered on the top of the head, and tied there, with the loose end upward and protruding or hanging forward. Occasionally the knot was pointed, and stiffened with red mud or paint. This was a warrior's style.

20. Much the same way as No. 19, but the hair rose in a high point above the top of the head. A bunch of dry tules tied together was set on end on the top of the head to form a support for the hair, which was bound all round it. The ends of the tules protruded above the hair. The crown of the head, and all the lower hair next to the head, were well saturated with water. A woman then lighted the ends of the tules, which burned down with the upright hair until the whole point or "horn" became flat and the fire went out in the wet hair next the head. This style was used by some men when dancing the scalp dance.

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[138] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 207, but without braiding

302 Sometimes the hair was painted red or white by men, all over or in parts. Down was sometimes put in the hair. Almost all people of both sexes painted the partings of the hair red. The red lines followed the bare skin exposed by the parting. Many people oiled their hair regularly with pieces of hard fine tallow or with bear's grease. A hair parter of wood was used for parting the hair evenly. The points of combs were also used. Loose untied hair was often crimped.[129] Rods of an unidentified reddish wood were used for the purpose. The wood was heated, and the lock rolled around it. At the present day nearly all the men have their hair close cut, like the whites. A few of the old men wear it long or cut across the neck. Most of the women wear their hair in two braids tied at the back or hanging loose at the sides.

303 PERFUMES.—Scents were much used by both sexes, and especially by young people. Sweet grass (*Hierochla odorata*) and other strong-smelling grasses and leaves were used. Small rolls of these were made up and often inclosed in skin. They were used as pads inclosed in knots or folds of the hair, or simply attached to it. Sometimes tiny bags of these scents were made up for attachment to the hair and clothing, or to be placed in workbags, workbaskets, and clothes bags, to perfume the contents. Sometimes the bags were sewed on to wearing apparel permanently. The fragrant leaves from which the scent was made were often dried, then powdered fine and poured into sacks, which were sewed up like tiny cushions. They were used in the same way as the rolls and small bags with strings attached. Powdered scents were frequently rubbed on necklaces, hair ornaments, clothes, the skin of the body, and the hair. A small skin bag about 4 by 3 centimeters in size, entirely covered on the outside with quill or bead work and provided with strings, was filled with scent and attached to the back of the hair as an ornament. Slender rolls of sweet grass without any covering were often wrapped in the hair. Besides vegetable scents, beaver castor was much used. Some people also used parings from the hard, strong-smelling gland inside of horses' legs. The parings were crushed fine and inclosed in skin bags.

302 FACE AND BODY PAINTING.—The face and body were painted in various ways, but I did not find time to go into this matter in detail. Painting was in solid masses and in designs. Some of the latter are said to have had no known significance, being merely for ornament, while other designs were connected with dreams and the guardian spirit. Some designs were considered protective in battle, while others were more for good luck. However, some styles of painting were mere fashions; and, according to some, this was the prevailing motive for their selection. The most common paint was red, but

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[129] Many Shoshoni and Bannock are said to have worn their hair loose and crimped.

yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The 302
hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint.

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or 302
oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in 532
paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women.

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was 304
practiced chiefly by young men.[140] 531

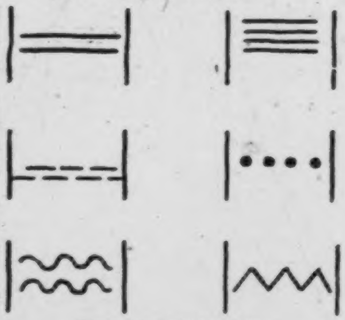

FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

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[140] See p. 169.

304 531 by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

137 221 241 262 FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl	*sχa''ulutχwa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ĕtxwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *ɛ'lχwa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'it'ɛm*.

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[141] See p. 192.

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3. (Probably *Lomatium kous* Wats. ? or (*Peucedanum cous* Watson).	*pī'wia.*
4. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a yellow flower and a round and rather flat root.	*p'äx"p'ax".*
5. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small round root.	*tu'xwa.*
6. *Allium* sp., possibly *geyeri*	*xiatc.*
7. *Allium* sp., probably *cernuum*	*qwali'wïle* (Thompson *kalā'wa, kala'wa*).
8. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a tall white flower and a small round root.	*st'ä'qom.*
9. Probably *Daucus pusillus*	*mä'smen.*
10. *Claytonia* sp	*squä'tem.*
11. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small flat root.	*la'q'ämx".*
12. Probably *Fritillaria pudica*	*tc'a'wax̣* (Thompson *tcā'wax*): *Lilium columbianum.*
13. Probably *Sium lineare*	*mä'tsemxts.*
14. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a large long root, and just one leaf which grows on top of the water.	*sqeigxts* (Thompson: *Opuntia s'qaqx''z*).
15. Probably *Cnicus undulatus* Gray	*marī'opa.*
16. Root of an unidentified plant	*pitcelu'sa.*

My informants claimed that the roots of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* and *Balsamorrhiza hookerii* were not eaten, although one or both of these were used by the Flathead. Also they said that the roots of *Lilium columbianum* (Hanson) were not eaten, although this root is much used as a food by the Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, and others. *Lewisia rediviva* did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but was plentiful in Spokan territory, where Coeur d'Alêne parties went to dig it.[133] The *pitcelūsa* grew only on the borders of the Nez Percé territory, and parties went there to gather it. Some of the unidentified species used by the Coeur d'Alêne may be the same as some of those used by the Nez Percé.

BERRIES

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Amelanchier* sp. (service berry or June berry).	*sla'q.*
2. *Prunus demissa* Walpers (chokecherry or black wild cherry).	*la'xlax̣*
3. *Prunus* sp. (red wild cherry)	*t'xcile'pa.*
4. *Sambucus* sp. (elderberry)	*staē'qaq* (Thompson: *tsē'kuk*)
5. *Crataegus* sp. (black hawberry)	*sx̣e''natc.*
6. *Crataegus* sp. (red hawberry)	*kodle.*
7. *Cornus pubescens* Nutt. (red willow berry).	*stūctc*".
8. *Rubus* sp. (raspberry)	*xpelā'tsē* (Thompson: currant *lax'sa, xlax'sa*).

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[133] *b*, pp. 203, 204.

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9. *Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry).	*po'lpolgᴇn.*
10. *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry).	*mẽtsu'q* (Thompson: *mẽ'.icuk, mẽ'tcak*).
11. *Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble).	*ti'ltclxlumxʷ* (Thompson: *tĩ'tᴇl.ûm.*
12. *Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)	*ni'i'i'ẽmẽlps.*
13. *Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)	*ya'ricᴇn.*
14. *Ribes* sp. (wild currant)	*tsẽ'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *tsã'l.za*, Okanagon *.sisẽ'res*)
15. *Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry).	*sx̣o'sᴇm* (Thompson: *sx̣õ'sᴇm, shõ.'zᴇm*).
16. *Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry).	*stsa'qom* (Thompson: service berry *.stsa'gum, .sis'õ'gom*).
17. *Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry).	*stãcõ'(stk).*
18. *Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry)	*(sᴇn) paqpaqa'x̣ᴇn.*
19. *Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry)	*stã'qln.*
20. *Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape)	*sqwã'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.skã'u*, roseberry *s.kõkwã'u*).
21. *Arctostaphylus uva-ursi* (bearberry)	*i'ltc* (Thompson *ã'ik, ãi'ᴇk*; raspberry *.sãitsku, .sei'tᴇk*).
22. *Rosa* sp. (roseberry)	*tsᴇxwtsᴇxwᴇxwoiye'pã* .

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Sorbus sambricifolia E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	*wa'x̣e'ẽlp.*
Lonicera involucrata	*.sa'mpaqᴇn.*
Juniperus, two sp. (juniper berry).	
Symphoricarpus racemosus Mich. (snowberry).	*st'ᴇmst'ᴇmnc'*'(tx̣ᴇn) ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	*tãlᴇptẽlp* ("black plant") (Thompson: *sta'ptapt*, black; *stẽtẽpũza* Ribes, sp.).

SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokan.[a]	*k'e'puxwa* (Thompson: *.qapux*).
Nutlets of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*)	*stsᴇtcẽ'tcs'* (Thompson: *.stsikk*).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine (*Pinus albicaulis*).	*sowi'stlc.*
Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*, one or two sp., possibly also seeds of *Helianthus* sp.	*mi'tcto* (Thompson: *mi'kto*).

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[a] Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'x̣we* (Thompson: *stse'x̣we*).	137
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stxtsamox̣tse'nɛm*.	222
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.		262
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacɛm*.	
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*x̣o'x̣lp*.	
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pä'qai*.	
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sä'tc'xtct*.	

The *Opuntia* (*sx̣u'wênâtc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket. 222 252 412

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler. 222 237 314 412

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

222 237 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mó'smɛn* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ămxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

about an inch thick and of two sizes—a large size, from 1 to 2 feet in length; and a small one, of about the size of the hand. Camas was mashed and kneaded into cakes of various sizes, most of them large. *Alectoria*, and sometimes also camas, was cooked in pits until it became a paste, which, when cooled, was cut into bricks or cakes of various sizes. As among the Thompson, bone knives were used for cutting these cakes. Long ago *Alectoria* was generally cooked by itself; but in later times it became the custom almost invariably to cook and cake it with wild onions. As stated already, *pi'wia* roots were first cleaned in bags, being beaten with sticks or struck against a flat rock (p. 49). Large cakes of camas, etc., were dried on frames made of slats or split pieces of wood, similar to those used by the Thompson for drying cakes of berries on.[149] The slats were woven together with bark, or occasionally with thongs, or other kinds of string. Hazelnuts and nutlets of the yellow pine were usually eaten raw. Nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis* were cooked in hot ashes. Soups or thick gruels were made by boiling root cakes or dried roots, either of a single kind or of two or more kinds together. Service berries were generally spread on mats (often tent mats were used for the purpose) and dried in the sun. When cured, they were stored in bags. Often the fresh berries were mashed in baskets with wooden pestles like those of the Thompson,[150] and made into cakes, which were dried on layers of grass spread on frames elevated on scaffolds of poles. Fresh berries of *Crataegus* were boiled in baskets and spread on thick layers of grass. A thin layer of berries was spread first, and then juice poured over it. When partially dry, the process was continued until the desired thickness of cake was obtained or the contents of the basket used up. Sometimes *Crataegus* and chokecherries were mashed with pestles in mortars or on large flat stones, made into cakes, and dried, in the same manner as service berries. Often stone pestles and stone mauls were used instead of wooden ones, because of the large hard stones in these berries. It seems a number of forms were used.[151] Hand hammers were also used. Berry cakes and berries were also spread on small mats woven of the large leaves of a plant called *k'wa'sk'wes*, which grows near lakes. Chokecherries, huckleberries, bearberries, and sometimes raspberries and currants, were simply dried without other treatment. Service berries and huckleberries were sometimes boiled, and then eaten; or, like fresh raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, chokecherries, they were sometimes mashed and eaten without boiling. All kinds of berries were also eaten fresh as gathered. At the present day sugar is added to some of them, especially to fresh mashed berries. Thick soups were made of dried berries and roots boiled together.

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

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[149] *a*, fig. 215.

[150] Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64a.

[151] Compare Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 1.

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252 PRESERVATION OF ANIMAL FOODS, COOKING.—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. 251 Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,[152] and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men [494] having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes

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[152] See Blackfoot, c, fig. 2.

pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. 251
This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way.

Seasons.—The Coeur d'Alêne recognize five seasons—spring 221
(*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsaq*), late fall 805
(*stc'e'ᴇd*), winter (*sitsttk*^{w}).

Months and seasonal employments.—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *stc'e'ᴇd* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *squa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'ėqwe'panᴇx* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stcᴇnä''rᴇmᴇn*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winds blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *.skwaxkwaxhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yaltsk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *sᴇla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa''aq*^{w} ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

221 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall."
805 Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 GAME AND HUNTING.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and
[223] snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

173 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne
224 country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxx*ʷ,[d] and is 173
very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. 224
After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i't* was applied to them.

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly 177
abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were 221
well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the 224
Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé.

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew 237
backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were 411
made of a wood called *atse'tcxnalxw*[e] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[183] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ătse'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[183] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

237 411 set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tclɛn* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

237 283 411 Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

411 524 Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

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A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokan, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alene claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokan also used this type of bow. A few Spokan, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin. 177 411

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alêne, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokan. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

Arrows.—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsɛ'elp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *mɛtmɛtstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if Syringa was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.[188] Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a 411 531

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[188] See p. 42; Lytton, *g*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

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similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé[159] were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts[160] were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.[161] A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,[162] was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,[163] for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points[164] were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.[165] A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and waterfowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'tclen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *tcatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

Quivers.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,[166] and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.[167] No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, 411 but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alêne quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

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[159] *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3-22.

[160] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b*; Field Mus. 111735.

[161] Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

[162] Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *d*.

[163] Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

[164] Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

[165] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *c*; Field Mus. 111729.

[166] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

[167] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

Guns.—The Coeur d'Alêne were one of the last tribes to obtain 177 firearms. They were practically without guns until after the traders 411 came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—Deer were run to bay or 224 to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,[168] were in common use.

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[168] a, p. 246.

224 A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back again, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. [251] [483] [462] Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224 from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462] canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes 177 run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not always successful. 224 Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152] more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224 some men ~~in still~~ hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292 Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224 Thompson[169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281] for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 248.

[170] a, fig. 228.

224 tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear

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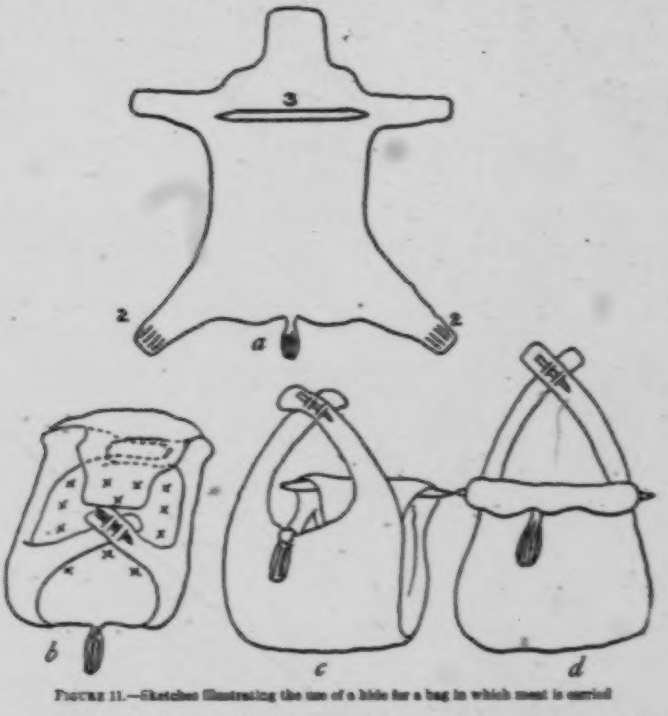

FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for 223 catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.[171] Young eagles were

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[171] Shuswap, e, p. 523; Nez Percé, b, p. 215.

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taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800. 177 223

FISHING—*Hooks*.—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.[172] Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.[173] Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.[174] This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.[175] Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,[176] while others were notched, grooved, or bored.[177] Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines. 226

Spears.—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,[178] used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.[179] The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,[180]

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[172] a, p. 253.
[173] See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156-158.
[174] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 b.
[175] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 a; Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, no. 9.
[176] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 e.
[177] See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, X, 409.
[178] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, k, fig. 87.
[179] See Thompson, a, fig. 232; Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 11.
[180] a, fig. 231.

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226 appear to have been unknown. Fishing through holes cut in the ice was a common method used in winter. The fisher lay flat on a woven mat, with a robe or blanket over his head; he held the line with a fish lure in his left hand, and a three-pronged spear in his right, ready to strike. Fishing with bait and hook and line was also practiced through holes in the ice when the weather was not too cold. Large trout were speared on dark nights in the lakes from canoes by torchlight. As among the Thompson, the torches consisted of bundles of split pitchwood, and three-pronged spears were used. Eye shades of [293] several kinds were worn by the spearmen. (See p. 76.)

Traps.—Fish traps were of several kinds, but I did not obtain detailed information regarding them. The screen trap described by Spinden was in use.[181] (Fig. 12.) A second kind of trap commonly employed was used chiefly in creeks when they were in flood. It appears to have been the same as the cylindrical trap of the Thompson with "heart," and was called *moo*, which is also the Thompson name. A third kind of trap, with a trapdoor composed of a row of slanting sticks, appears to have been the same as a common kind among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Nez Percé.[182] A fourth kind, said to have been circular (possibly cylindrical), was used only for small fish. A fifth kind was used, it seems, only for salmon in large streams. It was large, and had high walls. The top was open excepting at the ends, which were covered over to prevent fish from jumping out. These traps were made of coarser materials than others; they were

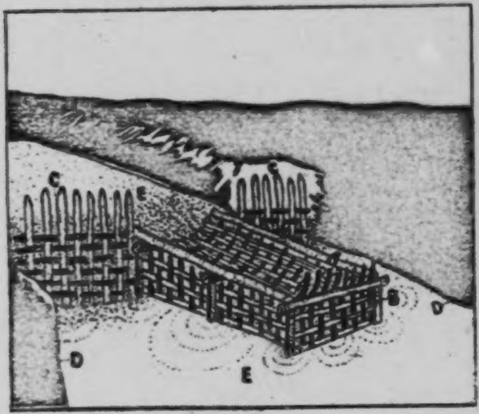

FIGURE 12.—Fish trap

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[181] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211. I have seen screen traps used by the Shuswap and Chilcotin in small, rather rapid streams and have often seen fish lying on the screens. The screens were somewhat larger than the ones used by the Nez Percé. They were made of willow rods fastened together with bark and withes. They were oblong, slightly depressed in the center, and tilted up at the lower end away from the stream. I am under the impression that some of them had low brush walls to prevent the fish falling off the sides. Some had corrals underneath to catch any small fish that worked through the screens. The whole creek was dammed and the water forced over the screens with great force.

[182] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 245 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211.

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set in rocky places and fastened to stout logs, as a considerable volume 226
of water flowed through them. Men walked into them and clubbed the salmon. It seems they were used only on Spokane River. Weirs were commonly employed in conjunction with traps, and there were also simple weirs for stopping fish, thus facilitating spearing.

Nets.—Long nets were set in lakes, and ordinary bag nets were used for catching whitefish (*Coregonus*) and other fish from rocks and platforms on the banks of streams. Very large bag nets with long handles were used for catching a "sucker" which appears on the surface of lakes in calm, warm weather. The nets were dropped through the masses of fish from canoes. They were also scooped up with small bag nets into the canoes.[183] Bag nets were also set as 173
traps, as among the Shuswap,[184] and the fish were driven into them. 226
Bag nets were not used by the Coeur d'Alêne for fishing salmon, nor were they used in salmon fishing by the Spokan; but it is said that the Nez Percé used bag nets a great deal in capturing salmon in the rivers. It seems that all salmon were trapped, speared, or gaffed by the Coeur d'Alêne and also by most of the Spokan. It is said that the latter, in a few places on tributaries of the Spokane River, used large-mesh nets spread across the stream. These may, however, have been intended in large measure as weirs for stopping the fish rather than for catching them. The Coeur d'Alêne had no salmon in their own country, but salmon came close to the borders of their territory along Spokane River. Some Coeur d'Alêne bought what dried salmon they required from the Spokan; but large numbers of the tribe went to Spokane Falls and other parts of Spokane River where they fished salmon for themselves with the Spokan tribe. As the two tribes were usually friendly, this opportunity was generally available. It is said that no salmon could pass the falls, and therefore there were no salmon in the Coeur d'Alêne country. A long time ago (before the introduction of the horse, according to some also later) some of the Coeur d'Alêne were in the habit of trapping salmon in the mountains to the southeast, on streams which were northern feeders of the Clearwater. This was near the confines of the Nez Percé country. Long ago they also fished salmon at several points on the main Clearwater.[185] Although the Nez-Percé claimed these places to be within their territory, they never themselves went there to fish. Long ago, some Coeur d'Alêne also fished salmon on the Graywater, and beyond Smeda, up to the mountains as far as the salmon went. No landlocked salmon frequented any water in the Coeur d'Alêne country; but trout of several kinds, whitefish, and several other kinds of fish were abundant. It seems that sturgeon also occurred.

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[183] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 526.

[184] *e*, fig. 242.

[185] My informant said "the main Snake River," but seemed to mean Clearwater River.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

501 **Canoes.**—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted "sturgeon nose" type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No "dugouts" were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.[186] Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.[187] In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

493 **Tump Lines.**—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people's backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

481 **Snowshoes.**—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.[188] Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as

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[186] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235, *a*, *b*.
[187] See Field Mus. No. 111954.
[188] *a*, fig. 239.

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the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[189] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[189] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwaxt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[189] Thompson, *a*, fig. 242; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 91.

[190] *a*, fig. 241.

[191] *a*, fig. 243.

[192] *a*, fig. 227.

177 231 492 d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokan. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokan, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

177 492 Horse Equipment.—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.[193] The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[194]

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[193] *l*, fig. 8

[194] *l*, figs. 4, 20

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeůr d'Alene

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Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.[195] Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.[196] The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.[197] It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.[198] Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.[199] Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags[200] attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.[201] Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.[202] Although the horse and dog travois were

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[195] *l*, fig. 17.

[196] *l*, fig. 2.

[197] *l*, figs. 2, 17.

[198] *l*, figs. 14, 15.

[199] *l*, fig. 18.

[200] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

[201] *l*, fig. 19.

[202] *l*, figs. 23, 24.

Altough the horse and dog travois were
[493] 492 both well known to the Coeur d'Alêne, who had seen them constantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alêne as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[illegible] Large rawhide bags and parflèches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

439 TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alêne had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alêne, were obtained from the Spokan, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and was procured from the Spokan, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alêne made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokan territory, to dig it. The Spokan never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alêne. The Spokan also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne, however, preferred to

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[illegible] Peabody Mus. No. 194.

buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also occasionally obtained from the Paloos. 439

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Alêne hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them. 177 439 567

Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé. 177 439

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Alêne did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were

177 439 willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often
177 484 728 bought from the Plains tribes. It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

439 The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,

glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange. 439

VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *szleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[294] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson. 411 721 [526]

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[295] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[296]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[294] *a*, fig. 246.

[295] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[296] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

411 721 two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.[207] Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.[208] Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.[209]

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.[210]

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.[211]

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.[212] Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whalebone were obtained in trade.

173 411 721 It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

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[207] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

[208] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 299.

[209] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

[210] See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

[211] *a*, fig. 81.

[212] *a*, fig. 251.

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ARMOR.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slig[illegible] oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

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FORTS AND DEFENSES.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some

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[213] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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WAR DRESS.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the [302]
hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as 292
well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power 717
to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often 776
carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or
scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others
made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins
of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a
small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened
to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons
who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its
skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares.
They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some
men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung
from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men
took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached
them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted
and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of
most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings
and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the
common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used.
War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars 173
with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, 728
and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo
east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow,
Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars
with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The
following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the
same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne
and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each
other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for
a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a
Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and
of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also
to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his
home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed [777]
his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the
Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on
the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who [166]
lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their
homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide
strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The
war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

173 728 [166] and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief[216] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. [152] He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

was the last war with the Spokan. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

Wars with the Kalispel.—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alêne was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.[217]—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alêne territory. The Coeur d'Alêne never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutxna'lqʷ* entered the Coeur d'Alêne country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alêne were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alêne. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not

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[217] The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

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kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the [115] great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[218] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead [551] returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutᴇna'lqʷ*[*], who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na*

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[218] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[*] A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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and *Citᴇmu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alêne at Coeur d'Alêne City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alêne, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alêne City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I cannot make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alêne encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* looked up when he heard the twang of the bowstring, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alêne fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcine'na* was killed. Chief *Citᴇmu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alêne divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made

173 a great speech, and said that the peace pipe must be filled and 72
728 smoked. One Flathead said, "No. How can we smoke the peace 17
pipe? The Coeur d'Alêne broke it. There is no peace pipe. How 72
can it be smoked?" The Coeur d'Alêne said they were willing to smoke, as they could make an honorable peace now, for Flathead blood had been spilled as well as Coeur d'Alêne blood. Any peace arranged before would have been one-sided and dishonorable. Many speeches were made, and the conference lasted a number of days. At last everything was arranged amicably, and the pipe was smoked by all the chiefs of these tribes. They agreed that there should be an everlasting peace between them; that none would fight the others and that all would be friends and allies. This pledge has never since been broken.

Wars with the Kutenai.—Coeur d'Alêne parties sometimes went to the Lower Kutenai country and attacked the people there, but the Kutenai never retaliated by invading the Coeur d'Alêne country. Probably the last fight between them happened as follows: At the time when guns were first introduced among the Coeur d'Alêne, two brothers had a gun between them. One day they quarreled about the gun, each wanting to hunt with it. At last one brother said to the other, "Well, you may have the gun as your sole property. I will go and get a gun in war." At that time the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead had a great many guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne had hardly any. The brother arrayed himself for war, and, taking a canoe, went down the river to the lake, where he saw a number of people ashore. He hailed them and told them he was going to fight the Kutenai. Many men said they would join him. At last the party numbered about 100 men, and they held a war dance. They crossed the lake and portaged their canoes on their heads, taking turns carrying them. Afterwards they cached their canoes and went on foot until they reached Pend d'Oreille Lake. Here they made new canoes and crossed the lake. There were many loons on the lake, and they made a great noise when they saw the canoes. Someone said, "Stop those birds from crying!" One man who was a shaman tried and failed. Then another tried and succeeded. When they arrived at the head of the lake they cached their canoes and proceeded on foot. At last they reached a place on the Kootenay River where there was a large camp of Lower Kutenai. The party counseled as to whether they should attack the camp by daylight or wait until early morning. They decided to wait. At daybreak they rushed the camp and surprised the Kutenai, who were unable to put up a fight and fled. Some jumped into the river and swam away; others hid in the water, holding on to bushes, which concealed them; and some reached their canoes and crossed the river. Many Kutenai were killed; and the Coeur d'Alêne captured all the valuables in camp,

including several guns. In the camp was a buffalo-skin tent, which was thought to be empty, as no one had attempted to escape from it. It was occupied, however, by a sick man who had a gun. A Coeur d'Alêne went to look in, and the Kutenai shot him in the thigh, wounding him badly. The brother who had started the war party then killed the sick man and took possession of his gun.

Wars with the Nez Percé.—The Coeur d'Alêne probably had more wars with the Nez Percé than with any of the Salish tribes, and each invaded the other's territory. These wars, however, were not frequent. Once during a war with the Nez Percé a band of Coeur d'Alêne was camped on Hangmans Creek, at a place about 3 miles west of De Smet, gathering camas. Some Nez Percé had been killed some time before in a fight, and the Nez Percé had declared that they would exterminate the Coeur d'Alêne. As it was war time, the band at Hangmans Creek had partially fortified their camp and were constantly on the alert. A large war party of Nez Percé went there and surrounded them. They assaulted the camp, but were repulsed. The parties fought for two days, many Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne being killed. The headman of the Coeur d'Alêne said to his friends, "The Nez Percé far outnumber us. We can not hold out against their numbers, and probably to-morrow the last of us will be killed. To save ourselves I will try a ruse." He was a strong, athletic man. At midnight he left the camp and ran in the dark swiftly from place to place in front of the Nez Percé lines, giving the war cry "Wa-a-a!" in a loud voice. At the same time the people in the Coeur d'Alêne camp began to shout and to make a great noise. They also called out challenges and insults to the Nez Percé. The chief standing in front of the Nez Percé, but unseen because of the darkness, spoke loudly to them in their own language, saying, "Nez Percé, we do not want to be always bad friends. We will give you a chance to go home; and if you don't go, then at daybreak we shall slaughter you. All the Coeur d'Alêne warriors from St. Joseph's, Coeur d'Alêne City, and other places are now here, and we shall give you battle at daybreak." The Nez Percé held a consultation. They believed that the man had spoken the truth, for there appeared to be great joy and shouting in the Coeur d'Alêne camp. They left that night, and the Coeur d'Alêne escaped.

Wars with the Blackfoot and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.—The Plains tribes had no fixed boundaries. They had their homes in certain places; but they traveled hundreds of miles, looking for buffalo, and changing their headquarters from time to time. The Coeur d'Alêne never visited the real homes of any of these tribes, as they were far to the east; but they often met them when they were buffalo hunting in the intermediate country, and they knew the general direction of what was considered to be

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the country of each tribe. The Flathead knew much more than the Coeur d'Alêne regarding the countries from which these tribes came. As all these eastern tribes were encroaching on the western tribes and on one another, there was almost constant warfare between them and the western Indians, as well as among themselves. On the other hand, the western Indians were allies, and did not fight among themselves. The western part of the plains, stretching from the Flathead main camps to the Yellowstone and easterly for a very long distance, was at one time practically an intertribal hunting and battle ground. No one lived there permanently; but all the tribes hunted and fought in it, and tried to claim hunting rights by force of arms. Nearly all parties who traveled or hunted in this region were perforce large, for small parties were liable to be cut off and exterminated at any time. Long ago most of this western strip of the plains country belonged to Flathead and Shoshoni tribes, who hunted there, usually in small parties. The Blackfoot and Crow invaded the country in large numbers, and for a time drove out the Flathead and Shoshoni. Many of the bands of these tribes who formerly lived east of the mountains were practically wiped out, and others retreated to the west and south. The Shoshoni especially were severely handled, and for many years no Shoshoni were seen on the northwestern plains north of the Yellowstone. The Flathead were also much reduced in numbers during these wars, which had lasted many years. Therefore they made peace with all the western tribes, and invited them to join them as partners in buffalo hunting in their former territory. After this the Coeur d'Alêne and other western Salish tribes began to go in ever-increasing numbers to join the Flathead in hunting and war. Many Kutenai and Nez Percé also went annually. All these tribes made their rendezvous in the Flathead country, and moved from there eastward, northward, and southward for buffalo hunting in three or more large parties, keeping more or less in touch with one another during their travels. Being equal in numbers, and superior in horses and weapons to most parties of the Plains Indians, they had little difficulty in holding their own. These conditions continued until the buffalo became nearly extinct. The Coeur d'Alêne generally went with the Spokan, and both often with the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Sometimes part of them went with the Flathead, and at other times with the Nez Percé. Most fighting occurred with the Blackfoot, who were considered the worst enemies of the Salish tribes, but also with the Crow, and in later days with the Sioux. The Snake, Bannock, and Ute were almost always friendly with the Salish tribes, and were aligned with them against the eastern tribes. Only one short war between the Salish and Shoshoni is remembered. This was with a tribe of Snake inhabiting the Yellowstone country. The final fight in this war was between them and a large force of combined Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, who, after a fierce battle, captured nearly all the horses, baggage, and buffalo meat of the Shoshoni. So much of the buffalo meat was taken that it could not be transported, and most of it was left there. The Snake who escaped were nearly all on foot. After this some other Snake acted as intermediaries, and peace was made. No Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes, or Shoshoni, ever came to the Coeur d'Alêne country. The Blackfoot and Crow knew little about taking horses and transports through mountains. They were used to traveling with travois in a flat country. When their war parties went into the Rocky Mountains in search of Snake or Flathead, they were always afoot, and as a rule met with little success. Once, long ago, a large party of Blackfoot invaded the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead countries. A battle was fought which lasted two days, and the Blackfoot were driven off. A number of men were killed on both sides. About this time or a little later a party of Blackfoot and another Plains tribe, possibly the Gros Ventres, attacked the Pend d'Oreilles and were driven off with considerable loss. Either this fight or another one occurred at *eniyelemen* (now Mission in the Pend d'Oreilles country). At a still later date a large war party of Crow attacked and defeated the Shoshoni, and, following this up, attacked the Flathead, who, however, routed them and drove them south. Once, at a time when the Salish tribes had many horses but very few guns, and the Blackfoot a good many guns but not many horses, a large party of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, with a few Sanpoil and Columbia, were traveling in a flat country along a large river, possibly the Yellowstone, on their way to hunt buffalo. At the same time a war party of 32 Blackfoot were returning from an unsuccessful raid against the Crow or Shoshoni. They camped on a hill not far from the river, and were tired, for all were on foot. That night one of the party dreamed, and woke up the others before daybreak. He told them, "You must not go down to the river. I dreamed that down there the ground was red with blood, and it was your blood. I saw the sunrise that will come in a short time, and it was very red. In its glow I saw many people, and then I saw your blood on the river." They laughed at him, and all of them went down to the river except the man who had dreamed and his brother. They went farther up the hill, and sat down to watch. It was just daybreak when the 30 left and went to the river at a place where a creek came in. There was a flat near the stream strewn with bowlders and bearing a little timber. The plateau ended in a bluff above this place, and the Flathead and others were in the habit of driving buffalo over this bluff whenever they had the opportunity. The Blackfoot party had just reached the river when the two men on the hill saw many people

173 728 approaching on horseback. This was the Salish party, and they soon noticed the Blackfoot in the hole and surrounded them. The Blackfoot threw up a breastwork of rocks and trees, and a battle ensued. The Salish shot bullets and arrows at the Blackfoot until there was no further response. Then they rushed to the breastwork, and found that the Blackfoot were all *hors de combat*. They drew out all the bodies one after the other, and examined their wounds. One very large man was shot only on the tip of the shoulder, and still he appeared to be dead. They watched him; and when he showed signs of reviving, they killed him with a knife. Some wounded men had crawled under the rocks and into underground passages which had been made there at a former time, probably for concealment. These places were searched and the bodies pulled out. One wounded man almost escaped. A Flathead searcher pursued him, and killed him after a hand-to-hand struggle. They counted 30 bodies. After scalping them and taking all their best clothes and weapons, they left the bodies lying where they were. Among the weapons was a number of guns (perhaps 10 or more), which were considered a great prize at that time. The bones of these Blackfoot remained at this spot for several years afterwards, scattered among the rocks by wolves, and mixed with old buffalo bones. The two Blackfoot brothers who had been watching made good their escape during the fight, unobserved by the Salish, and reached their own country.

Wars with the whites.—The Coeur d'Alêne were on the whole always friendly to the whites. They never made any aggressions against the fur traders and first white settlers. During the Cayuse wars (1845–1850) and the Yakima wars (1855–56) they were neutral. Owing to some dissatisfaction over the treaty made with Governor Stevens, which they claimed the whites had not kept, and probably for some other causes, the Coeur d'Alêne joined the Spokan in the war of the latter (1858). In this war it seems they never attacked any of the traders and settlers, but only the soldiers who invaded their country. In May, 1858, a large force of Coeur d'Alêne, led by their head chief, Saltis, participated with the Spokan and a few Colville and other Salish, in the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's command of 200 dragoons and 30 Nez Percé scouts near Steptoe Butte. It seems that there were no Yakima and Paloos in this battle, as claimed by some authorities. The Indians pursued the remnants of the column to the Snake River. In September of the same year the Coeur d'Alêne were also engaged in two attacks on Colonel Wright's force of about 1,000 men; and they took part in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains, in which the Indians were defeated. In the latter engagement they fought all day, and a few days afterwards again engaged Colonel Wright on his way to Coeur d'Alêne Mission. When the soldiers reached there the Coeur d'Alêne submitted and

their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve. 173 728

Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hinwa'xᴇne* (full name *Hinwaxᴇniw'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Cililtcsq'wa'ilx*^{w} [f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxᴇne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxᴇne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret,*[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Cililtcsq'wa'ilx*^{w}, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxᴇne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Cililtcsq'wa'ilx*^{w}" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxᴇne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxᴇne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Cililtcsq'wa'ilx*^{w} was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxᴇne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Cililtcsq'wa'ilx*^{w} as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

173 628 turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *Cilíltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxᴇne'* and lived with him. As all the males of *Cilíltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxᴇne'* and his helpers.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 Dice and Guessing Games.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.[219] The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.[220] Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks[221] was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

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[219] a, p. 272, and fig. 256.

[220] See Thompson, a, p. 276, and fig. 264.

[221] a, pp. 272, 273.

The hand game of *lehal* was very common and was played in the same way as among the Thompson,[222] but 22 sticks were used as counters instead of 10 and 12, as among most other tribes. Knuckle covers [223] were used by many in playing the game. They were made of otter, weasel, coyote, and other skins, and were fringed. Singing always accompanied the game, and time was beaten with short sticks on a log or board placed in front of the players.

Hoop or Ring Games.—A number of hoop or ring games were played. A favorite game was the ring and pole game of the Thompson [224] and other tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne the logs for stopping the ring from rolling too far were from 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter and generally placed about 5 meters apart. There were many different ways of playing, such as standing with the toe to a mark or not moving forward when throwing the lance or stick, erect, and taking one step forward when throwing, erect and two steps forward, sitting, kneeling, kneeling and one hand on the ground, and so on. The lance or stick was thrown so as to stop the ring and make it fall over on the stick. Points were counted according to the beads that rested against the stick. All rings had two blue beads, which counted the greatest number of points. The other beads were of various colors. In early times bone beads were used, also colored quills, or, instead, wrappings at the various spaces on the ring. The sizes of rings and throwing sticks were about the same as among the Thompson. Besides different methods of throwing, there were several ways of counting and all had names. Each bead and combination of beads and the positions of the ring on the stick had names, as well as almost every inch of the throwing stick. No other game had nearly as rich a nomenclature as this game. In most ways of playing, besides counting the beads and their positions against the stick, the part of the stick the beads rested against was also counted. Thus most sticks had divisions marked on them with rings and wrappings. People bet and gambled much in this game, and there were often disagreements and quarrels. Elderly men known to be honest and disinterested were appealed to or asked to act as referees or arbitrators to settle all disputes in the game. These referees used slender sticks or pointers, with which they righted ring and stick, thus ascertaining accurately the positions of the beads. Their decision was final.

Another ring and stick game was common. The ring was usually about 30 centimeters in diameter, or slightly more, made of a stick bent into a circle, the ends joined, or, more generally, two sticks bent and joined. A web of thong or bark twine filled up the inside of the ring like a net, leaving a circular hole in the center about 3 cm. in diameter. (Fig. 13.) The Indians claim that the weaving of the hoop was generally done as sketched. It seems that some hoops varied in the number of meshes and therefore in the size of mesh. Two persons rolled the ring back and forth to each other while two others, one on each side, took turns at throwing the stick or spear at the hoop. The persons throwing generally stood. As a rule, two played against two and turns were taken at rolling and spearing the hoop. The object was to throw the spear through the central hole. This won the game. Points were also counted according to the mesh that was hit—the nearer to the center, the higher the points. These meshes had different names. If a person hit the same mesh twice in succession he had to withdraw from the game or allow himself to be prodded in the backside by the other players with their sticks. (This was also a forfeit or punishment in ring games of the Thompson.) The stick or spear used in this game was more than a meter long, sharp-pointed, and made of a slip of a young tree with from three to seven stubs of branches left on the upper part to prevent it going entirely through the meshes.

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[222] *a*, pp. 275, 276.

[223] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 263; also Peabody Mus., No. 367.

[224] *a*, p. 274, fig. 260.

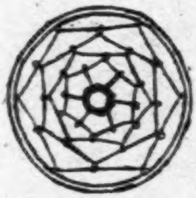
FIGURE 13.—Netted hoop

A game with feathered lances or sticks, like large arrows, was also common. These were about a meter in length and like war lances for throwing; only they had no attached heads, the points being simply sharpened. I did not obtain any particulars of this game, but it seems that the lances were hurled at targets and marks of different kinds.

A ring-and-dart game like that played by the Thompson [225] was much played by boys. The ring was about 15 cm. in diameter and made of tule or strips of bark wound around a core. The darts were feathered and like those of the Thompson. Both this game and the preceding one have been out of use for a long time.

ARROW GAMES.—A number of arrow games were played. In some of these rings and disks were used. One kind of disk was about 8 inches in diameter, made of a coiled stick wrapped with bark. It was round in section, and thick. It was set going and arrows were shot at it from the side as it passed, the object being to hit the disk as it rolled.

Another similar game was played with a ring or rolling target made of two sticks woven together side by side with bark. In this case the ring was wide in section and was shot at from behind as it sped away.

Another arrow game was to shoot at a target consisting of a circle marked on the face of a hard sandy bluff. Sometimes the target consisted of several rings marked one inside the other.

Yet another arrow game was like ninepins, only the pins were shot at. The pins or targets were made of grass wrapped tightly with twine. They were from 25 to 30 cm. in length and about 10 cm. in diameter. These grass targets were set up one or more at each end of the shooting ground. Sometimes rows of them were used.

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[225] a, pp. 274, 275, fig. 261; also Peabody Mus., Nos. 363, 364.

Another arrow game was to shoot an arrow into a sandy mound or bank and use it as a target, the object being to hit the nock of the arrowshaft.

A boy's arrow game in which blunt arrows were used was mentioned as having been at one time in vogue, but it has been out of use for a very long time and I obtained no details regarding it.

Ball Games.—A number of ball games were played. The most common one was played with bats having crooked ends and was the same as the ball game played by the Thompson [226] and other tribes. The bats were very much like hockey sticks.[227] In some forms of the game, netting was used on the sticks [228] and the ball was caught in this and thrown forward. It seems that the netted sticks were used chiefly in winter, when there was snow on the ground and the ball hard to advance without lifting and throwing. According to the rules of the game, the ball must not be touched with the hands, but it might be kicked as well as hit with the bat. Some players used guard sticks [229] in this game. Balls were made of deer's hair sewed tightly in leather. No wooden balls were used.

It is uncertain whether the ball game played like baseball, as described for the Thompson,[230] was in vogue very long ago, but a form of this game was played at one time. Another ball game was like one very common among the Lower Thompson.[231] The ball was thrown up and all tried to catch it. The one who caught it ran and the others tried to catch him before he reached the goal. When caught or slapped with the hand, he had to throw the ball up. Women often participated in these games. Some of both sexes played on each side when there were sides. Occasionally one sex played against the other. Usually men played together in one place and women in another; or the same playground was used by both sexes in turn. Ball games were played by the tribe until lately. Nowadays the young men of the reservation have a good baseball team, and play against white teams from neighboring towns in Idaho and Washington.

There are some indications that a ball-and-hoop game similar to that played by Thompson children [232] was at one time in vogue, but I did not ascertain this with certainty.

A ball game was played on smooth ice. A small ball was rolled at a mark. If it missed the mark, the game was lost. Sometimes a ring instead of a ball was rolled at a mark.

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[226] *a*, pp. 277, 278, figs. 265, 267, 268.

[227] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *a*.

[228] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *b*.

[229] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 268.

[230] *a*, p. 277, figs. 265, 266.

[231] *a*, p. 278.

[232] *a*, p. 279, fig. 269.

524 The ball-and-pin game was common, and was the same as among the Thompson.[233] The pin consisted of a sharpened stick or bone, and the ball of grass, tule, or bark. In the early summer balls for this game were often made of the growing heads of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) before the flowers came out. It is said that some of the ball and other games that were in vogue long ago have now been forgotten, and even the names of some games are no longer remembered.

526 Sports.—Many kinds of athletic games and sports were at one time practiced. Favorite winter sports, engaged in by old and young of both sexes, were coasting and sliding. Coasting slides were made on open parts of hillsides, and the toboggans consisted of pieces of rawhide and bark, which were bent up in front. Sliding was practiced on good smooth ice, after a light fall of dry snow, and was much enjoyed.

Tugging or pulling games were common. In one of these, hooks made of eagle bones were used, two men pulling against each other until one bone broke. Pulling with the middle fingers and pulling on a rope was practiced. Sometimes teams of men took part in rope pulling.

Wrestling contests were common among men, and women also wrestled occasionally. A wrestling match between women often furnished great amusement to the spectators.

All the Indians could swim. The arms were worked dog fashion, and they struck out with the right foot. Sometimes there were swimming races. Nearly all the men could dive, and some men could dive right across St. Joe River.

Foot racing and canoe racing, and in later days horse racing, were common. Jumping for distance and height were both practiced, and also the standing jump, running jump, and vaulting.

A catching game was in vogue, called "making slaves." Two goals were marked at opposite ends of the playground with stones, poles, pegs, or scratches in the earth. On the clapping of hands by a "chief," who sometimes stood in the middle, the game commenced. The object was to touch the hands of any person of the opposite side, and then return and reach one's own goal without being caught by him. The person caught was considered and called a "slave" or "captive of war," and was conducted over to the enemy lines by the person who caught him. The game continued thus until one side was out. Women often participated in this game.

A kicking game[234] was in vogue among men, especially at gatherings where there were many young men. There were contests in this game between men of different villages and of different bands.

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[233] Peabody Museum, Nos. 362, 403.

[234] This game was also common among the Thompson.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitclū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 177
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers,
bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat 201
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not

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173 remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used
177 by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and
by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a
201 large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It
varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme
boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to
be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has
been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth
century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains.
It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was
at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a
little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there
were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably
from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the
most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used
by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne
claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were
modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted
by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day
by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the
Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez
Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains
probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign
language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur
d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with
people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the
Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the
upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River
and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took
much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present
[191] day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook
jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old
plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and
Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the
signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and
lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts
of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I
wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur
d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes.
Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading
and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

SIGNS

201 1. *Bear.*—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

2. *Deer* (in general).—Index finger held in front of body, pointing outward, and wandering motions made with it from side to side. (Imitative of the movements or manner of deer traveling about.)[335]

3. *Buck deer*.—Four fingers of each hand held near sides of head, fingers slightly apart and pointing upward, hands moved forward and backward, at the same time describing curves. Sometimes the whole head and shoulders are moved uniformly with the hands. (Imitates antlers and movements of a buck.)[336]

4. *Young buck*.—The same sign as the Thompson sometimes make for "doe," but the two fingers on each side moved around as in the "buck" sign.[337]

5. *Doe*.—The sign for "woman" (No. 15) and then the sign for "deer" (in general) (No. 2).

6. *Raven* (or *Crow*?).—Hands held out in front of sides and pointing slightly sidewise; fingers extending slightly downward or drooping, and both hands moved up and down from the wrists at the same time. (Imitates flapping of wings as made by ravens.)[338]

7. *Eagle*.—Almost the same sign as the preceding, but the hands flopped farther from the body and a little more motion put into the arms; one hand is then pushed downward with a sweep. (Imitates the flying and swooping of an eagle.)[339]

8. *Snake*.—A wriggling zigzag motion made with the hand or forefinger pointing downward and outward. (Imitates the movements of a snake crawling.)[340]

9. *Salmon* (or *Fish*).—Hand held rather stiffly in front of body, edge up, and fingers close together, then moved forward in short rapid zigzags with a movement chiefly from the wrist. (Imitates the movements of a fish, especially swimming upstream.)[341]

10. *Lake trout*.—The same sign as the preceding, then the right index finger pointed to the tip of the left elbow, and shaken or made to describe a small circle. (The last part of the sign seems to refer to the spots on lake trout. Sometimes the circle is made against something of a yellowish or grayish color.) See "color" sign.

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[335] This sign is often used by the Thompson for "unalarmed deer or similar game traveling around feeding."

[336] This sign is also used by the Thompson for "buck deer."

[337] Also used by the Thompson for "young buck," especially for a 2-year-old buck.

[338] This sign is used by the Thompson, who differentiate between raven and crow. The sign is made more slowly if a raven is meant, and generally an imitation of the raven croak (krô) accompanies it; for a crow the movements are faster and the crow cry (kă, kă) is generally given.

[339] The Thompson sign for "eagle" is only a little different from this.

[340] The same sign is used by the Thompson.

[341] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 568, No. 103.

11. *Man.*—Index finger held almost horizontally in front of chest and pointing outward.[242]

12. *Old man.*—Hands clutched and drawn downward close in front of face, and then the sign for "man" made. (The first part of the sign is imitative of the drawing down of the face and wrinkles of old people.)

13. *Man on horseback* (or *riding*).—Left hand held out in front edgewise, fingers close together; sign of "man" made with the right, then the first and second fingers of the latter parted and straddled over the upper edge of the left-hand fingers. (Imitative of riding.)[243]

14. *Chief.*—Right index finger pointed upward directly in front of the brow. (Probably has some connection with "high" or "prominent.")

15. *Woman.*—Hands raised to near top of head, palms backward and fingers toward thumbs, then parted and drawn over or in front of ears with a sweeping motion downward to fronts of shoulders and outward. (Imitates parting of the hair or hairdress of women.)

16. *Wife.*—The same sign as the preceding, then the right fist lowered with a slight jerk at the right side. (Imitates sitting down at your side; *viz*, the one who sits by you.)

17. *Robe.*—Hands closed and passed by each other close to and in front of breast. (Imitates putting on of a robe or blanket.)[244]

18. *Spoon.*—First and second fingers of right hand, backs down, and points inclining upward to the left, then moved in motion as if scooping up something. (Imitates the hollow of a spoon and dipping.)[245]

19. *Knife.*—The right hand held edgewise and moved across the top of the left backward and forward (imitating cutting).[246]

20. *Gun.*—Right arm placed across the breast, with the index finger pointing out past the left arm a little above the elbow or at the elbow. (Imitates a common Indian method of carrying a gun in front of the body, with the muzzle sticking out to the left.)

21. *Shooting a gun.*—This sign is not clear, but I understood it to mean "shooting a gun." Right arm and finger the same as in preceding sign, but higher up, near the left shoulder; one or both eyes closed, then the right hand pushed downward quickly a short distance (probably in imitation of closing the eye when taking aim, and the sudden discharge or recoil of the gun).[247]

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[242] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 7.

[243] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 8.

[244] The same sign is used by the Thompson for "robe" or "putting on a robe."

[245] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, Nos. 10, 11.

[246] Used by the Thompson as a sign of "cutting up or slicing something," also nearly like a Thompson sign for "knife."

[247] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 56.

22. *Bow and arrow.*—Same sign as Thompson, No. 55.[248]

23. *Tipi or lodge.*—The two index fingers placed across each other at the first joint, with tips raised more or less upward.[249]

24. *Rain.*—Hands held a little above the head, bent and limp from the wrists, all the fingers toward each other and drooping; hands then moved or shaken up and down. (Imitates frequent dripping.)[250]

25. *Snow.*—The same sign as the preceding, then a small circle made with the index finger (toward something white, if there is a white object handy).

26. *Sun.*—Thumb and forefinger spread and extended upward to the right above the level of the head, and then stopped suddenly. (Probably imitates the course or high position of the sun in the heavens.)

27. *Moon.*—The same sign as for "sun" is made, and then the hands brought over each other in front of the body, a little distance apart and palms down. (May possibly contain the idea of "small" [or "narrow"], or covered sun.)

28. *Star.*—Lips half opened, and sign of "sun" made forward and then upward with a swinging motion. (May be imitative of distribution or scattering. Some Indians say it means literally almost the same as saying "sun thrown away.")

29. *East.*—Index finger pointed to the east, point curved upward, and a half circle described upward toward the body. (Seems to imitate rising or coming out in the east.) [251]

30. *Sunrise.*—The sign of the "sun," and then that of the "east"; or the sign of "east" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (See "Sun." Imitates the rising of the sun.) [252]

31. *West.*—Index finger with point curved downward, pushed from the body downward toward the west. (Imitates setting or going down in the west.) [253]

32. *Sunset.*—Sign of the "sun," and then that of "west"; or the sign of the "west" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (Imitates setting of the sun.) [253]

33. *Noon.*—Sign of "sunrise" made. When the motion toward the body reaches near the right ear, the finger is straightened and pointed sharply and directly upward. (Imitates the high position of the sun at noon or overhead.) [254]

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[248] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285.

[249] Used by the Thompson for "tipi" or "conical lodge."

[250] Also used by Thompson Indians.

[251] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13; p. 286, No. 75.

[252] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13.

[253] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 14.

[254] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 12.

34. *Cross trails.*—Forefinger of each hand brought out from sides and crossed over each other out in front of the body. (Imitates coming together and crossing.)[235]

35. *Lake.*—Circle described with both hands in front. (Imitates "roundness" or more probably "surrounded" [by earth].)[236]

36. *Bushes.*—Hands brought together facing each other, a little distance apart, with fingers extending upward; then hands moved up and down a little.[237]

37. *Thick brush.*—The same as the preceding, but the hands very close to each other. (Imitates thick growth or things standing thickly together. The movement of the hands seems to indicate that the things are not in one place, or in two rows.)[238]

38. *Cold.*—Clenched hands held more or less closely together in front of body, then arms and hands made to tremble or shake. (Imitates drawn-up feeling and shivering.)[239]

39. *Hot.*—There are several methods of expressing "hot" or "heat" of different kinds, viz: (*a*) Sign made for "no," and then that for "cold"; (*b*) sign made for "good," and then sign for "sun"; (*c*) breath blown slightly as if panting; (*d*) the breath blown slightly as if panting, and then the sign of "sun" made (this is if the sun is very hot, or a person is hot from the heat of the sun).

40. *Tobacco.*—Left hand held palm up in front of the body, hand lax, and palm slightly hollowed; right index finger placed across it, then the index finger and thumb brought together, and small circular motions made with them in the hollow of the palm. (Imitates crushing or mixing in the hand of tobacco preparatory to putting it in the pipe.)[240]

41. *Cigarette.*—Both hands held close together horizontally, points of fingers of each hand almost touching; then fingers of both hands describe motions over the thumbs toward the body. (Imitates rolling of the tobacco in paper.)

42. *Smoking.*—Hand held in front, fingers closed excepting forefinger, which is arched upward with the back outward; the finger is then brought to the mouth and back again several times. (Imitates pipe and puffing smoke.)[241]

43. *Small.*—Right thumb placed underneath the point of the index finger, a little back from the end (sometimes both curved slightly toward each other); hand held out in front of the breast or

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[235] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 74.

[236] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 6.

[237] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 4.

[238] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 5.

[239] See Thompson, *a*, p. 287, No. 84.

[240] A Thompson sign for "tobacco" is very similar to this one.

[241] A Thompson sign for "pipe" is the same as this one. The sign for "smoking" is different.

face; sometimes also a small or short breath was blown, or the mouth was puckered. (Imitates something "tiny.")[382]

44. *Big.*—Hands held close to each other, palms facing, and fingers bent almost to touching; then the hands suddenly drawn asunder, describing half circles toward the sides of the body. (Seems to imitate something held which expands[383] and can no longer be held.)

45. *Very big.*—The same sign as the preceding, but the circles or sweeps of the hands are more extended.[384]

46. *Color.*—Pointing to something of the desired color, and then making a small circle opposite it with the forefinger.

47. *Bad.*—Hand makes waves in front of the head, is then pushed outward and afterwards downward with fingers extended. (Possibly implies "pushing aside or away from one.")

48. *Good.*—Right hand pushed past front of mouth or lower part of face in a sweep or wave. Sometimes the sweep is made slightly inward toward the body. (Possibly implies "retainment," the opposite of 47.)

49. *No good* or *very bad.*—A wave of the hand inward toward the breast, then outward and downward, as in the sign for "bad." Sometimes the fingers make a slight snappy noise as they move out and down. (Probably implies "pushing away" and "disgust.")

50. *Good looking.*—Right hand drawn over the face to the chin (without touching), and then swept outward, palm down. (Implies "good face.")

51. *Glad.*—Hand drawn up in wriggling motion from opposite the abdomen to the breast, and then outward. (Suggests a feeling of satisfaction or good feeling rising up to the heart or breast.)[385]

52. *Dumb.*—Hands placed flat on the mouth, and then on the ears. (Probably implies "closed in" or "shut" mouth and ears.)[386]

53. *Deaf.*—Hands placed flat on the ears.[387] (Probably implies "closed.")

54. *Dead.*—Right hand passed downward on left side between the body and left arm, the forefinger pointing to the ground. (Seems to have some connection with going down to the ground.)

55. *The chief is dead* or *dead chief.*—The same sign as the preceding, and then the sign for "chief."

56. *I* or *Me.*—Forefinger put on nose. The breast struck with the forefinger is also used.[388]

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[382] A Thompson sign for something very small or a very small quantity was made like this one. The mouth was puckered. See also *a*, p. 287, No. 81.

[383] Also used by the Thompson.

[384] Also used by the Thompson.

[385] Also used by the Thompson.

[386] Used by the Thompson for "dumb" or "deaf and dumb" (can neither speak nor hear).

[387] Also used by the Thompson.

[388] See Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 33.

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201 57. *Thou.*—The right arm and forefinger extended and pointed toward a person's breast.[269]

58. *Ye.*—Right hand pushed out in front of left side, then drawn across in front and downward to the right. Often the left hand is touched or tapped lightly by the right before making this sign.

59. *All.*—Right hand held in front of breast, palm downward, moved around horizontally.[270]

60. *Ye all.*—Same as "Ye" (No. 58); but the hand continues in a wide sweep to the right in horizontal plane, palm down.

61. *Yes.*—Hand with forefinger extended carried across the body to the left, and then struck a little downward.

62. *No.*—Hand drawn up and pushed out to right, back outward, and fingers thrown downward; or the hand extended a little in front of body, and then carried with a sweep to the right and downward. (Seems to be connected with the idea of pushing something aside.)

63. *Good-looking woman.*—Sign of "woman," and then sign of "good-looking."

64. *Good-looking wife.*—Sign of "woman," then sign of "good-looking" and then sign of "wife."

65. *(I) think woman not good-looking.*—Sign of "woman," then of "good-looking," then of "thinking," and then of "no good" (No. 49) or "no."

66. *To think* (or *like*?).—Fists held one above the other in front of the breast.

67. *Thou art no good.*—Sign of "no good," and then finger pointed to the person.

68. *Good man.*—Hand brought to breast, and then pushed outward with fingers upward. Also the sign of "man" made, and then that of "good."

69. *Know* or *I know.*—Thumb and forefinger raised to near throat and then thrown outward. (Seems to imply holding or gripping something.)

70. *Don't know.*—Hand held in front, back inclining downward, fingers spreading, then hand shaken from side to side. (Seems to imply shaking off something.)

71. *Don't hear or understand.*—Forefinger held opposite right ear and shaken, hen hand thrown outward to right side and downward.[271]

72. *Untrue* or *tells a lie.*—First and second fingers forked or spread, then pushed past front of mouth; then fingers snapped slightly, and hand pushed outward and downward. (The first part of the sign seems to imply talk which is "double" or not direct.)

73. *Drinking* or *to drink.*—Points of bent forefinger and thumb placed touching or almost touching, the two forming a circle, then

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[269] Also used by the Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 35.

[270] Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 38.

[271] Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 53.

201

drawn to the mouth. Often at the same time a motion of swallowing is made with the throat or mouth.[272]

74. *Whisky.*—Sign of "drinking" made first, and then the sign of "bad" made, or of "crazy."

75. *Jumping.*—The hand pushed out in front upward and then downward, forming a curve, palm down.[273]

76. *Running.*—Like the "bear" sign, but the elbows held well back and moved alternately, as a person does when running.

77. *Falling* or *fall down* (also *capsize*).—The hands placed close together, then carried to the right side and downward; at the same time the hands are turned over.[274] (Seems to imitate something turned over or capsized.)

78. *To fall from a horse.*—Sign of "man on horseback" or "riding," then right hand thrown down to the right side.

79. *Stop.*—Hand held in front, palm forward, and forefinger bent out, then pushed gently outward and downward a couple of times.[275] (Seems to imitate pushing back something.

80. *Look.*—Fingers of both hands brought up to level of the eyes, then the index fingers extended outward in front.[276]

81. *Thou look.*—Sign of "look," and then both index fingers pointed to the person.

82. *Come.*—Hand extended some distance in front of the body, index finger extended slightly and bent; then the hand swept inward toward the body. (Seems to be imitative of hooking or bringing something toward one.)[277]

83. *Don't come.*—Same sign as "come," and then hand thrown off to the right side. Otherwise the sign of "come" made, and then the sign of "no."

84. *Walking.*—Hands and arms swing alternately outward and inward in front of sides several times.

85. *Meeting.*—Two index fingers brought together in front on a horizontal plane until the points touch.[278]

86. *Two meet.*—The spread first and second fingers of right hand held in front of head, points up, and then the two fingers brought together.

87. *Where from*, or *where have you come from?*—Right hand extended and shaken in wavering motions in front of the body or toward the individual.

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[272] This is like the sign for "drinking" of the Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 11.

[273] Like the Thompson sign for "man jumping."

[274] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, Nos. 65, 66.

[275] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 42.

[276] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 49.

[277] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 75; Shuswap, *a*, p. 567, No. 88.

[278] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 296, No. 71.

201 88. *Came from*, or *I came from* (*certain place* or *country*).—Finger pointed in the direction of place or country where the person came from. When hand in proper direction, finger pointed downward with a slight jerk; then the hand drawn back to the front of the body, and finger pointed down near feet. The raising and stretching of the arm much or little defined to some extent whether the place was distant or near; but, as several places and tribes were often located in the same general direction, the name of the place or tribe was often said, or the sign for the tribe given. When considered necessary, places were also differentiated by defining in signs the nature of the place, whether by a lake or a river, a falls, or in mountains, valley or plains.

89. *White man*, or *whites*.—Right hand raised to left side of brow, inclining slightly inward, palm down, fingers close together and somewhat extended; hand drawn across horizontally to right side of brow, as if making a cut. (The origin of the sign is unknown, but it is thought by the Indians to imitate the wearing of hats by the whites.)

90. *Think the whites are good*.—Same sign as preceding, then sign of "thinking," and then sign of "good."

91. *Think whites are no good*.—The same sign as preceding, only the "no good" sign made instead of sign for "good."

92. *Don't like whites*.—Sign for "whites," then sign of "think," then sign of "no." (The same sign seems to be used for "think" and "like," at least in some cases.)

TRIBAL NAMES IN THE SIGN LANGUAGE

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201 93. *Coeur d'Alêne*.—The sign of "bow and arrow" and shooting horizontally. Sometimes the sign of direction of the Coeur d'Alêne country was also added. Sometimes the left hand, in making the sign for "bow," was held edge up, with the thumb pointing down, and fingers all close together, the arm held horizontally and arched. The arm was also sometimes moved from left to right. The meaning of the sign is "flat bow" (or "the people who use flat bows, shooting them horizontally"). Some of the Plains tribes used the simple signs of "bow and arrow" and "west" or "sunset" for the Coeur d'Alêne, meaning "Bow and arrow people of the west." This name is supposed to have been given them because at a time when all the other buffalo-hunting tribes had at least some guns the Co[illegible] d'Alêne were still using bows and arrows. The terms "Flat bow" or "Wide bow" were applied to the Coeur d'Alêne in the sign language because of the universal use of flat bows by them, and because, of all tribes, they used the widest bows. The terms "Awl-heart," "Pointed-heart," etc., were not used by any Indians for the Coeur

d'Alêne in the sign language. Some of the traders, however, may have used signs with these meanings. 101 201

94. *Flathead* or *Salish proper.*—Right hand placed on the right side of the head slightly back of the temples, with fingers extending upward to top of head. Sometimes the hand was merely touched to the side of the head. Supposed to mean "pressed the side of the head" (hence "Flathead"), but the origin and true meaning of the sign are unknown.

95. *Pend d'Oreilles.*—With both hands sign of paddling, first on one side of the body and then on the other. This means "Paddlers" or "Canoe people." Sometimes the sign of "lake" (with reference to Flathead Lake) was added to the sign of "paddling," because at one time a large number of the tribe lived near Flathead Lake; i. e., "Lake paddlers" or "Canoe people of the Lake." The Pend d'Oreilles were called "Paddlers" or "Canoe people" because they used bark canoes, while the Flathead did not, and because they were the most eastern people of the region who used canoes. The terms "Ear drops," "Ear pendants," were never used for the Pend d'Oreilles by any Indians in the sign language.

96. *Kalispel.*—This tribe was called "Paddlers" or "Canoe men," just like the Pend d'Oreilles. When it was desired to differentiate them from the latter the sign of "river" was added; viz, "River paddlers" or "Canoe men of the river." They were so named because of their habitat on Pend d'Oreille River and because they were canoe people like the Pend d'Oreilles and used the same kind of bark canoes.

97. *Spokan.*—First the sign of "salmon" or "fish" was made, then the fingers were raised to the mouth and a motion of swallowing made. The sign means "Salmon eaters," or "People who eat salmon." The Spokan were so named because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group having salmon in their country, and they were the most eastern tribe of the region using salmon extensively as food.

98. *Colville* or *Chaudière.*—Sign of direction of location of country was made, then the sign of "falls" by pushing the hand down, fingers perpendicular, then the signs of "fish" or "salmon" and "catching" up with the hands. Sometimes the sign of "river" was made first of all. The meaning is "Salmon fishers at falls." The term has reference to Kettle Falls, the main salmon place of the Colville, and to the fact that the Colville caught more salmon than any other tribe of the region. The term "Kettle Indians" was not used for the Colville in the sign language by any of the Indians.

99. *Lake* or *Senijextee.*—The sign for "Lake trout" was made, or the sign for "fish," and then of "a spot of yellow." The meaning is "Lake-trout people," so named because it is said that comparatively

101 few good salmon reached their country, and the tribes depended for
201 food on lake trout, which were abundant.

100. *Sanpoil, Okanagon.*—My informant was not quite sure of the signs for these tribes.

101. *Similkameen.*—The sign of "eagle" was made for this people; "Eagle people." Said to be so named because eagles were formerly very plentiful in the Similkameen country, and eagle-tail feathers were formerly exported from there.

102. *Thompson* or *Couteau.*—My informant thought the sign of "snow" was formerly made by some people for the Thompson; "Snow people." Why so named is quite unknown. It may be derived through folk etymology from the name of the tribe. They were also sometimes called "People of the big river to the northwest." The sign for "knife" was also made for them; "knife people," but this term was used chiefly by the fur traders. The river to the northwest is either the Thompson or Fraser River.

103. *Shuswap.*—My informant was not sure of the sign for the Shuswap, but a term sometimes used meant "People who live (or go down) in the valley on the other side of the high country to the north."

104. *Lillooet.*—My informant was not familiar with any sign for this tribe, but thought the sign for "ax" was probably applied to them because the Okanagon group of tribes call them "ax people."

105. *Wenatchi.*—Fists brought together in front of breast, thumbs adjoining, then each turned upward and backward as if breaking something. Said to mean "bent or nearly broken" or "bent or broken in the middle," but with reference to what is uncertain. The sign may be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

106. *Columbia, Moses Columbia,* or *Columbia Cayuse.*—Hands placed together, points of fingers and wrists almost touching; then right hand pushed hard along middle of left, as if pushing something through. Said to mean "wedged" or "pressed in," or "wedged or divided in the middle," but with reference to what is unknown. The sign may possibly be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

107. *Yakima, Klickitat.*—Both hands held over temples, fingers meeting at top of head. Often the hands are pressed down on the head. Means "pressed or flattened heads." Said to be so named because the Yakima formerly pressed the heads of all infants; and they were the nearest tribe to the Coeur d'Alêne having this custom.

108. *Paloos.*—The common sign for the Paloos was the same as for Yakima, but with the sign of "location" or "direction" added. There was another sign for the Paloos which my informant had forgotten.

109. *Nez Percé.*—Forefinger of right hand pointed across the nostrils or point of the nose. Sometimes the forefinger was simply held for a moment horizontally across in front of the nose. The meanings of the signs are "Pierced noses." They were so named because long ago nearly all the Nez Percé had their noses pierced, and they wore nose-pins of shell and bone to a greater extent than any other tribe.

110. *Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse.*—My informant said he did not know any signs for these tribes. Usually they were called by the same sign as the Nez Percé, with signs of location added to differentiate them.

111. *Chinook, Wasco.*—My informant said there was an old sign name for the Chinook and Wasco, both being called by the one name, but he had forgotten it.

112. *Coast Indians.*—First the sign for "water" or "drinking" was made; then a wry face was made, as if something bitter had been tasted. Sometimes the sign for "sunset" was added, or for "west beyond the mountains." The meaning is "bitter-water people."

113. *Shoshoni.*—The sign for "snake" (viz, "Snake people") was made for all the Shoshoni. Different tribes were differentiated by signs of location. The origin of the term is unknown. The Flathead are said to have used different signs for certain tribes of Shoshoni besides the general one of "snake."

114. *Kutenai.*—The sign of "robe," and then that for "deer," was made for the Kutenai, meaning "deer robes." They are said to have been so named because they used deer robes extensively in early times. There was a special or additional name occasionally used for the Lower Kutenai, but my informant was uncertain of what it was. The fur traders sometimes used the term "Flat bow" for the Lower Kutenai.

115. *Cree.*—Hand pushed down over nose, or the finger points drawn down over the nose, as if scratching it. Sometimes the two signs were combined. Said to mean "bloody noses" and "striped or scratched noses." The origin of the sign name is obscure. Some Coeur d'Alêne suggested that the name may have arisen from some of them painting their noses red or in stripes.

116. *Gros Ventres or Atsina.*—Two signs were used for this tribe. In one, the two forefingers were crossed near the outer joints, with points extending upward. This means "tent" or "tent poles." This is the oldest sign name for the tribe; but why they were so designated is unknown. Some think it was because they had inferior tents long ago. The other sign was made by bringing the hands together in front of the breast, palms inward, and points of all the fingers touching. The hands were then pushed forward and downward without being parted, making a curve in front of the belly.

101 201 This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot.*—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood.*—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan.*—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho.*—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne.*—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow.*—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow.*—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue men"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux.*—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cut-throats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

COUNTING, GREETING, SIGNALS

201 802 125. *Counting.*—In counting, the Coeur d'Alêne begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two 201
shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 502

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right 201
hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as 576
most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and 202
other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to 204
other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[279] a, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. 201
The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when 576
they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson 861
hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

262 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters
224 themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons
were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower
accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a
signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long
as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line
stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person
saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not
shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to
look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and
owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur
d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained
among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class
with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not
611 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands
621 in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a
band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several
small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger
than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band.
Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division
consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined,
and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by
natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance,
the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally con-
stitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories
were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous
166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser
594 number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of
people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time.
621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might
temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore
had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed
as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the
band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in
the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the
territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some
people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or
three different bands, because they were descended from people of
all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's
village, or again at the mother's or wife's: People having close rela-

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[281] a, pp. 289-302.

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes 166
with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in 594
another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered
with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit 621
that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the
horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, 177
and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although 221
parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

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177 more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life.
221 Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe,
[621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 241 621 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[illegible] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
157 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like
622 qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[illegible] a, p. 299.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[303] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stέla''am*, with headquarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *Xwistceni''tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Cilcllicő'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stέla''am* died, André *Sέltis* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stέla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[304] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyt'lεu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[303] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[304] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

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157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqxt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemx'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Anastᴇmᴇlpo'* (?) (full name *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonxoa'lqo* or *xwᴇltspo'sᴇmᴇn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mä'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 Councils.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meet-
ings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
203 treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
624 assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 344 621

CAMP CIRCLE.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 484 621 [537]

TRIBAL REGULATIONS.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible] 622 626 681

WAR CHIEFS.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

[illegible] *b*, pp. 244, 245.

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief
622 624 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as
705 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not
463 484 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle-aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor. 463 484 [728] [554] [177]

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the 202 484

202 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accord-
484 ingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and
567 those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered
[302] members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

173 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women hav-
567 ing been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreillee, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173
They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails.
The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They 567
reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177
After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves
and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567
value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not
easily be kept captive.

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551
among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of
males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained
directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age
in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams.
These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776]
guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their
guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551
were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from
incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551
not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time
they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for
several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking
names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-
sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some
of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of
the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency
to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common
to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more
eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwaxanc'*

551 *Waxᴇne'* for *Htswuxᴇnt'ist* (p. 129), and names of chiefs (pp. 153, 154), where *-poᴇsmᴇn* is shortened to *-po.* and *-a'sqᴇt* to *-a.* It seems that among the Coeur d'Alêne there occur some Spokan forms of names acquired through intermarriage. 551 171 42

I noticed the following suffixes in old hereditary names which are the same as those used by the Thompson.[illegible]

1. *-itsa* ("robe," "blanket," "skin"), in both men's and women's names, as among the Thompson, most common among men. (Thompson forms, *-ītsa*, *-iltsa*.)
2. *-qain* ("head," "top," "eminence"), in men's names. (Thompson forms, *-qain*, *-qᴇn*.)
3. *-elst*, *-ilst*, *-ast* ("stone"), in men's names (often shortened to *-t*). (Thompson forms, *-ᴇ'llst*, *-ast*.)
4. *-a'sqᴇt*, *-sqᴇt* ("cloud," "sky," "day"), in men's names (often shortened to *-a*). (Thompson forms, *-ᴇ'skᴇt*, *-a'sqᴇt*.)
5. *-kws* ("water"), in women's names. (Thompson forms, *-koᴇ*, *-kō*, *-a'tko*.)

I did not find the suffix *-inᴇk* ("bow," "belly," "rounded"), common in women's names of the Thompson, but it may occur. Of the nine chiefs' names mentioned on pages 153 and 154, one has the suffix *-ī'tsa* and two the suffix *-a'sqᴇt*. The name *Xwistcᴇni'tsa* (translated "walking robe") occurs in slightly different forms among the Okanagon and Thompson. A name similar to *Cilcilitcō'sqᴇt* also occurs in all these tribes. The names *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn* and *Xwᴇltspo'sᴇmᴇn* are used by the Okanagon and Spokan as well as the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems quite possible that certain names may have originated independently in these different Salish tribes; but most Indians think that each hereditary name, especially those with the name suffixes, is of but one origin, having originated in one tribe or another, and been introduced into other tribes by intermarriage. Therefore they say that persons who bear the same name in two tribes have inherited it from a common ancestor, and that they must be related, however remotely. There was hardly any stealing of names, and only rarely were names exchanged, bestowed, or sold; and when they were, they were usually lately adopted dream names or nicknames belonging to the individual, and not names which had already become hereditary and belonged to families.

Some other Coeur d'Alêne men's names are *Sikwa*, *Tᴇmlicā*(*lc*). ("no hand"), *Tcdele'melstcᴇn* ("runs on a horn"), *Tsu'lᴇmkwᴇstsut* ("buffalo-bull mountain"; this name occurs among the Thompson, and has probably been derived from the south), *Łoq'ᴇ'tāstc'ᴇso* ("lying in the brush"), *Tpoqe'wᴇs* ("painted stomach"), *Tsilēle'tsa* ("pierced [with arrows] robe [or skin]"; slight variations of this name are found among the Okanagon and Thompson), *Ntcs'ē-tqe'in*(*ast*) ("first shot" or "first daylight"; a name similar to this occurs among the Thompson).

[illegible] *a*, p. 291.

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsa, Yaromi', Siyō''x, Xwa'mɛmma', X̣apae'tɛm* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwollɛmcɛma', Wilɛwilɛma', Siyaxta', Si''pal, Tclɛmtā'l, Xwɛotsti', Tc'ā'āne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Doɛwal al 'lla'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551 611 [552]

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421 861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [562]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

[462] 421 only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 421 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[209] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 311 421 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[209] a, p. 248.

221 311 421 of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

[462] The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

431 527 53 FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[290] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

431 leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date
527 a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[291] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

[535] Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[292] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[293] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[294] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide[294] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[294] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[291] a, pp. 297–299.

[292] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 a.

[293] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 b.

[294] See Nez Percé b, p. 230.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of 314
other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use 321
among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[298] They generally 534
had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped
with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the
string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used
them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving [202]
signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter,
and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese,
swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for
calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[299] It was also used
by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone
whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for
signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles
were used long ago; but I obtained 276
no particulars.

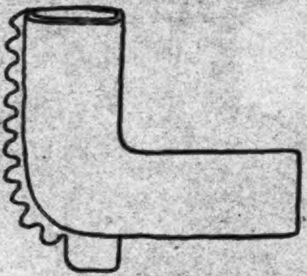
Figure 14.—Pipe

Pipes.—Smoking was almost
universal among men, but long ago
women rarely smoked. Smoking
formed a part of all important
ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with
smoking. Pipes were made of
steatite, which was plentiful in
the Coeur d'Alêne country. The
common colors were black, gray,
and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose [439]
countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were
procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The
western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the
same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it.
The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes"
and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all
made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone.
Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used
until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type,
however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the
tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe
entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with
simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including
those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones
were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

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[298] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[299] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Twins.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and
844 childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke
845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[297] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had
[772] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 Carriers or Cradles.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[298] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[299] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[297] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

[298] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

[299] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present 854
day, and some of them were provided with hoops.

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments
were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks
were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of
skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams.
Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to
keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and
began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag
or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers
were similar to those used by the Thompson,[300] and the child's head,
arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used,
but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often,
however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the
mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the
robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier 177
or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far 854
back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in
buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could
not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier
was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a
much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was
probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally
board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's
head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I
did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles.
The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those
of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

Head Deformation.—During the life of the child on the board 304
carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its 854
head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of
strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when
the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female
children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal
in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten
the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its
wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying
it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish
this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a
very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the
lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the
pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still
traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought
by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind,

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[300] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
854 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably
when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that
long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne
for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur
d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many
of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of
infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many
families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled
[597] very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 Whipping Ordeal.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the
Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal
each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people
had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the
winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and
good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as
was practiced by the Thompson[381] until recently.

861 Puberty.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of ~~both sexes~~.
They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life
by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious,
and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially
those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of
them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo
hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that
they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced
by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions,
and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the
Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne
informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats,
where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and
they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During
the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice
various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
[777] certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years.
They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[381] a, pp. 309, 310.

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[309] The impor- 856
tance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 861
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person 881
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, espe- 881
cially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the
same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed
that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond
between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pic-
tures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[309] a, pp. 317-321, b, 247-250.

304 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts,
881 painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in
[illegible] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

582 MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[illegible]

583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[illegible] a, pp. 321-325.

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites. 585 583 177

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires. [583]

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused. 584

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property. 428 587

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] *a*, p. 324.

[306] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

587 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[illegible]

606 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. [857] The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and 173 bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cxlcxltcô'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

[illegible] a, pp. 326–327.

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a party had camped there. When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains. 766

When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in [illegible] skins, or in mats. 764 766

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.[illegible] If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. It seems that it was not placed facing in a particular direction. [728] Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses

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[illegible] a, p. 328.

764 belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.[309]

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were
764 absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food
428 for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

768 After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,[310] but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Heirochla odorata*) and an unidentified plant called *mare'mststat*(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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[309] *a*, p. 330.

[310] *a*, p. 332.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

768 The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,[311] as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. 765 Before and after the burial, most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[312] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[313] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

177 764 The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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[311] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 334-335.

[312] *a*, p. 333.

[313] *a*, p. 333.

177 764 nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

773 Conception of the World.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[334] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

778 821 In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[335]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people be-

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[334] a, pp. 337-342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqen Be*, see p. 184.

[335] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Sahaptian tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

773 821

came too warm they in turn squeezed their bag and a cold wind rushed southward. The Indians who lived in the country between were thus troubled with successive hot and cold winds.

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There is another tale which relates that Heat and Cold were brothers, the former good-looking, and the latter ugly. Once when his brother was away, Cold got angry at the people and said he would kill them. He made such cold weather that the people began to freeze to death. Heat, hearing that the people were dying and that many were already dead, hurried home to save them. He made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then heat can always kill cold, and ice and frosts and snow melt away and die. As long as the two brothers lived together at home the qualities of the one counterbalanced those of the other, so that the weather was always temperate and there was no danger to the people; but if one went away then the remaining one had the power to cause extreme heat or extreme cold.

Another version of this tale is that the two brothers lived part of the time with the people; and it was then always fair, temperate weather, because the influence of the one counteracted that of the other. At a certain season, however, Cold went away on a journey; and as Heat alone remained, his influence was much felt, and there was then summer. At another season Heat always left for a journey, and Cold remained, whose influence became great, and the people had winter. Cold was of an erratic, ugly disposition; and one time when his brother was away he became very angry at the people and caused extremely cold weather. Many froze to death; and all would have perished had not Heat rushed back, as warm weather now sometimes does in the spring after a protracted winter, to save the people, and made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then cold has not had the power to kill people except very rarely, when they were foolish; nor has extreme cold had the power to remain longer than a few days at a time.

I did not hear of any beliefs relating to the origin of light and darkness, clouds and fog, although I inquired for them. It seems, however, according to some tales, that the world at one time was always dark, and that people had to grope about. To make things better, they thought they should have a sun and a moon. They chose Robin to be the sun, and he went up into the sky. He was sometimes so hot that the people were nearly burned up, and had to submerge themselves in the water during his day's course in the sky. Those who could not reach water died. The people deposed Robin and put in his place a one-eyed man called *Snntsqo'taulis ɣä tc'ä'ɣqaw*, son of *Tc'äɣqen* the one-eyed one. Since then it has never been too hot.

773 When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him
to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some
821 time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged
what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did
not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the
moon the old man or Chief *Spoxwuni'tcalt* traveled around on earth,
inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote
[776] had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether
helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the
Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his
work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of
Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote
had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote
was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards
a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before
this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *henic'enqe'nanxwun* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones

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disliked him. One day when they were out hunting they told their youngest brother they would kill the bear. He would not agree to this, and followed him, who had already gone hunting, to warn him. The other two brothers started in pursuit and overtook them. They were about to shoot at the bear when the youngest brother called out, "Brother-in-law, they are going to kill you!" As they were in the act of shooting all were transformed into stars, and may now be seen as the four stars forming the corners of the Dipper. Some people say that the four stars in the square are the bear and the stars forming the handle of the Dipper are the three brothers.

It seems that the Pleiades are called "Cluster." They are said to have been a group of people. To the side is a small star, and behind it a large red star. The small star is called "Coyote's child"; and the larger one, "Badger." The latter stole Coyote's favorite child. Coyote pursued them. When he had nearly overtaken them they were transformed into stars. It seems that some people include the Pleiades in one name with these stars.

A group of stars forming a circle, with one to the side (probably Auriga), are said to have been a group of women cooking camas in a pit in the ground. The roots were nearly cooked, and the women sat around it, ready to take out the roots. Skunk went there with the intention of spoiling the cooking.[216] As the women quite encircled the oven, he could not get near, so he sat down a little distance off to await a chance. As all were in this position they were transformed into stars. The Thompson call what seems to be the same group of stars "cooking in an earth oven," and say that these stars were women cooking.

Another group of stars is called "the canoe." Five men were making a canoe. A man was working at each end and one on each side. The fifth one was standing between one of the side and end men. As they were in this position they were transformed. The Thompson call the stars of Orion "bark canoe"; and another group of stars, "canoe with men in it."

Another group of stars is claimed to have been a lake, with a bird called *t'āq'tul* ("snow goose"?) on it. Some hunters shot it, and as it died it spread out its wings over the water. All were transformed, including the bird with its wings outspread. This is probably the same group as that called "lake with swan on it" by the Thompson, also called by them "lake" or "swan."

A group of stars consisting of three in a line is said to have been three persons running a race. These are probably the same stars as

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[216] See taboo against men approaching an oven when the roots were cooking (p. 183).

773 those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another
821 group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

776 DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'xmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming
[538] themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'xmqestcī'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'xmqestcī'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found. 776

Giants.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alêne country.

Land and Water Mysteries.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.[317] The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards. 778

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at 538
a place called *Golzē'xstem* (?)[a], a long way up the St. Joe River. Among 778
them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top

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[317] *a*, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; *c*, pp. 598, 599; *b*, p. 276.

[a] One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alêne folklore.—G. Reichard.

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called *Tsxt'stəm*(?).[1] Shortly after the drowning of the sisters some people were up on this mountain and discovered the hair of the sisters on the shores of this lake. They reported this to the parents of the girls, who went there and took the hair away. After this people knew that there was a water passage between the river and the lake on the top of the mountain.

Near the head of St. Joe River is a lake called *Hinqa'məmən* ("swallowing"). When people look at it sticks jump out of the water. The Indians are afraid of this lake and never go near it. Once two brothers were traveling on a ridge above this lake. The elder brother said to the younger, "Go and bring me some water from the lake, I am very thirsty." The younger brother said, "I am afraid. No one ever goes near this lake." The elder answered, "You must go, for I shall die of thirst. You must bring me some water." The lad hurried to the lake, drew a little water quickly, and then ran back up the hill. The water followed him uphill. He hurried to his brother, put down the water bucket beside him, and then ran down the opposite side of the hill. The elder brother watched the water rise to the top of the hill, then it stopped a moment, and disappeared down the hill, catching his brother halfway down. Then it rose to the top of the hill again, and receded to the lake. When all was quiet he went over and found his brother dead. He had evidently been drowned by the water when it caught up with him.

In Coeur d'Alêne Lake there is a "mystery" in the shape of a water buffalo. Once a man was traveling in a canoe along the edge of the lake. At one place a bush grew alone near the water. As he was passing this place in the dark, all at once his canoe stood still, and, paddle as he might, he could not make it move. He could see nothing in the dark and began to feel along the sides of the canoe. He felt a horn holding the canoe on each side and then knew it was the water buffalo. He gave it a present and begged it not to harm him. Then the canoe was allowed to proceed. After this, people, when passing this place in canoes, always propitiated the "mystery" by praying to it not to harm them and not to make the lake windy. At the same time they deposited offerings, which they put down near the bush.

There were also "mysteries" at other parts of Coeur d'Alêne Lake to which the Indians made payments and asked for good weather on the lake and good luck in fishing.

It seems that people did not paint their faces specially when they passed by mystery lakes in the mountains, as the Thompson often did. At some of the high summits where trails pass and in passes

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[1] Now Grizzly Elk.—G. Reichard.

in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, 538
each passer-by puts down a stone. 778
Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. 775 My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the 782
Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[318] The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. [533]
They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[318] a, pp. 344-350.

782 ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqɛn*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

776 It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*,[309] who is
782 said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear
[533] he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

796 It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony // when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

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[309] See Thompson, A'motɛn, a, p. 345.

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[220] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[221] 784

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes. 801

Dances and Ceremonies, First-Fruits Ceremony, or Harvest Dance.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqɛn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqɛn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time. 796

Praying Dance.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[222] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqɛn* or *Amū'tɛp*, and also as "chief." 535 796

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[220] a, p. 349. [221] See Thompson, a, p. 348; Shuswap, e, pp. 619, 620.

[222] a, pp. 351-354; e, pp. 603-605; k, pp. 283-285.

535 796 821 Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

Sun Dance and Sun Worship.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqᴇn*, the [53] sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

535 796 Horse Dance, Thanksgiving Ceremony.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqᴇn* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

Medicine Dance.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[illegible] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

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[illegible] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.

535 796 bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

535 756 796 Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[234] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing.

535 721 796 War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, however, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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[234] *b*, pp. 262-264.

535 days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all
624 the men danced.

721 When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of
796 chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

535 Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above
721 was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-
796 stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[illegible] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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[illegible] a, p. 356.

535 721 796

one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

535 727 796

SCALP DANCE.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con-

535 tinued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while
727 dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the
796 same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.[illegible] The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

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[illegible] *b*, p. 267.

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535 727

Tsuwikt Dance.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327] 776

Tribal and Intertribal War Dances.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it. [203]

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds. [524]

Marrying Dance.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance. 584 796

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[327] *b*, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *c*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

535 796 **Festival or Gift Dance.**—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the "*stle'i*" dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.[229]

Woman's Dance or Round Dance.—In late years the dance called "squaw or woman's dance," or "round dance," was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holdin[illegible] arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Crée origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

Weather Dances.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

Game Dances.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

776 **Guardian Spirits.**—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson[230] and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

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[229] *a*, pp. 385, 386.

[230] *a*, pp. 354-357.

Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guard- 776
ians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept 778
skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflêches.[231] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian 531
spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, 778
robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in
a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence 304
were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian 531
spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was 778
believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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[231] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 3.

304 531 778 one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[illegible]

532 778 Rock Paintings.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

532 776 Images of Guardian Spirits.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions

Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would "know" the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge. 532 776

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered "mystery," and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

756 Sʜᴀᴍᴀɴɪsᴍ.—Shamans were about the same in character as among the Thompson.[illegible] Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except

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[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, *e*, p. 603; *f*, pp. 173, 191.

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of [754] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 577 Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts[32] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

778 789 Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[32] a, pp. 366, 367.

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Coeur d'Alene

that telling coyote stories would make snow or cold; and burning lightning wood would make cold weather. However, wood of trees struck by lightning was never burned except by accident, as it was believed that one of the people who burned it or used it as firewood would die. Some people believed that toads had the power of making rain at will. 789

Medicines.—As among the Thompson, a number of medicines made from herbs were used as tonics, or salves, but I did not have opportunity to inquire into this subject. The scent root called *χasχas* was dried and powdered fine, then mixed with animal grease and used as a salve on sores. As among the Thompson, mother's milk was used occasionally to anoint sore eyes. 757

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[See the following pages in category 116: pp. 65-73--Analyst]

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

THE OKANAGON

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Tribes of the Group.—The tribes of the Okanagon group are (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

Tribal Names.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoee, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpee," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'nix̣*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.[1]
2. *Snpoī'l*, or *Snpoī'lix̣*, *Snpoai'lExẹxẹ*.
3. *Sxoiē'lpix̣*, or *Sx̣uiē'yēlpix̣*, *Sx̣wei'lpEx̣*.
4. *Snai'tcEkst*, *Snrai'tcEkstEx̣*, *Snāi'.tcEkstEx̣*.

The suffix *-ix̣*, *-Ex̣*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

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[1] Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are Ōkanāqēl'n and [illegible].

Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the 101
place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the 131
Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salilx*ᵃ and the old name dropped out of use.[1] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qēn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

Snpoī'l or *Snpoī'lix̣* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tcskst is from *ai'tcskst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lix̣tcsn*" or "*Nse'lix̣tcsn*," which means "Salish-speaking "(from *Sa'lix̣*, *Se'lix̣*, or *Si'lix̣*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcsn*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.— 101
The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the 201
symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

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[1] See p. 264.

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

	Similkameen	Okanagon	Sanpoil	Colville	Lake
Thompson	*Smxie'qəmux* [1]	*Tcuiχwó'ui,Tciiχúó'ui* *Tsawa'nəmux* [2] *Okənâ.qai'n* [4]	*Snpoi'l* [3] [10]	*Sxoië'ip* [3] [5]	*Snai'tcxkst.*[3] [5]
Columbia	*Smxikəmi'x* *Smelkami'x* [6]	*Soqənâqai'məxx*	*Nesilxəxici'n* [7]	*Sxuielpəməx* [8]	*Snailcəkstəxq.*[9]
Flathead group	*Sxmilkami'*	*Oicənâke'* *Oicənâ.qai'n* *Uicənâ'.qai'n*	*Npoi'lce* [10] *Snpöi'lməxc*	*Sxöxë'lpi* *Sxoië'.lpe*	*Snai'tcxtstc.* *Snrai'tcxtstc* .
Coeur d'Alêne	*Smxlkami'cin*	*Wxic.nâqei'n*	*Sxnpoë'*	*Sxoië'lpəms*	
Klickitat (Tobacco Plains band).	*Xwayama'pam* [11]	*Kənâke'n* [11]			
Kutenai		*Äkinuq'la'la'm* *Kökənu'k'kë* [12]		*Kxopile'nikl* [13]	
Upper Kutenai		*Okanaka'n* [11]	*Sxnpoe'ls* [11]	*Hap.kle'n* [12] *Khapile'nikl*	*Txxlənö'nikl*[13]
Yakima			*Haiai'nima* *Ipoilq* [11]		
Sign-language names	"Eagle people"	Sometime called "Flat side of head on stream to west" (viz, Flathead of Okanagon River).		"Salmon fishers at falls" (viz, Kettle Falls).	"Lake-trout people."

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[1] Meaning "people of *Smxië'ā*, *Smxë'kəm*, *Smxiskəmë'n*, or *Smxiskəmil*," said to be the name of a locality in the Lower Similkameen valley (see also Similkameen villages, p. 200).

[2] Meaning uncertain. It is applied to the Okanagon in particular, but is also a general name for the southern Salish, in the same way as "*Tsəwe'nəmux*." The same term is used by the Shuswap for the Lower Lillooet.

[3] Also the Shuswap name for the Okanagon. The term probably means "people at the back or behind," "back-country people." It is applied particularly to the Okanagon, but is also a general name for the southern Salish.

[4] A special name for the Okanagon of Okanagon River. Said to be from the name of a place on Okanagon River.

[5] The suffix *-əmx* ("people") may be, and occasionally is, added to the Thompson terms for the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lake.

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[6] Said to be the name of the district around the mouth of the Similkameen.

[7] Means "Salish-speaking" or "having Salish speech."

[8] The names for the Colville are said to be derived from a place name near Kettle Falls. They mean "hollowed out" according to some, and "stone dish-grinder" according to some Flathead informants.

[9] "Trout people." All names refer to a variety of trout—lake trout according to some, and salmon trout according to others.

[10] All the names for the Sanpoil are said to be from the name of a place in their country.

[11] Derived through the Salish language.

[12] Said to mean "Falls people."

[13] Probably from a place name. Meaning uncertain.

[14] "Eagle people." Klickitat say they think the name was applied to a tribe east of the Spokan; but Salish and other informants say it is the Klickitat or Yakima name for the Similkameen. The form here given corrected from Teit's *Zistcomk'pai* by Melville Jacobs.

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Names Given to Other Tribes by the Okanagon.—The terms in the following list were all collected from Sanpoil (Nespelim), Lake, and Okanagon. I obtained none from the Colville.

Lower Fraser	*Tlᴇmxū'ᴇx.*
Lillooet	*Nxᴇlamī'nᴇx* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sᴇxwa'pmux, Sᴇxwā'pmᴇx.*
Thompson	*Lukxtᴇmā'xᵘ, Leᵘkxtᴇmū'.x, Nxkxtᴇme'xᵘ.*
Wenatchi	*Snpᴇskwa'uxᴇx.*
Wenatchi (Chelan division)	*Stcᴇlā'nᴇx* ("Chelan people," possibly literally "Lake people").
Columbia	*Snkaā'uxᴇmᴇx, Snqeī'ux.*
Bands along Columbia River below the *Tskowa'xtsᴇnux̣* or Moses-Columbia band.	*Naia'qᵘtcᴇn, Niā'qxtcᴇn.*
Old Salish tribe at The Dalles	*Neᵘkxtᴇmi'ᵘxᵘ, Leᵘkxtᴇme'ux.*
Spokan	*Spoqai'nᴇx̣, Spōqei'nᴇx̣.*
Kalispel	*Skalᴇspi'lᴇx̣, Kalspī'lᴇm, Skalᴇspe'lᴇm.*
Pend d'Oreilles	*Snía'lᴇmᴇn.*
Flathead	*Sa'lex, Sā'lix.*
Coeur d'Alêne	*Skī'tsūx̣, Skī'tcux, S'ki'tcu.x.*
Paloos	*Stᴇqa.micī'nᴇx̣* ("people of the confluence").[3]
Yakima	*Sīā'kᴇmax̣.*
Klickitat[4]	Called by the same name as the Yakima, and also by the name of The Dalles tribes.
Wallawalla	*Skeiū'ᴇx̣.*
Umatilla	
Nez Percés	*Saha'ptᴇnᴇx̣, Saā'ptᴇnᴇx̣.*
Cayuse	Same as Wallawalla and Umatilla.
Wishram	Same as The Dalles tribes.
The Dalles tribes in general	*Sweiī'mpamᴇx̣.*[5]
Wasco	*Sweiī'mpamᴇx̣, Swāsao'pax̣.*
Chinook	*Tsᴇnū'k.*
Shoshoni or Snake	*Snasqe'ntx̣ᴇmax, Snaskī'nt* ("snake people").
Upper Kutenai	*Skalsi'ulk.*[6]
Lower Kutenai	*Sloqale'qᵘax̣, Ste'lītᴇx̣.*[7]
Blackfoot	*Stᴇkwai'x̣ᴇnᴇx̣* ("black-footed people").
Sioux, Cree, and Plains tribes in general.	*X̣nox̣'tu'sᴇm* ("cut-throats," "cut heads off").

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[3] Either the confluence of the Palouse with the Snake or the latter with the Columbia, probably the latter.

[4] The Handbook of American Indians gives "*tlakīl'tat*" as an Okanagon name for Klickitat.

[5] Compare *Xwe'lxweipem*, a Klickitat name for themselves.

[6] Said to be named from the Upper Kootenai River. By some the name is thought to mean "upper water" or "water above," with reference to the position of the Kootenai River above the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Lake tribes (from *skalt*, "above" or "at the top;" and *si'ulkᵘ*, "water"), thought by others to have some connection with *skal* or *skalis* (as in the name Kalispelem), derived from a word for "young camas" (according to Revais), and thus may mean "camas water." The term *skalsa'ulk* ("water-people") is given in the Handbook of American Indians. (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 742.) The interpretation is probably derived from *ske'lux* or *ska'lux* ("man," also "people," "Indian") and *se'ulk* ("water"); i. e., "man's water" or "people's water" or "Indian water." The Indians do not favor this interpretation. (It would mean: "human water."—F. B.) They claim that the name of the people is from the river, and not the river from the people.

[7] Said to be named from Kootenai Lake and River (all the Lower Kootenai, from Bonner's Ferry down).

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Dialects.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[8] 197

The Colville use the term *Saliꭓtci'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

Habitat and Boundaries.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwī'ꭓ* or *Stuwī'ꭓꭓmux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

Divisions, Bands, Villages, Place-names.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[9] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'ꭓamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[8] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[9] This division is called [illegible] ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, [illegible], Lake people.

101 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

621 131 3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwī'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

101 621 361 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spă'xamɛn* or *Spă'xɛmɛn*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spă'xamɛn*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkama'pɛlɛks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkama'pɛlɛks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pɛntĕ'ktɛn*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkamī'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkamī'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kɛrɛmyɛ'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnū'lɛx*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snăzăi'st*, *Tcutcuwī'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamɛn* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 208.

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nhaiyaxtɛn*.

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least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pəlks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia. 101 621 361

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites. 361

Upper Similkameen Band:	
1. *Nikai'xəlāx*[14]	About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.[15]
2. *Snazai'st* ("striped rock")[16]	On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley;[17] 10 houses.
3. *Tcuicuwi'xa* or *Tcuicuwi'xa*[18] ("creek" or "little creek").	On same side of river, a little below No. 2; 3 houses.
Ashnola Band:	
4. *Acnū'lāx* ("—— ground")	On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nxrē'pus a spa'nax*[19] ("where the stone sticks up or is planted").	A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)
Lower Similkameen Band:	
6. *Kerəmeyē'us* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]).	On the north side of the river, near Keremeous; several houses.
7. *Kekerəmeyē'aus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]).	Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkurau'lāx* ("—— ground")	On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smela'lex*	On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

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[14] Said to be a Thompson name.

[15] The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

[16] A Thompson name (from *snaz*, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and *-ist* "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

[17] There were 6 houses and a church at *Snazai'st* proper, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

[18] This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

[19] Also *Nxrē'pus Lam'ax*. So named from a large boulder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

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10. *Skemqei'n* ("source" or "head").	Short distance below No. 8, on same side of river.
11. *Nikwqia'n*	On south side of river, opposite No. 10.
Old Similkameen village sites in Washington:[30]	
12. *Nkali'tsk*	Just across the international boundary in Washington.
13. *Xe'pulix* ("—— ground")	A little below No. 12, near a lake.
14. *Kwuspeli'n*	A little back from Similkameen River, below No. 12.
15. *Tsaluali'n*	Below No. 14.
16. *Skwo'met*	Below No. 14.
17. *Ke'ukendp*	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
18. *Tsaki'tsqnatwus*[31]	On a creek along the trail between Keremeous and Penticton; 1 or 2 houses.

The following were the chief villages of the Upper Lake Okanagon division at the same date, and some others which are old villages not now occupied:

Douglas Lake Band:	
1. *Spē'xemen* or *Spē'xxemen* ("a shaving," "paring,"[32] or "shaved," "bare," "smooth").	At Douglas Lake on the Upper Nicola River. A large village.
2. *Kemkena'tke* or *Kemkemu'tku*[33] ("head water").	At Fish Lake on the headwaters of the Upper Nicola River. A small settlement.
3. *Kā'lewis* ("bushes," or "willow bushes").[34]	Near Guichena, at the mouth of the Upper Nicola River, where it falls into Nicola Lake. A fairly large village.
4. *Kwilke'na* ("red ——").[35]	At the mouth of Quilchena Creek.
Komaplix or Head of the Lake Band:	
5. *Nkama'pelks* or *Nkoma'pelelks* ("bottom, root, or neck end").[36]	Near the head of Okanagon Lake, about 8 miles north of Vernon.[37]
6. *Sntlemuqte'n* ("place where slaughtered").[38]	Black Town, a little north of the head of Okanagon Lake.
7. *Tse'katko* ("—— lake")	At a small lake a little north of Black Town.
8. *Nkekame'pelks* ("little end or head of the lake").	At the head of Long Lake, a little over a mile from Vernon.
9. *Texle'tem* ("where drawn together").	At the narrows of Long Lake. No permanent camps now.

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[30] There are no permanent camps at any of these places now.

[31] Said by some to belong to the Ashnola band.

[32] With reference to the open rolling country devoid of trees.

[33] The Thompson and Okanagon names respectively.

[34] So called because of dense patches of willow, cottonwood, and other deciduous trees along the river, near this place.

[35] Said to be so named because of red bluffs on the side of the valley a short distance up the creek. The Thompson name of the village up the creek means "red face or bluffs." This small village is counted as belonging to the Douglas Lake band, but the Thompson claim the country all along the creek, and the people are mostly of the Thompson tribe.

[36] With reference to the end or head of the lake.

[37] There were several old camps at *Nkama'pelelks*. This name was frequently used in a general sense for the district around the head of Okanagon Lake.

[38] So named because a number of people were massacred here many years ago by a Shuswap (?) war party.

10. *Stskatsiłqəlī'ut* ("lake on side").	Little above Mission ? on opposite side.
11. *Tεxalkε'qεm* [29] (with reference to a little lake at side of big one).	Near the lower end of Long Lake about 19 miles south of Vernon.
12. *Nqaix'εtεm* ("arrow-smoother").[30]	Place near Kelowna, and also general name for the district around there and Mission. No permanent camps now.
13. *Skelā'una* ("grizzly bear").	Kelowna, near the present town. No permanent camps now.
Penticton Band:	
14. *Stskatkelqəlī'ut* or *Stskatsiłqəlī'ut* ("lake at the side").	On the opposite side of the lake from Mission.
15. *Pentī'ktεn* ("place at end of lake" or "place where the lake is gathered in").	Penticton, near the foot of Okanagon Lake.
Nkamip Band:	
16. *Sxəxənī'tkʷ* ("swift rough water or rapids").	Lower end of Dog Lake. No permanent camps now.
17. *Nkamī'p*[31] ("at the base or bottom").	On the east side of the upper end of Osoyoos Lake.
18. *Soi'yus* ("gathered together" or "meeting").	Near Haynes or the old customhouse just north of the American line. No permanent camps now.

The main camps of the tribe in the Okanagon Valley (within British Columbia) are said to have numbered at one time about 18. In Mr. Hill-Tout's list [32] of Okanagon villages the Enderby village (No. 1 of his list) is included. This village is Shuswap and has never been Okanagon. The present-day villages are situated on small scattered reserves. The upper Okanagon have some 15 reserves under the Okanagon Agency and eight (belonging to the Douglas Lake band) under the Kamloops Agency. The Similkameen have 17 under the Okanagon Agency. I collected no list of old villages from the Lower Okanagon. These people are nearly all on the Colville Reservation in Washington, where they have received allotments.

I obtained the following names of old village sites on Okanagon River south of the Canadian line:

Milkəmaxi'tʷk or *Milkəmixī'tuk* [33] ("—— water").	A name for the district around the mouth of Similkameen River and of the river.

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[29] The people of this place are counted as belonging to the *Nkama'pεlεks* band, but originally, with Nos. 9, 12, 13, and possibly others, they composed a band by themselves.

[30] Said to be so called because of a hill where people obtained stone for making arrow smoothers.

[31] See Gibbs, "Kenekomep" Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 720), probably either *Nkamī'p* or *Kε'ukεmεlp* (see No. 17, p. 209).

[32] Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okana'k'ēn." (Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., vol. 41, p. 130.)

[33] See Gibbs, "Milakitekwa" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 861). The other band name given by Gibbs (Kluckhaitkwu, ibid, 713) the Indians think is *Sīlxpa'ītkʷ* or *Sīlxpa'ītkʷ* the name for a district and river east of the Spokan (?) or east of the Okanagon. The Intietook band mentioned by Ross (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 611) is with little doubt a corruption of the Indian name for the Okanagon Lake division, from the name of Okanagon Lake. The word means "lake."

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361 *Smxlkammī'n*	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sāt'lx· [34] ("heaped house" [35])	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tskwora'lxm [36]	On Okanagon River, close to *sāt'lx·*.
Ōkinā'gēn [37] ("—— head")	An old name for *sāt'lx·*.

101 The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoi'lxᴇxᴇ* (Sanpoil or
Sanpoil proper); (2) *Sncspi'lxᴇ* (Nespelim). The name of the
621 former division is said to be derived from that of the district around
361 Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespi'lxm* ("having
prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around
177 Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

101 I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have
361 I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxielpi'tuk*,[38] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[34] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.

[35] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.

[36] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 781).

[37] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).

[38] Compare the tribal name.

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1. *Skzɛi'ksntzn*	On the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke. This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center.
2. *Nkɛme'palzks* ("base or bottom end," with reference to the end of the lake)	At the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River. Called "Comaplix" by the whites. Said to have had a large population. It was a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries), and root digging.
3. *Koopi'tɛs* ("buffalo robe")	At the upper end of Arrow Lakes, where the town of Arrowhead now is. This also was a salmon-fishing place, and a noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*.
4. *Ku'eqɛme'ks*	Now called Kooskanax. On Upper Arrow Lake, a little above Nakusp.
5. *Nɛqo'sp* ("having buffalo")[20]	Now Nakusp, near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, on the east side. A noted fishing place for salmon and lake trout.
6. *Tci'ukɛn*	A little below Nakusp; a center for hunting. Some fine caribou grounds were near this place.
7. *Snɛqai'tɛkɛtɛm*	Near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City. This was a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries.
8. *Xɛɛi'kɛn*	At a creek below Burton City. A center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish.
9. *Qɛpi'tɛs*	At the mouth of Kootenai River, just above the junction with the Columbia. A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighborhood.
10. *Snɛkɛkɛlɛ'um*	At a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail. This was a center for gathering service berries.
11. *Nkoli'lɛ*	Close to Waneta, on the east side of Columbia River, just above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreilles River. Many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by.

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[20] There is no tradition of buffaloes occurring here.

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The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Snkɛmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takɛlɛẋaitcɛkst* ("trout ascend"? [from *ai'tcɛkst*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sihwi'lɛẋ*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kă'nică'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'xtɛn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skɛtu'kɛlôẋ*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntɛkɛli'tkᵘ*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nɛmi'mɛltɛm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntɛxlitɛxli'tuk*[a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Sict'ẋɛllkᵘ*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntɛxtɛxrri'ɛtm*	At or very near Northport.

[131] The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kɛluwi'ɛst* (now Rossland), and *Tcɛnulɛẋẋi'xtɛa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'mɛlɛp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

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[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. [illegible].

Seven or eight miles east of Nelson.

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seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here. 101

I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below. 361

1. *Tí'kᵘt* ("lake" or "large lake").	Arrow Lakes.
2. *Ntɛxī'ᵘtkᵘ* ("straight or smooth water").	Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.
3. *Sxɛnɛ'tkᵘ* ("swift, rapid, or rough water").	Columbia River below Marcus.
4. *Nts'lltxqi'tkᵘ* ("ts'lltxq[41] or ts'l'ltxq water," "water of the *stalli* people [?]").	Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.
5. *Ntsa'kulaw'ī'tkᵘ* ("portage or carrying place for canoes").[42]	Bonnington Falls and neighboring parts of Kootenai River.
6. *Skalæt'ulkᵘ* [43]	Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general.
7. *Slokɛ'n*	General name for the Slocah River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.
8. *Nkolɛ'latkᵘ*	Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).
9. *Stlaxa'tkᵘ* or *Stlxɛxai'tkᵘ*	Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokan.

POPULATION.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had 161

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[41] Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. 202, said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

[42] The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

[43] Compare *s'ulko*, etc. (name for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in *skel*, *skelex* (see No. 18, p. 210), etc.; Calispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of *skal s'ulk* as "water above" (from *skalt* "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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161 the densest population. The Okanagon are said to have been a large tribe, probably outnumbering the Colville. Their population may have been from 2,500 to 3,000. The Sanpoil were the smallest tribe of the four, and may have numbered about 1,500. This would give an estimated population of from 8,500 to 9,000 for the Okanagon group; but probably their real number at one time was greater, possibly 10,000 or more. The late population of the tribes, taken from the returns of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs for 1903 and from the American Report of the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs), 1905, was as follows:

Okanagon:			
Upper Nicola or Spahamin band	192		
Okanagon or Nkamaplix band	239		
Penticton band	147		
Osoyoos or Nkamip band	65		
Similkameen, Lower and Upper bands (Chuchuwayha, Ashnola, and Shennosquankin)	181		
Total under Okanagon and Kamloops Agencies, British Columbia		824	
Okinagan (north half)	548		
Okinagan (south half)	144		
Total on Colville Reservation, Washington		692	
Total of Okanagon tribe			1,516
Sanpoil:			
Sanpoil		350	
Nespelim		41	
Total Sanpoil on Colville Reservation, Washington			391
Colville on the Colville Reservation, Washington			330
Lake on the Colville Reservation, Washington		305	
Arrow Lake band under the Kutenai Agency, British Columbia (on a small reserve near Burton City)		26	
Mouth of Kootenai band, etc. (not on reserves)		11	
			342
Total population of the Okanagon group [a]			2,579

According to all accounts, the decrease in the population of these tribes has been much greater, and began at an earlier date, than among
164 the Shuswap and Thompson. About 1800 the Colville and Lake were decimated by smallpox, which reached the Sanpoil, but spared
161 the Okanagon. About 1832 all the tribes were decimated by an epidemic, probably smallpox. The Okanagon suffered almost as severely as the others. It appears that the Shuswap and Thompson

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[a] It seems that there are a few Okanagon, and possibly also Colville, not on reservations, who are not included in the Canadian and American Indian returns. The 11 people at the mouth of the Kootenai, here enumerated, are not included in the Canadian report. I counted 11 people living here in 1903 and 1908, the remnants of the old band of this place. Since then I hear that some of them have died, and others, owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure of white settlement at this point, have followed the example of other members of their band (previous to 1908), and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation. See for later statistics, p.213.

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escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date. 164 161

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.[a]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[b] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south. 166 174 361

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[c] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

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[a] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[b] See p. 199; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 268; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[c] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265 et seq.

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valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwī'x̣* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwī'x̣* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwī'x̣* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[48] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwī'x̣*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[49] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'tɛmī'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwī'x̣* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwī'x̣* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[50] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwī'x̣* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

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[48] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265, 266.

[49] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 406, 407.

[50] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 264.

offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. 166
Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose 174
home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably 361
came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

Intercourse and Intermarriage.—The Lake tribe had most 177
intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'x*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'x* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

177 The opinion generally held seems to be that some time previous to the introduction of the horse the *Stuwi'χ* were driven away from the Lower Similkameen entirely. Afterwards the lowest point held by them was around Keremeous. At some later date those living near this place retired farther up the river, died out, or were absorbed by the Okanagon. Anyway, they disappeared, and henceforth the *Stuwi'χ*, along with the Thompson, occupied the river only above this point.

[197] During the first part of the nineteenth century the *Stuwi'χ* and Thompson languages were used exclusively above Keremeous, the Thompson preponderating. Later the *Stuwi'χ* became extinct and Thompson alone was spoken. Through continued intercourse and intermarriage with the neighboring people of the Lower Similkameen and of Okanagon Lake, Okanagon is now gradually pushing out the Thompson language, and is liable to supplant it in the whole valley. The infiltration of Okanagon blood has been very gradual and does not keep pace with the spread of the language, which is making rapid headway. The *Stuwi'χ*-Thompson inhabitants are becoming Okanagonized more through contact than through intermarriage. This process has been facilitated by the changed mode of life of the Thompson, whose habits have become more sedentary and who do not often visit their friends in Similkameen and seldom intermarry there. On the other hand, the Okanagon are in closer proximity to the Upper Similkameen people and, therefore, in constant contact with them. As already stated, the people of the upper end of Okanagon Lake are mixed with Shuswap, and also slightly with Thompson and probably with *Stuwi'χ*. The Douglas Lake Band, in all their settlements, intermarried with the Okanagon Lake people, on the one hand, and with the Thompson-*Stuwi'χ*, on the other. They have therefore considerable Thompson and some Nicola, *Stuwi'χ*, Shuswap, and Similkameen blood.

As all the Okanagon bands intermarried a great deal, foreign blood received at one end of the tribe was often transmitted to the other end, and thus there is a little Thompson and Shuswap blood through almost all the tribe.

A few instances of intermarriage with distant tribes have been reported. About three generations ago a Similkameen man married a woman who came from a tribe in the far south. Some of her manners and some of the food she ate were considered peculiar. For instance, she was fond of grasshoppers. She may have been a Paiute or a member of a Californian tribe, probably a slave who had been sold. Another instance is that of a Similkameen young man, who while on a trading trip to Hope, married a young woman there belonging to the Lower Fraser tribe. The following year he took her

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it. 177

II. MANUFACTURES

Work in Stone, Bone, etc.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers[5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been

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[1] a, pp. 183-184.

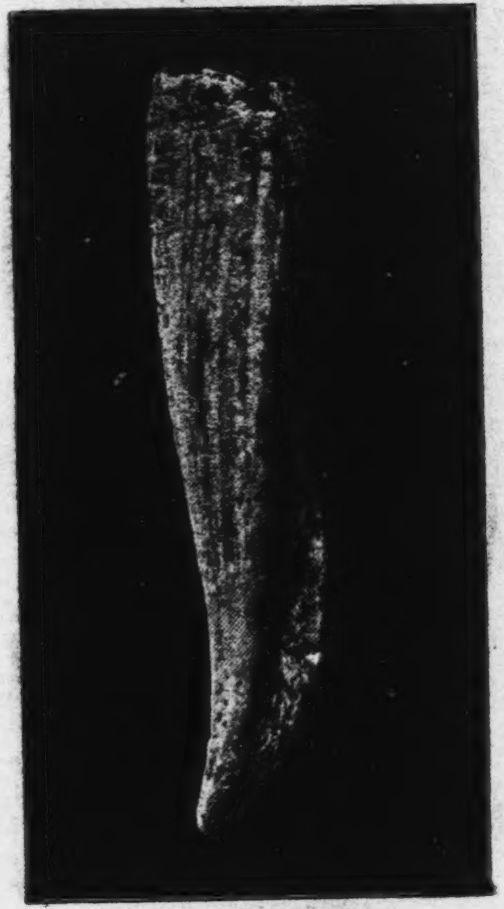
[2] See Thompson, a, p. 182, fig. 122.

[3] i, figs. 20, 25, 26.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, b, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 223 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.



CHISEL OF ELK HORN

Thompson River Salish.

opp. p. 218

412 32 171 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. 531 439 386 It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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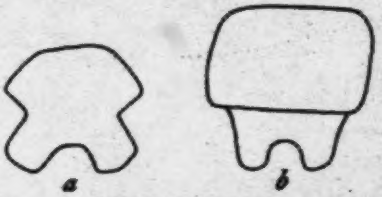

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 412 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 415 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, c, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, c, pp. 188–190.

[10] See Thompson, c, p. 190, fig. 131, c.

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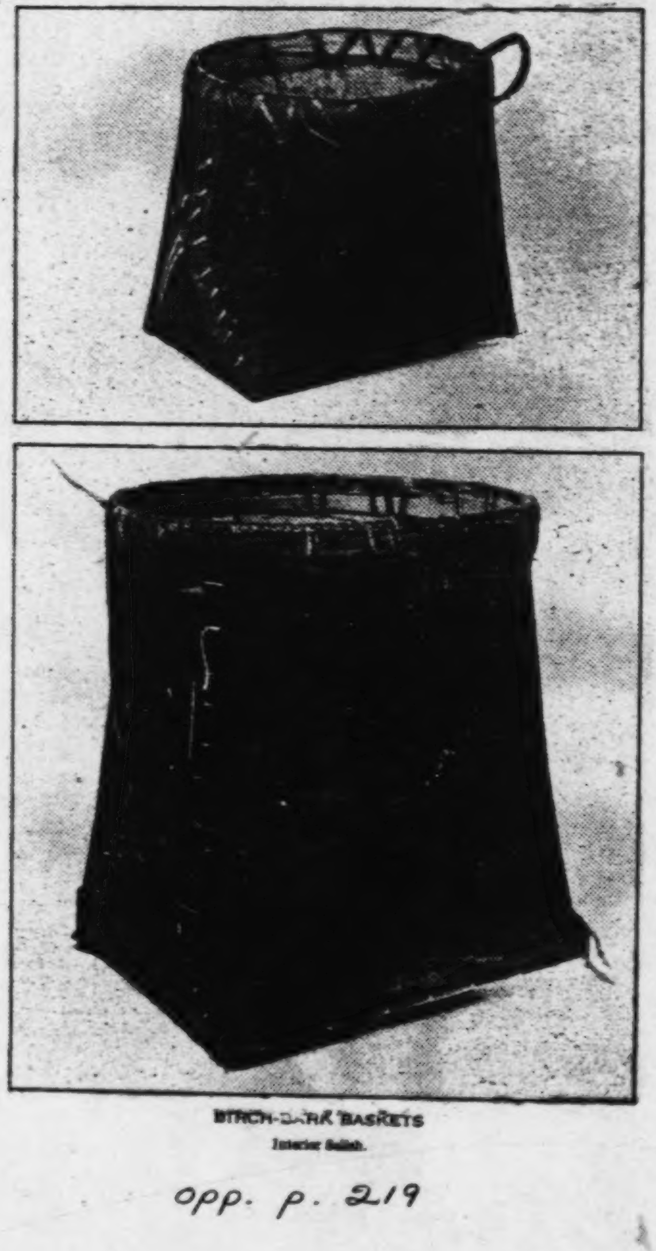
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 3



BIRCH-BARK BASKETS

Interior Salish.

opp. p. 219

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates 285
and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the
Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, 415
and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even 314
by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats
of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats
are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the 285
Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out
and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made 531
of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

Weaving.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin 286
blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328).

Woven Bags.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the 285
Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used 283
were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark,
and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were 415
made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, d.

[12] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, e and f.

[13] See specimens in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.

[14] See ibid., VI. M. 78.

[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 72.

[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.

[17] a, p. 189, fig. 131, d, h, i.

[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 69.

[19] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 149.

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283 285 415 Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.[20] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[21] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[22] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

[531] Flat Bags—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[23] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[20] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. 122.
[21] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible].
[22] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. 130.
[23] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. 122, and Shuswap, c, p. 497, fig. 210.

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Skin Bags.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[34] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

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Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[35] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[34] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[35] See Shuswap, c, p. 498, fig. 220, and Thompson, c, p. 203, fig. 151.

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BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[36] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[37] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

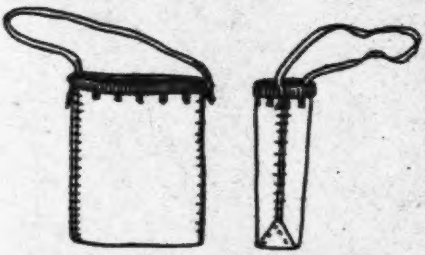

FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

[531]

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting.

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[36] See Field Mus., Nos. 111859-111862.

[37] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

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COILED BASKETRY.[6]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes long ago. 285 All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. 314 Certain bands of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made 415 little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials 439 abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia. The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements, as they also procured some from the Columbia. The Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets, and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbri- 177 cation on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285 about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531 some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314 this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil. The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people think it came from the south, and some think it must have been learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely. Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted. About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased, most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531 high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns 285

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[6] See 6, pp. 140-142.

[531] were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The
285 former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different
material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly
what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the
Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say
that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only
Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but
all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers
making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of
old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such
as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could
learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets,
however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether
285 of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their
415 baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All
were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong
with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for
storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions
by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller
of the older "*stlüq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson.
(*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800.
Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides
like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller
at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 26 *a*). Some were
made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying
purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some
appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among
the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by
the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular
and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the
bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the
Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they
also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl
shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size
from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle
baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage
baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped,
the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively
large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all
the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were
used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water
baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.

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Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (*a*, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (*a*, pl. 68, *i*.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length. 285 415

ROPES, THREAD, AND NETS.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for [illegible]at particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs. 283 412

WOVEN CLOTHING.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type[illegible] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the 286 294

[illegible] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

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286 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of
294 the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[a] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

531 Designs on Bags.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

Designs on Baskets.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

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342 Underground Lodge.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[a] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

[1] 4, pp. 192-194, and figs. 125, 126; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon. 332 342

Conical Lodge.—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.[1] As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof. 342

Square or Square-topped Lodge.—The Lake also used a type of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.[2] The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials. [354]

Long Lodge.—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were

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[1] For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. [illegible]; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. [illegible]; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 1.

[2] See Thompson, a, p. 197, figs. 128, 129, and pl. 14, fig. 2.

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342 rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.[4] The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

BARK AND OTHER LODGES.—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.[5] Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.[6] [332] Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats 343 and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,[7] half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,[8] but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with

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[4] See Thompson, e, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Cœur d'Alêne.
[5] See Ottawa photos nos. 23165, 23168.
[6] Ibid., nos. 26260, 26261.
[7] Ibid., no. 27097.
[8] Ibid., nos. 26976, 26977, 27073.

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343
boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and
hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir 342
was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this
purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used
as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352
skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use.
In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back
rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin
tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes 342
had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a
skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common
among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The
Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted
them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo
they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling.
Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are
used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed
more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A
few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among
the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log
cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of
the whites.

SWEAT HOUSES.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343
as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings
were earth-covered.[9]

CELLARS.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—Household utensils consisted principally 415
of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and
bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have
already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352
materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with
mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo,
sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various
kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a
heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were
also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush
down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about
the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251
methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and
water were in no way different from those which obtained among
the Thompson.

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[9] See Thompson, 4, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

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415 251 It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized. 415 251

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 281 **Dress.**—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent. 291 281

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common robes were those made of skins of deer, fawn, antelope, buffalo, beaver, otter, marmot, coyote, and lynx, all dressed in the hair. Robes woven of twisted strips of rabbit skin were made and worn by all the tribes. Probably a few of twisted strips of muskrat were also in use. Robes or blankets woven of goat's wool were made and used only by the Lake tribe. Probably a few of these blankets were procured from the Wenatchi, and used by Okanagon as bedcovers. Dogskin robes were not worn, except by the Similkameen. A few robes of dressed buckskin, painted and embroidered, were used, especially in fine weather and at festivals. Small robes or cloaks were worn by a few people of both sexes, but probably mostly by women and children. Some woven ones were used by the Similkameen.[1] Cloaks were tied or pinned in front. Capes of a small size, and made to fit the shoulders, were used in a few places by women and children, rarely by men. Most cloaks and capes were made of skins of small animals, dressed in the hair and sewed together—marmot, skunk, squirrel, ground squirrel, muskrat, mink, marten, weasel, and young fawn. A few were made of woven rabbit skin, and some were of dressed buckskin edged with fur. Some combined shirts and capes were used by the Lake tribe. The underpart of the garment was a sleeveless shirt of buckskin, sewed at the sides from the armpits to the waist or belt. The bottom was pinked or fringed and ornamented with a band of embroidery or painting. The upper part, or cape, was attached to the back of the neck of the shirt and was of buckskin edged with fur. The neck part was ornamented with a collar of skin, sometimes of leather pinked and embroidered, sometimes of the fur of fox, wolf, otter, etc. Some capes had long, fine-cut fringes along the bottom, and were further ornamented with pendent feathers of eagles or hawks, or with tassels of hair, weasel skins, and the like. Sometimes the whole cape was profusely covered with rows of ermine skins put on flat or cut and twisted into long pendants. Tufts of hair and feathers were also used, and some capes were punctured all over with rows of small holes. Usually the shirt was provided with a belt of stiff skin, which was set with pendants of deer's hoofs, beads, hair tassels, feathers, or strips of ermine skins. Sometimes both large and small robes were worn poncho style.

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[11] See Ottawa collection, Nos. [illegible].

[12] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. [illegible], a juniper-bark spoon.

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's shirts and leggings were similar to some of the styles used by the Thompson. A common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. Sometimes the shoulders only were sewed together, the sides being provided with lacings, or merely held together with a few stitches of thong. The neck pieces of the skins were folded down at the back and front, where they were stitched or sewed to the body of the shirt. Usually they were shaped into circular or triangular forms and ornamented with embroidery

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[1] See p. 233.

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291 281 and fringing. A few shirts retained the tails, or at least the one at the back, and the parts of the leg skins shaped into points or cut square, a little of the deer's-leg hair being left on for tufts at the ends. The seams of these shirts were embroidered and fringed. These shirts, in both cut and style of ornamentation, appear to have been almost the same as the Nez Percé shirt figured by Wissler.[2] Another common shirt was made of a single large skin folded over and sewed at the sides, and sometimes stitched here and there under the arms. A hole was cut and shaped in the middle for the head to pass through. There was no breast cut. The fringes along the sides and under the arm pieces were sometimes very long. Separate pieces of skin, triangular in shape and covered with embroidery in quills or beads, or punctured and painted, were sewed to the shirt at the front and back of the neck.[3] Neither of these kinds had true sleeves. In more modern times many men's shirts had sleeves, and they were of different styles. (Fig. 17.) 2 2

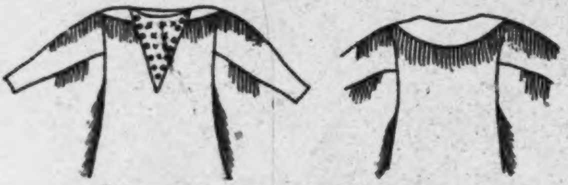

FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern clothing

The one shown in the illustration is a leather shirt seen by me among the Lake tribe. Each sleeve was of two pieces, and the back and front each of two pieces. The shirt was cut low on the breast, and over this opening a separate piece of white unsmoked skin was fastened to the shirt with metal buttons. This piece of skin was triangular in shape and embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. The sleeves were smaller at the wrists, just large enough to admit the hands. All the seams were fringed.

Some men wore, instead of the regular shirts, a kind of vest. In most cases this reached only to the hips and was made generally of buffalo and other skin dressed in the hair. This kind of poncho shirt or vest was tied or laced at the sides with thongs.[4] In later days some of them opened a short distance down the breast.[5] Breast cuts on vests and shirts are considered comparatively modern. A similar garment, but much longer, reaching generally to the knees, was in use. Most garments of this style were made of two entire deerskins and were fastened around the waist with a belt.[6] Perhaps they may be better classed as ponchos. Some boys of the Sanpoil wore shirts of an entire case-skinned coyote skin with the head part cut off. The shirt (or skin) slipped over the head and was fastened with strings on the shoulder. The tail hung at the back. There was no sewing on this kind of shirt, except that the shoulders were sometimes edged with buckskin to prevent tearing where the tie strings were. Some Sanpoil men wore shirts made of four backs of coyote skins sewed together. The tails were often retained for ornament. In some cases two coyote skins were used, forming back and front, the sides consisting of dressed buckskin. The tails were generally retained, particularly the back one.[7] Shirts of this kind were probably also worn to some extent by men of the other tribes.

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[2] d, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, a, p. 207, fig. 163; and Ottawa collection, VI. M. 260.

[4] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 266; Peabody Museum, Teit collection nos. 281, 282, 283.

[5] See Thompson, a, p. 206, fig. 162. Both the collar and breast cut are said to have been introduced within 120 years.

[6] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 268; Peabody Museum, Teit collection no. 280.

Small ponchos serving the purpose of neck wraps and covering the opening of shirts on the shoulders were worn by some men over their shirts. They consisted of single skins (in the fur) of coyote, wolf, fox, lynx cat, bear cub. The tail was retained and hung down the back.[8] Some neck wraps of entire rabbit skins sewed together were used in the winter by both sexes.

Breechclouts were of soft dressed buckskin and were of styles similar to those of the Thompson. Long ago those made of a single long piece drawn under the belt, the ends hanging like long aprons before and behind, were most rare. Some people think this style was adopted after Hudson's Bay cloth and blankets came into use. Old men and boys might wear simple aprons of dressed skin and fur, sometimes quite long, without breechclouts. Sometimes the long shirts worn by old men reached nearly to the knees. With these they wore neither breechclouts nor aprons, but with short shirts they were always worn. The usual skin leggings generally had long fringes cut in various ways. Cloth leggings had wide uncut side flaps.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's dresses reached to the calves of the legs, and some almost touched the feet. The style of dress most common had an extension of the cape or shoulder part, which hung down over the arms almost to the wrists, and served as sleeves.[9] In some the extension was short, reaching to the elbow. The arm extensions were often quite loose, while in other dresses they were fastened under the arms with thongs here and there. These dresses were generally made of two large buckskins or two cow-elk skins sewed together heads down. Unlike the Shahaptian custom, the tails of the deer were cut off instead of being retained for ornament. According to the description these dresses agreed, except for the retaining of the tails, with the Yakima specimen figured by Wissler.[10] In

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[7] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 480.

[8] See Thompson, a, pl. 18.

[9] See d, fig. 18.

[10] See d, fig. 18.

291 place of the tails the Okanagon generally inserted a triangular piece
281 of beading or other ornamentation. A few dresses with full-length sleeves sewed on [11] were worn. A few dresses had no sleeves at all, the arms being bare to the shoulders. A very few young girls and old women wore no dresses, but instead fringed bodices or skirts of skin reaching to the knees or below. Some of these had high bodies which were fastened at the shoulders, but the bodies of others extended hardly above the waist. The low-bodied kind were worn also by nearly all well-dressed women under their dresses. A bodice alone was not considered a complete dress. Narrow breechclouts were worn by some girls, and also by women, during menstruation. Women's leggings were like those of the Thompson. When traveling in deep snow some women wore long leggings nearly like those of the men. A very few poor people of the Similkameen wore short leggings woven of tule or rushes.

Footwear.—Moccasins were of dressed buckskin, elk skin, etc., cut in two styles that were about equally common. One consisted of a single piece folded and sewed around the toe, the outside of the foot, and at the heel.[12] The other style had a separate small tongue piece, a seam extending from the latter to the toe, and a seam down the heel.[13] In a few the ends of the toe and the heel seams were puckered. Therefore they had no trailers.[14] All moccasins had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece.

The trailers of moccasins were cut in styles similar to those of the Thompson.

The Lake were not familiar with the cut shown in *a*, Figure 170 (Thompson), although a form similar to it, with tongue piece brought to a point at the toe, is often used by the Kutenai.

In Similkameen the common cuts were seamed down the instep and open at the heel.[15] Some trailers were cut in a fringe. Summer moccasins were more pointed and made to fit the foot. Those for winter use were much looser to give room for heavy foot wraps. These consisted of pieces of skin in the hair wrapped round the foot or sewed like a duffle. The Similkameen used a few socks,[16] made like the sage-bark socks of the Thompson, and possibly boots woven of tule. Moccasins were often padded with dry teased bark and grass. In the wintertime some people wore moccasins made of deer, caribou, buffalo, and other skins, hair side in. No moccasins of the long-tongued round-toed type [17] were used long ago. This style was introduced by the Iroquois and French. Moccasins with a wide crosscut at the toe [18] seem to have been confined to Similkameen. Sandals were used by some poor people in the summertime. They

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[11] See Thompson *a*, p. 215, fig. 184.

[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[13] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 171.

[14] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 172.

[15] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 173, Nos. 1, 2.

[16] See Thompson, *a*, p. 212, fig. 174.

[17] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 170.

[18] See Tahltan specimens, Ottawa, VI. II. 48.

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were made of skin or of rawhide, and sometimes the soles were thickened with a coat of glue and sand. 291

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Hand Wear.—Gloves were unknown long ago; but mittens, both long and short, were used in cold weather. Most of them were made of coyote and other skins in the fur.

Men's Headwear.—Men's caps and headbands were made of dressed skin and of skins in the fur of almost all kinds of animals. Some were also made of bird skins. The styles were the same as those of the Thompson, including caps of animals' headskins, and those set with antlers of deer, or horns of antelope, goat, and buffalo.

Headdresses of tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and owls were common, and similar to those of the Thompson. Eagle-feather bonnets of the style used on the plains were common during the past century, and are still worn to some extent at dances. This style differed in some details from the oldest styles of eagle-feather headdresses of the Thompson and Okanagon. Feather "tails" both of the Thompson and plains styles were in vogue.

Women's Headwear.—Women's headbands and most caps were of dressed skin. The caps were more or less conical in shape, and in details were like those of the Thompson.[19] Flat-topped caps were not used. Woven caps, called by many whites "grass caps," of the so-called "Nez-Percé" style, were in common use, except among the Lake and Similkameen.[20] Caps of willow bark were used a little by Similkameen, Okanagon, and Sanpoil, but it seems were not known to the Lake, and may not have been used by the Colville either. The Similkameen probably also used a few caps woven of tule or rushes.[21]

Overclothes, etc.—Robes, ponchos, and cloaks were worn as overclothes in cold weather. It seems that no rain cloaks and short ponchos of woven vegetal material were used, except among the Similkameen. The cloaks worn by them have been described.[22] Some people put ordinary woven mats over their heads, shoulders, and backs in heavy rains. It appears that no clothing of vegetal material, except women's caps, were used by any of the other tribes. The Lake, who used cedar bark extensively for a number of purposes, did not use it for clothing. Before the advent of the fur traders, jackets, coats, and trousers were probably not made, and some say there were no sleeves to shirts and dresses. Possibly short buckskin trousers were used by Similkameen and Nicola in early times.

After many of the western Indians began to hunt on the plains buffalo robes and skins became quite common, and largely supplanted other robes, cloaks, and ponchos. For a time buffalo skin was so plentiful that even as far north as Similkameen it was cheaper than ordinary buckskin.

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[19] a, p. 217, fig. 101.
[20] See p. 225.
[21] See also Shuswap, p. 506, c, fig. 228.
[22] See p. 231.

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291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

531 Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nosepins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]
304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.
302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear[26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] e, pl. 18.

[24] 4, p. 224, figs. 201-203.

[25] 4, p. 227, fig. 210.

[26] This refers to 1909.

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V. SUBSISTENCE

221 FOOD.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. [484] Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.[1]

222 *Vegetal food.*—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes.

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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[1] According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

222 Oak did not grow in the territories of these tribes. It was confined to Columbia River and some of its tributaries farther south. Different kinds of tree saps and sprouts of growing plants were used in season, as among the Thompson. Following is a list of the principal vegetal foods of the Okanagon. I give both the Okanāgon and the Thompson names for comparison.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
ROOTS		
Camassia esculenta (camas)	*ī'txwa, ī'txwa*	*ī'txwa*
Lewisia rediviva Pursh (bitterroot).	*spī'tlam*	*tl'kū'pᴇn*
Allium cernuum	*xalū'wa, xalī'ua*	*kala'wa*
Claytonia sessilifolia	*skwenkwī'nᴇn, skwᴇnkwī'nᴇm*	*tatū'ᴇn*
Fritillaria pudica	*ā'tamen*	*xala'uxoza*
Sium lineare	*cxei'kᴇn*	*wetsama't*
Lilium columbianum	*stexici'n*	*tcū'wᴇk*
Ferula dissoluta	*ai.yu'*	*taxqai'n*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata Nutt.	*tsa'ltsalᴇkᴇn*	*snī'lkᴇn* (root) *takā'nelp* (plant)
Peucedanum macrocarpum Nutt.	*smitsenā'lkʷ*	*kokwī'la*
Calochortus macrocarpus Dougl.	*yekiyu'kᴇps*	*maqaō'za*
Cycopus uniflorus	*xa'nᴇxan*	*xenᴇxai'n*
Erythronium grandiflorum	*s-hwe'ʷxʷ*	*ska'metc*
Fritillaria lanceolata	*smī'la*	*mū'la*
Potentilla anserina	*xī'laxil*	*xī'lᴇxil*
Hydrophyllum occidentale [1]	*stlᴇnqai'n*	*stlᴇnqai'.n*
	tlaka'n	*me.sā'i, mᴇtsā'ī*
Cnicus undulatus Gray	*sntᴇkwalkwalū'stᴇn*	*skalis'po'* (plant)[2] *n'po'poqᴇn* (root) *sᴇwī'pis* (?).
——	*sxexkī'lᴇm*	*tsepī'as*
——	*arāica'ks, nhāica'ks*	*rālcī'us, hātcei'us*
BERRIES		
Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt.	*sī'a*	*ssa'qum, sicoqōm*
Amelanchier sp.	*skikiaī'loq*	*spēkpēk.*
Prunus demissa Walpers	*xlo'x.lax*	*sōlkū', zōlkū'.*
Sambucus sp.	*tsakwi'kʷ*	*tsī'kuk*
Crataegus rivularis Nutt	*sxwanī'k*	*ā'luska*
Cornus pubescens Nutt	*sti'kᴇxʷ*	*taxpā'ᴇ*
Rubus sp. (raspberry)	*xlā'la*	*sā'itq* •
Rubus leucodermis Dougl	*metcī'ᴇk*	*mī'tcuk, mī'tcak*

[1] Said not to grow in the Okanagon country.

[2] Compare *kalispe', kalispe'lᴇm* (*kalispe'.m, kalispe'*), according to Revais, names among Flathead tribes for sprouting camas.

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	Okanagon name	Thompson name
BERRIES—continued		
Ribes sp. (red gooseberry)	*.nis'tẓɛmelps*	*spe'tsi'n*
Ribes lacustre Poir (black gooseberry).	*epɛsapū's*	*sōpū's, sōɛpū's*
Ribes cereum (wild currant)	*iō'rɛkɛn*	*łā'za*
Shepherdia canadensis Nutt.	*sxō'sɛm*	*sxō'sɛm, .s-ho'zɛm*
Fragaria californica C and S.	*tɛkei'm kɛm*	*skokiɛ'p.*
Vaccinium membranaceum Dougl.	*stkpɛ'llk*	*tsaltsū'la*
Vaccinium myrtillus (small blueberry), var. *microphyllum* Hook.	*s.sɛ'pt*	*ā'meux*
Berberis sp. (Oregon grape)	*setsɛ'rɛx* [3]	*tsa'lsa, tsɛ'lsa*
Arctostaphylos uva-ursi Spreng.	*skwolɛ's*	*ē'ixk, ē'ik, ei'ɛk.*
Rosa sp	*skwōkwe'u*	*stsaka'pɛl, skōkwa'ū* (var. of rose)
SEEDS AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS		
Hazelnuts	*qe'puẓa*	*qapū'ẓ*
Pinus ponderosa (yellow pine) nutlets or seeds, also of other pines.	*sqa'uku*	*s'tsɛ'q.*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata, seeds.	*mɛ'kto*	*mɛ'kto*
Comandra pallida, seeds or nuts.	*qepuẓ(ɛ'llp)*	*qapuẓɛ'lp*
Pinus contorta, cambium layer.	*ska'kuluk*	*n'tū.*
Pinus ponderosa, cambium layer.	*tse'xwe, tsū'xe*	*tse'ẓwe*
Heracleum lanatum, growing stalks.	*ẓoẓū'lp*	*hā'qo*
Peucedanum sp., growing stalks.	*kwo'ẓkwoẓ*	*tlā'qo*
Alectoria jubata (black moss)	*skolɛ'p* [4]	*a.wɛ'.a,*
Opuntia sp. (cactus)	*srwɛ'na*	*s'qɛ'qɛ'rz*
Tree-sugar [5]	*skamɛ'llk* [6]	*skamɛ'llk*
Elæagnus argentea, seeds [7]	*npokiā'ɛp*	*kwoiskai'nɛẓɛn*
Snowberries [8]	*ā'ɛmtsɛmɛnie'la*	*stsa'kɛms asnaiyɛ'*

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[3] Compare Coeur d'Alêne for wild currant.

[4] Compare Lillooet for black moss.

[5] A very sweet, sugary exudence which forms in cakes on the needles and branches of fir, and occasionally pine, in mid and late summer in the driest parts of the country.

[6] Means "tree milk."

[7] Seeds of this and of the cactus were probably never eaten; but they were used extensively as beads for necklaces and in the ornamentation of clothing, as among the Thompson.

[8] These were not eaten.

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222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying [illegible] over a fire.

343 .251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 411 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]

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Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.[3] The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.[4] The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower

[343]

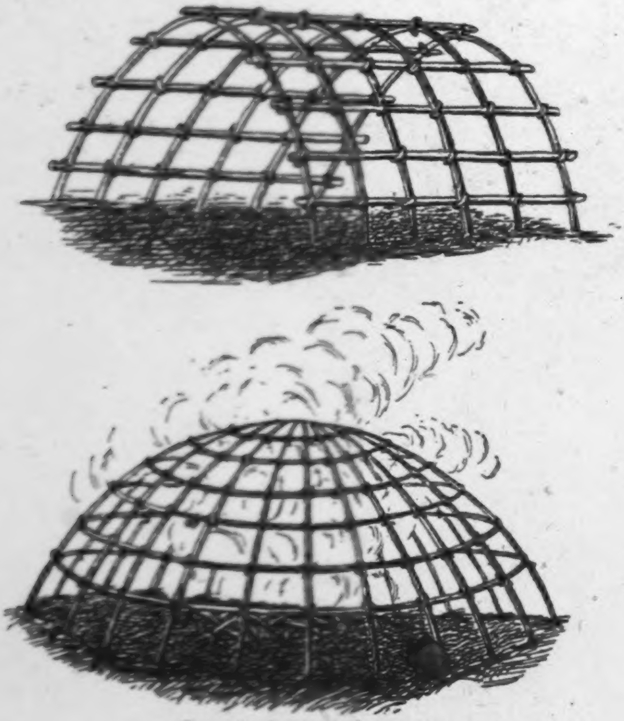

FIGURE [illegible].—Structure for drying meat

Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

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[3] a, p. 240, fig. [illegible].

[4] a, p. 240, fig. 217.

224 411 made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

136 224 *Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

[262] The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

224 The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

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[5] c, p. 244, fig. 225.

[6] c, p. 253, fig. 260.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes.

224 places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent.

[231] It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting.

221 Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting.

173 The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century:

224 Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox̣* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox̣* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place

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where they were going to drive, the hunting chief took off his cap, made of the skin of a ewe's head, and, waving it toward the cliffs where the sheep were, prayed to them as follows: "Please, sheep, go your usual way, and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" He then sent many men around to sit at the heads of two gulches on top of the mountain and shoot the sheep with arrows as they came up. The men picked were the best shots, and included most of the strangers. He then directed the drivers, a great many men and all the women, mostly Similkameen people, how to proceed and where to go. Most of them, in driving and following the sheep, had to pass a place where they had to jump over a cliff about 3 or 4 meters in height, alighting on a bank of snow. All the men jumped, but some of the women were afraid, turned back and went around by a longer route. The drivers saw and started great numbers of sheep, but they failed to get them to take the top of the mountain. Instead the sheep congregated on a steep, inaccessible cliff below the top, out of range from above or below, and stayed there. The people shouted at them lustily, but they remained there, knowing that it was a secure place. The great drive came to a standstill, and the hunting chief could see no way to get the sheep out.

Among the drivers was an Upper Thompson woman, the grandmother of the narrator of the story, who was married to a Similkameen man. She lived in Similkameen and was known to be resourceful and to have shamanistic powers. The mountain sheep was one of her guardian spirits, and on this occasion she was wearing a cap made of the headskin of an old ewe with horns attached, similar to that worn by the hunting chief. The leading Similkameen people held a consultation. They said, "All our friends will laugh at us if we can not get sheep for them." The Thompson woman said, "Yes; they certainly will." The chief then said to her, "Well, you may know something. I will give the leadership of this hunt to you; you shall be hunting chief." She answered, "Very well, but one thing you must promise." Then, pointing to the dog close to her side (a rather small and vicious-looking animal, that all the people hated), she said, "You must promise never again to abuse my dog. I will drive the sheep alone with my dog, and you may sit down and watch me." She approached the sheep, pointing first at them, then at the four points of the compass, but no one could hear what she said. Presently she gave a sharp call, and the sheep ran into a bunch, which she now pointed out to the dog. She said to it, "Friend, go and drive your friends so that they will all go up where the people want them." The dog rushed off and drove the sheep fiercely. When any of them scattered, he rounded them up again.

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He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number. 173 224

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen. 251 224 482

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7] [231]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral 224

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[7] e, p. 246 fig. 227

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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224 toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson [8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

222 The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

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224 The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

226 FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed [11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and

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[8] a, p. 247, fig. 228. [9] a, p. 248. [10] See c, pp. [illegible]. [11] See a, p. 251, fig. 231. [12] a, p. 252, fig. 232.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers. 226

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, 177
antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting 224
among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes,
were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. 226
Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes.

SEASONS.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pᴇskaai'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are— 805

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pᴇske'pts*	*ska'pts.*
Summer	*spa'ᴇntck*	*spa'ᴇntck*
Early fall	*stᴇmᴇlt'k*	*tᴇmᴇlt'k*
Late fall	*pᴇskaa'i*	*stlwei'st*
Winter	*penł'stᴇk*	*sił'stᴇk*

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, TRADE

501 CANOES.—Canoes were used more or less by all the tribes. Bands that had few canoes depended more on rafts. The Lake had an abundance of good bark in their country, and therefore used bark canoes entirely. They were all of the "sturgeon-nose" type. Most of them were made of white-pine bark. The Lower Kutenai employed the same style of canoe. At the present day most Lake canoes are covered with oiled canvas instead of bark. The Colville were not as well supplied with canoes as the Lake, and in fact procured most of their canoes from the latter. The Sanpoil had no canoes formerly. All they had were a few small, poorly made dugouts; and they say that probably long ago they had not even these. Good wood and good bark were scarce in their country, so they depended chiefly on rafts pointed at both ends and made of poles. Rafts made of bundles of tules were also employed, especially on lakes. They were pointed at the ends like the pole rafts. Pole and tule rafts were used also by the Okanagon and all the surrounding tribes, particularly on the small mountain lakes. The Okanagon also used bark canoes of the same shape as those of the Lake. Balsam was the common bark used by them. It seems that they seldom made dugout canoes until after the advent of iron tools. The Similkameen people depended chiefly on rafts. They also made, at least during the past century, small dugouts of yellow pine, balsam, poplar, and cedar. In shape they were like one of those used by the Thompson Indians,[1] but usually shallower, and rather longer snouted. Dugout canoes had no ornamentation or painting. A common style of paddle among the Lake is about 1.2 meters long, nearly half the length being blade. The latter is very broad, with rounded end; and the handle is widened out at the end to a flat knob of round cross section. The knob forms a hand grip and the part where the points of the fingers cling just under the knob is slightly hollowed out, as in many eastern paddles. This type was used more or less by the different interior Salishan tribes; but paddle blades of the more northern Salish tribes were generally narrower.

Bark canoes were floored inside with loose strips of various kinds of bark, such as birch, cedar, spruce, and balsam, or instead of bark a flooring of brush or of long, light straight poles was used. For sitting or kneeling on, bunches of fir or balsam twigs and dry swamp grass were used. Small leaks were calked in the same way as knot holes; but large ones were patched with a strong piece of birch, balsam, or other bark cut out larger than the hole and sewed on, the arrangement of the stiches being similar to those on birch-bark baskets (a long and a short stitch), but not so close together. Afterwards the sewing and edges were daubed with pitch.

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[1] 4, p. 255, fig. 237.

CARRYING.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, 482
and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either 231
with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the 481
same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant.

HORSES.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth 231
century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were intro- 492
duced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first [173]
horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the

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[2] a, p. 256, fig. 236.

[3] a, p. 257, fig. 241.

[4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid
231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was
very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long
492 sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the
horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking
sticks) as they went along.

492 Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles
and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from
the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the
plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from
place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and
packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were
178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great
impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage;
492 also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation
of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long
distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse,
484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in
part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive
waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported
on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable
articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after
horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them.
It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering
through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the
other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading
trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to
distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed
into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest
487 trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was
in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville.
Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction
of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon
River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was
easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head
of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry
their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap
Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central
point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona,
and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems
to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went
overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen
River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

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In like manner from Kettle Falls trade went north, following the Columbia to Arrow Lakes and Revelstoke, where the Shuswap were met. Practically all this journey was by canoe, and most of it was quite easy. 439 487

It seems that in early times trade from the east flowed chiefly to Colville by way of the Pend d'Oreilles route, and trade from the south to Okanagon by way of Columbia River. These points, being under different influences, would differ to some extent in the character of their trade. No doubt there was always some cross-country trade between the Colville and Okanagon through the Sanpoil country, so that eastern, western, northern, and southern objects would be exchanged between these places. Some trade from the Columbia River would also reach Colville more directly by way of the Spokan tribe. It seems likely, however, that goods from Columbia River were carried north from Okanagon, while objects of barter obtained from the east were unimportant. In like manner it might be expected that the Colville traded more in eastern goods, less in those from Columbia River. Thus possibly the most direct route for eastern influences to reach the Shuswap would be from the Colville by way of the Lake, and for southern influences from Okanagon River, between the mouth and the falls, by way of the Lower and Upper Okanagon.

It seems that the Shuswap came into touch with the Lake by two main routes—by way of the Fire Valley and Caribou Lake to the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and farther north to the Columbia River at Revelstoke. Some people often traversed the river and the lakes between these two points, fishing and hunting with the Lake tribe. Occasionally some of their parties tarried several months on these visits, especially some of those who came by way of Fire Valley. Those who came to Revelstoke fished with the Lake tribe there. Some of them returned the way they came, after the fishing season was over; and others ascended the Columbia for hunting and trapping. Some of the latter met other Shuswap parties who reached the Columbia farther up, by way of Canoe River, and they frequently wintered at points on the Columbia.

As all the Shuswap reaching the Columbia came from as far west and north as Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and the Upper North Thompson, they traversed a long distance through mostly rough country, which would hamper any extensive trade development in this direction. Even in later days horses could not be used on those Shuswap trails, except by the southern, the Fire Valley, route. The contact here between Lake and Shuswap was between the poorest bands of both tribes. On the other hand, the head of Okanagon Lake was close to large centers of population. The homes of the Shuswap were only a little distance to the north, and the intervening

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country was easily traversed. It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the trade from the south must have come by the Okanagon route; and, as this trade route was rather from the southern Columbia than from the east, the Shuswap would be subjected to influences from the southern Columbia, The Dalles, and southward, rather than from the southeast and the plains. The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes from the south, would act as distributers, in the same way as the Okanagon and Colville farther south; and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place. It thus seems likely that trade from the south would reach the Thompson down Thompson River from Kamloops rather than by the cross-country routes from Okanagon to the head of Nicola River, and from Okanagon to the Thompson by way of the Similkameen and Nicola. The *Stuwi'x* tribe would also to some extent form a barrier to trade reaching the Thompson by the last-named routes, owing to the hostility that existed between them and the Okanagon immediately before the introduction of the horse. Their culture points to Thompson rather than Okanagon influence.

Following the introduction of the horse, trade conditions changed rather suddenly, and the old trade routes became of minor importance. Trade now passed across country with the greatest ease. The new main trade routes followed across the rolling, lightly timbered grassy plateaus, and through the open valleys, in almost straight lines from one place to another. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanagon and Colville. The latter place became of greatest importance as a trading center for a large area of the Plateau country. In fact, it became the great trade emporium of the interior Salishan tribes. Trade from The Dalles and Columbia River going east, and a great deal of that going north, came here by way of the Spokan and Okanagon. The eastern trade from as far as the plains came here by way of Pend d'Oreille River, and passed south, west, and north. The old Lake route to the north, being impossible for horses, was practically neglected. The great trade route to the north was now across country from Colville to Okanagon River; thence it branched off, about half of the volume of trade going up the Similkameen to the Thompson, and the rest passing on to Okanagon Lake. The volume of trade that passed north to the Shuswap and Thompson became very great. The routes traversed were natural ones for horses, through open, well-grassed country, without any physical barriers. Goods were transported up Okanagon Valley by horses, although no doubt some went by canoe, as before. From Okanagon Lake a number of branch routes came into use, leading to the Thompson and Shuswap. Trade to the latter tribe went on to the head of the lake, as before. From there one route was to Spellumcheen River

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and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson. 439 487

Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade. [177]

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and parflèches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed

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skins. The Okanagon traded the same commodities to the Shuswap and to the Thompson. The Okanagon procured dentalia from the Shuswap, and it is probable that before the introduction of the horse most of these shells were obtained from them.

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagon sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually. Large packs of dried fish and oil, and in later days even salted salmon, were transported over this trail.

They sold to the Lower Fraser people Indian-hemp bark and twine, dried service berries, and dressed buckskin, in exchange for the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, dentalia, and other shells.

From the Columbia it seems that marine shells, bags of the Nez Percé style, products from The Dalles country, some horses, salmon, coiled basketry, and probably some stone implements and woven robes, were procured in exchange for articles common to all the tribes, such as Indian hemp, robes, clothes, dressed skins, etc.

Some horses and buffalo skin were procured from the Spokan chiefly by the Sanpoil; but there was not much direct trade with this tribe, although Sanpoil visited the Lower Spokan. The Sanpoil appear to have done most of their trading with the Colville on the one hand and the Okanagon on the other.

The Colville procured horses, painted bags and parflèches, buffalo robes, etc., from the Kalispel, in exchange for dried salmon, and some articles reaching them from the west and north, such as shells.

The Lower Kutenai sometimes traded painted bags, parflèches and deer-skin robes to the Lake for dried salmon, and the Lake sold some bark canoes to the Colville. They also sold some products obtained at Colville to the Shuswap, receiving in return chiefly marmot robes and dentalia.

It seems that slaves were procured chiefly from the Columbia tribe. Tobacco and certain kinds of roots were trade articles to some extent. Camas roots, for instance, were often sold to the Thompson, and the latter sometimes sold one or two kinds of roots to the Okanagon. Red paint was sold by the Similkameen people to both the Okanagon and Thompson, and parties of these tribes also came to the Tulameen Forks or Vermilion to gather it themselves. Pipes and pipestone of red, brown, green, mottled, yellowish, bluish, and gray colors were interchanged. The bright-red catlinite came from the east, chiefly through the Kalispel. Green soapstone came chiefly from the Thompson. I learned nothing regarding early trading in copper and iron. It would seem that these metals were not in use to any great extent before the advent of the horse. Buffalo-skin tents reached the Thompson. Small, flat, disk-shaped beads of shell and

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438]

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 [177]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

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of iron, including the pipe tomahawk. Bows and arrows have already been mentioned.

A number of different types of war clubs were in use. The three kinds with round stone heads used by all the Thompson were common. One kind had a rigid head with rawhide shrunk over it;[2] another kind had a flexible head consisting of a stone enclosed in a bag of dressed skin;[3] and the third kind consisted of a stone enclosed in rawhide, with a short flexible handle of twisted rawhide or a loop of heavy thong. Some of these appear to have been grooved, but most of them were enclosed in hide. War clubs in a single piece were also common. Some of these were of hard wood.[4] Shorter stone clubs, probably of jade and serpentine, of nearly the same shape[5] as the wooden ones, were used principally by the Okanagon. Possibly most of them were obtained in trade from Wenatchi and Columbia. Clubs made of a single piece of elk antler were common. Usually the sharpened stub of a tine at the head formed a spike. The Similkameen claim that his was the most common war club among them. A crooked club of stone and wood, or entirely of either material, was in use. It resembled somewhat the crooked war club of eastern tribes, but had no ball or spike. This style may have been introduced from the plains, but quite possibly it may have been modeled after some of the elk-antler clubs which were of this shape naturally. The crooked club with ball and spike was introduced in later days by the fur traders. Straight wooden clubs set with from one to eight spikes of stone or antler were also in use. Iron clubs came into use after the traders came. They were shaped somewhat like a machete. I did not learn the exact distribution of the various kinds of clubs among the four tribes, but it seems that all kinds were more or less used everywhere. A club with elongated head of rounded stone[6] may have been introduced from the plains. A club with elongated head of flat stone was indigenous.

Cuirasses of rods of wood and of slats of wood were in use among the Okanagon and Sanpoil, and some of heavy hide were also employed. Some of the latter were low, and only encircled the waist. Tunics of thick elk hide were worn by a few men. I did not hear of helmets of any kind, nor of long hide shields.[7] Small shields were universal. Most of them were made of thick hide sewed to a wooden hoop. From one to three thicknesses of hide were used.[8] Some of those of a single piece of hide were rendered arrow proof by a thick coat of glue and sand on one side. Some shields had no hoops. One kind was exactly like the shields used on the plains. All the hide shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[a] 411 713

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[2] a, p. 264, fig. 247.

[3] See Thompson, a, p. 264, fig. 248.

[4] See Thompson, a, 265, fig. 251.

[5] See Yakima, i, figs. 62, 63.

[6] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 312.

[7] See Thompson, a p. 266, fig. 256.

[8] Field Museum, 111941.

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses. 712

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwī'x̣, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwī'x̣* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwī'x̣* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwī'x̣*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwī'x̣* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwī'x̣*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwī'x̣*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwī'x̣* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies. 726

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[a] Field Museum, 111062.

726 Okanagon. Once a large Shuswap war party from Savona and neighborhood was defeated at *Namtū'stɛn* ("place of ambush") and nearly all of them were killed. Another Shuswap war party had many men killed by falling over a cliff below Penticton. It seems that this war party came over the plateau to the bluffs above the valley, which they reached in the evening. Here they halted to observe some camps in the valley below. They were noticed by some Okanagon scouts, and in the night time were surrounded by a strong party of Okanagon, who shortly before daybreak attacked them suddenly. Many of the Shuswap, not knowing the locality, fell over the precipice in the dark. Some others escaped to isolated rocks, where their retreat was cut off by the steep cliffs, and they were shot there after daylight. A number of others escaped through the Okanagon in the dark, and reached home. Their war chief was killed.

Wars with Kutenai.—The Lake say that they had no wars with the Shuswap, nor with any other tribe except the Kutenai. With the Lower Kutenai they had some small fights and one great war. It is not remembered exactly how it started; but the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake away from Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Slocan River. A number of fights occurred, with advantage sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. At last the Lake held a council, and said, "We better kill all the Kutenai, and then there will be no more trouble." At this time the Lake tribe was very numerous, and men came from all parts of the tribe. A large expedition went up Kootenai Lake and attacked the Lower Kutenai of Creston. They killed a great many people, and after that the Kutenai ceased to attack them. In some expeditions Shuswap helped the Lake against the Kutenai. The Lake say that sometimes independent war parties of Shuswap appeared in the Lake country on their way to attack the Kutenai. The Lake tribe sometimes gave them assistance in crossing the Columbia. It seems that there has been no war between the Lake and the Kutenai since about the beginning of the past century.

Wars with the Nez Percé and Yakima.—The Sanpoil say that according to traditions the Sanpoil and Nespelim led very peaceful lives, sometimes for decades at a time, neither attacking nor being attacked, although meanwhile they heard of many wars among other tribes. Their chiefs always favored peace, although all bands had war chiefs and a certain number of trained warriors. Once, sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century, or at least previous to the coming of the white traders, a large war party of Nez Percé attacked the main camp of the Sanpoil, at a time when most of the able-bodied men were away on a hunting expedition in the mountains. Nearly 200 women, children, and old people were killed. The Sanpoil asked the assistance of the Okanagon and Colville to revenge the

massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again. 726

Wars with the whites.—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokan and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Tcelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

FEUDS.—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon: 578

Chief Nicolas,[10] who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,[11] who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *Kᴇsaskai'-* 578 173

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[10] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267 (4.9).

[11] According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*.

578 *lɛx* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her hus-
173 band. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] Cat's
526 cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 266.
[2] a, pp. 272, 273.
[3] a, p. 274.
[4] a, pp. 274, 275.
[5] a, pp. 277, 278.
[6] See p. 122.

526 the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

201 A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

565 575 621 ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

622 CHIEFS.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

622 of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x* blood [1]); *Soqkokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x* and half Thompson); and Martinus [2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawi'sesqᴇn* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skea's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

555 There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might 622 become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

624 All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among 756 the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were perma- 622 nent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers. 622

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.9).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained. 554 622

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance. 623 203

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line. 622

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pᴇlkamū'lôx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation. 173 622

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (*Pilᴇkᴇmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sᴇnx̣omi'nux* or *sᴇnxomē'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville: Lakes

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2.1. *Psłkamū'łāx*, a chief in the same tribe. He was born presumably between 1705 and 1710. For some reason he left his own tribe and lived chiefly among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and Shuswap. He had other children besides the four sons here mentioned. Since they were not prominent their names have been forgotten. He died at an advanced age at *Sāłī'łxʷ* "heaped-up stone house," an ancient Okanagon stronghold near the junction of the Similkameen and Okanagon Rivers. It is said that when he was young he went several times on buffalo hunting expeditions to the plains. During his lifetime there was a period of severe warfare in the Okanagon region. The Indians believe that at this time the *Stuwi'x* were driven out of the lower Similkameen region. He married first a Spokan woman (2.1 *a*); second, a Shuswap woman at Kamloops (2.1 *b*); third, a Sanpoil woman (2.1 *c*); fourth, an Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief at *Sāłīłxʷ* (2.1 *d*).

3.1. A son of 2.1 and 2.1*a*, whose name is not remembered, married a Spokan woman. The order of the four children of 3.1 is uncertain. According to some the daughter was the eldest; according to others, the youngest child. The three sons all married and left descendants among the Spokan. He became chief of the *Snxomē'nic* and was the ancestor of several Lower and Upper Spokan, including *Nhwislpo'* (Walking-Outside) and his brother *Koti'lxko'* (Big-Star) or *Nkeaskwēi'lox*, commonly known as Oliver Lot, late chief of the Lower Spokan on the Spokane Reservation.

3.2. *Kwolī'la*, chief of the Kamloops Band of the Shuswap; married a Kamloops woman (3.2 *a*). He was known also as *Tōkē'n* (possibly a corruption of Duncan as he was called by the traders). He had more children than those mentioned here. His half-niece (4.8) was adopted by him. (See under 3.4.)

It is said that the Kamloops chief preceding *Kwolī'la* was *Talxxa'n* who was killed on a war expedition in which the Sekanai were driven out of the upper North Thompson and Yellowhead districts. He was also engaged in wars with the Cree and is said to have been wounded in a fight with them.[1] The Kamloops chieftaincy did not descend in *Kwolī'la's* family. His successor was *Kwī'mtxxn* (a name also used by the Thompson), who was not related to *Kwolī'la*. His successor was Jean Baptiste Lolo, commonly known as St. Paul. About 1864 he was succeeded by Louis *Xlexxle'xkxn*, not a relative of St. Paul, who held the chieftaincy until his death in 1915 at the age of 87 years. The present chief is a young man, Elie La Rue, chosen by Chief Louis before his death, and confirmed by election by the tribe. Some informants say that *Kwolī'la* was succeeded by *Tslākā'n* or *Slākān* (male grizzly bear), whence the Indian surname Logan.

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[1] *c*, pp. 546-554; and Franz Boas, Report on Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Assn. Adv. of Science, 1890, pp. 86, 87 (reprint).

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Baptiste Logan, a chief at the head of Okanagon Lake, lately deposed by the agent, is a grandson of this man. The same informant claims that a chief named *Pates* preceded Louis as chief.

3.3. *Sixwī'lᴇxkᴇn*, chief of the Sanpoil. He married a Sanpoil woman. He had more children than those mentioned here. It is said that most of the later Sanpoil and Nespelim chiefs are his descendants.

3.4. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx*, head chief of the Okanagon. He married first, an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks* (3.4*a*), at the head of Okanagon Lake; and second, a *Stuwī'x* woman from Similkameen, perhaps partly of Thompson descent. The order of birth of his children is uncertain.

Pᴇlkamū'lôx became a noted chief and was known far and wide. During his early life he was much engaged in war. These wars commenced in his father's time or before and continued for many years—many Okanagon as well as people of other tribes being killed. *Salī'lx°* where he made his headquarters was considered the chief seat of the Okanagon tribe (or at least of the northern division). The old name of the place is said to have been *Okanā'qen*. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* built a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally known as *Salī'lx°*, "heaped-up (stone) house," with reference to the fortifications of stone. It is said there was also a cave near there, the approach to which was defended with breastworks of stones. In case of necessity the people took refuge in it, and from there no party could approach, except under cover of night, without being observed. This place is said to have been impregnable and war parties of Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, and others who assaulted it were easily beaten off. *Kwolī'la* (3.2), the Kamloops chief, had heard of the many attacks by enemy war parties on *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* and determined to go and see him. His people tried to dissuade him, telling him it was very dangerous for any one to visit him, for his people had been attacked so often that they trusted no one and attacked all strangers on sight who approached their place. Seeing that *Kwolī'la* was determined to go, the Shuswap and the people of *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, who at that time were a mixture of Shuswap and Okanagon, offered to accompany him in an armed body, but he refused their offer, saying he would go alone. As he was leaving, his people told him, "*Pᴇlkamū'lôx's* people will kill you before they know who you are, and even if they know, they may kill you." *Kwolī'la* answered, "I am *Pᴇlkamū'lôx's* brother, and will go and see him alone." Arriving on the open ground before *Pᴇlkamū'lôx's* house, the people ran out to meet him in battle array. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* recognized him and was glad to see him. He took him to his house and kept him as his guest for a long time. *Kwolī'la* advised *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* to forsake *Salī'lx°* and go

173 north with him. He told him, "*Salĭ'lxᵘ* is a bad place to live in.
622 You will always have trouble as long as you stay there." *Pʌlkamū'lôx* was persuaded. It was early summer, and he and his people traveled north with the *Kwolĭ'la* to *Komkʌna'tko*, "headwaters," now called Fish Lake, in the Nicola country. This place was at that time in Shuswap territory, for the Shuswap claimed the country south of Kamloops around the head of the Nicola River. Stump Lake, Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, and Chaperon Lake were all in Shuswap country. This country at that time was full of elk and deer, and there were also many sheep, bear, and other game. Prairie chicken, grouse of all kinds, and water fowl were plentiful, and the lakes teemed with fish. Here at Fish Lake *Kwolĭ'la* made a lasting agreement with *Pʌlkamū'lôx*, giving him the perpetual use over all the Shuswap territory of the upper Nicola Valley, south, east, and west of Chaperon Lake, comprising Douglas Lake and Fish Lake. The *Stuwĭ'xʌmuxᵘ* and *Ntlakyâ'pâmux* held the country west and south around Nicola Lake and Minnie Lake to the Similkameen. *Kwolĭ'la* said, "You will have the country for yourself and your people as your own. I will live as your neighbor at *Toxoxoi'tcʌn* (Chaperon Lake) and will retain all the country from there north. You will make Fish Lake your headquarters in the summer and I will summer at Chaperon Lake so that we may be close neighbors part of each year. You will give me your daughter, *Kokoimā'lks* (4.8), to be my foster child and she will always live with me, but your son (4.9) you will keep with yourself." *Pʌlkamū'lôx* had only two children at this time, both of them very young. After this *Pʌlkamū'lôx* and most of his people spent their summers in their new country with headquarters around Fish Lake and Douglas Lake, and in the wintertime lived at *Nkama'pʌlʌks*. Henceforth *Salĭ'lxᵘ* was deserted of permanent inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon. Those people who did not go with *Pʌlkamū'lôx* moved north to different parts of the Okanagon Lake country and especially to the head of the lake around *Nkama'pʌlʌks*. The latter place became an important Okanagon center. Not many years after this, owing to its fine grazing, many of the people of the old *Salĭ'lxᵘ* band, and others of the *Nkama'pʌlʌks* band, who were now much mixed with them, began to winter around Douglas Lake and Fish Lake, forming as it were a new band. However, even up to the present day they look upon themselves as merely an offshoot of the *Nkama'pʌlʌks* and Okanagon people and as really one with them. Each year when *Pʌlkamū'lôx* left for his winter quarters at *Nkama'pʌlʌks*, *Kwolĭ'la* at the same time left to winter at Kamloops. Being head chief of the Okanagon, *Pʌlkamū'lôx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighboring tribes, visiting the *Stuwĭ'x*, Upper Thompson,

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Shuswap of Kamloops, and it is said, the Wenatchi, Columbia, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel. He went a number of times buffalo hunting to the plains, by way of the Flathead country, and was therefore well acquainted with chiefs and people of all the tribes to the south and east as far as the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, Yakima, Kutenai, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot. On his last trip to the plains his party met near Helena, Mont., the first white men they had seen (viz, Legace and MacDonald, explorers and trappers of the Northwest Co.). On the return trip these men accompanied the party as far west as the Columbia River, where they wintered with the Colville chief. After this *Pɛlkamū'lɑx* traveled around in his own country and within the borders of the neighboring tribes, telling of the wonderful men he had seen on his recent trip. *Kwolī'la* invited him to Kamloops to tell of the event. He accompanied the Shuswap to their salmon-fishing and trading rendezvous at Pavilion and Fountain, on Fraser River. Here he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in an altercation with a Lillooet chief. When dying he charged *Kwolī'la* with the guardianship of his son, *Hwistesmexe'qɛn* (4.9), and asked him to see that he avenged his death. (For full particulars of this part of the history of *Pɛlkamū'lɑx*, see Dawson, "The Shuswap People," pp. 26, 27; and Wade, "The Thompson Country," pp. 13–15.)

4.1. Ali', married Donald McLean (4.1*a*), in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. post at Kamloops; born 1801, killed in the Chilcotin war 1864. (See Father A. G. Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, pp. 264–270, 279, 307–313.) He had a second wife who was half Shuswap. With her he had three sons, Alan, Charles, and Archibald, who along with Alexander Hare (whose mother was Lower Thompson from Boston Bar), were hanged in 1881 for the murder of whites in the Kamloops district. By a third wife, partly Carrier, he had several children, John and others.

4.2. *Skwa'lkwal* ⎫
4.3. *Tcɛmā'wia* ⎬ Left descendants among the Spokan.
4.4. *Nɛkeeskwa'* ⎭

4.5. *Tak.lī'sqɛt* (rain-cloud, or descending cloud?), married a Shuswap woman (4.5*a*), died at Kamloops, very old. He had other children besides those noted here.

4.6. *Takwū'lkɛnɛm*, married.

4.7. *Yenamusī'tca*, "surrounded robe." He had other children besides the one recorded here.

4.8. *Kokoimālks* or *Koimā'lks*, married. She was adopted by *Kwolī'la* (3.2).

4.9. Nicolas *Hwistesmetxē'qɛn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear" born 1780–1785, died about 1865. This name is said to be of Spokan origin and was inherited. The name Nicolas was given to him by the traders.

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The Indians pronounced it, *Nkwala'*. He married 15 wives (according to other informants 17) from the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Shuswap, *Stuwi'x*, Thompson, and perhaps others. His children who grew up numbered about 50 and many of their descendants are now living on the Colville, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alêne Reservations as well as in southern British Columbia among the Okanagon, Shuswap, and Thompson. One of his daughters, Mary *Sukomē'lks* (5.7), married one of the Peones (Pion [4]) in the Colville or Spokane country. One of his sons, *Kesεka'lux* (*Kesaskai'lεx*) (5.8), "Bad Man," was well known. I did not try to get a list of Chief Nicolas's wives and children as the head chieftainship did not descend to them, but instead to his adopted son and nephew *Tsεlaxī'tsa* (5.10), the son of his sister *Sapxεnā'lks* (4.11). Charles *Tcere'pqεn*, a Spokan from the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation and a descendant of Chief Nicolas, visited his friends at Kamloops, Nicola, and Spences Bridge in 1912.

This man became even a more famous chief than his father and the Nicola Valley, Nicola River, and Nicola Lake are named after him. The fur traders called the region of the upper Nicola, "Nicolas's country," and the river which flowed through it "Nicolas's River." Later the lake and valley were given the names from the river. Nicolas was given his name Nicolas by the French Canadian traders who conducted the temporary trading post at the head of Okanagon Lake. When a young man, Nicolas was placed in charge of this post by the trader, who had to leave for a winter. On his return the trader found everthing at the post in good order and many valuable skins collected by Nicolas. In reward he gave the latter a present of 10 guns with plenty of ammunition. About this time the Kamloops chief, *Kwoli'la*, visited him and reminded him of his duty to avenge the death of his father. Nicolas at once prepared himself for the warpath and sent invitations to the neighboring tribes to join him in his war expedition against the Lillooet. It is said about 500 warriors of the Okanagon, Upper Thompson, *Stuwi'x*, and Shuswap assisted Nicolas in this expedition, which swept through most of the Lillooet country. They killed about 300 or 400 Lillooet and took many young women and children captive. On this expedition some of the Lower Lillooet are said to have seen the first horse and heard the first gun—a number of the war party being armed with guns and some of them being mounted on horses. Most of the Lillooet, however, had seen horses on Fraser River long before this date and some of the upper division may have owned horses. Guns, however, were still unknown among them at this time. Both before and after this war expedition the hundreds of warriors made several elk drives in the upper Nicola country on a grand scale, driving great numbers of these animals into inclosures and over cliffs, thus hastening the extermination of elk in that country. (For fuller particulars of this war expedition see McKay in Dawson, "The Shuswap people," pp. 27, 28; Wade, "The Thompson country," pp. 16–19; Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," p. 246.)

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[4] The Peones are descended from a French Canadian Péon (?) who was in the service of the Northwest Co. Peone Prairie in the Spokan country, is named after one of them.

Chief Nicolas, it is said, was quite as widely known as his father and made several trips to the plains buffalo hunting. According to some, on one of these trips he had a fight with the Blackfoot in which the latter were defeated. He was also the chief who came down to Nicola Lake and buried the Thompson and *Stuwī'x* victims of the Shuswap raid at Guichon. (For a mention of this see Smith, "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," p. 432.) An interesting account of Chief Nicolas's scheme to outwit Tod (who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops) and take the trading post (about 1846) is mentioned in Bancroft's History of British Columbia and a fuller account is given by Wade. ("The Thompson Country," pp. 63–66.) The fur traders recognized Nicolas as the most powerful and influential chief in the interior of British Columbia. He was noted for his sagacity, prudence, honesty, and fair dealing, and was rather a peacemaker than a fighting man. He was greatly respected by the Indians and his word was law among his own people and even among the neighboring tribes. He overshadowed all the other chiefs of his time in power and influence. Like other head chiefs, he usually had a bodyguard of young warriors who did his bidding and accompanied him on all important trips and visits to neighboring chiefs. During his lifetime the Okanagon and neighboring tribes became acquainted with the white man; first with the fur traders in the very early years of the last century, and then about 50 years later (about 1856–1864) with the first gold miners and settlers. On the advent of the latter, Nicolas used his great influence for their protection and in preventing the Indians making war on them. During the Fraser River trouble between the Thompson and whites (1858–59) he advocated peace although preparing for war, and had the affair not been settled when it was, he might have joined the Thompson against the miners. Although repeatedly asked to join in the Spokan war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen. He was an ally of the latter and wore the medals the Queen and King had presented to him. Having his territory controlled by the Queen, he expected to be dealt fairly with, for the Queen and her subjects, the fur traders, had always been fair with the Indians. He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicolas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing

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through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicolas's death, recognized a different head chief. According to some his name was *Tōnā'sqᴇt*. He was not of chief's descent and, it is said, secured his reputation through war and horse raiding. Chief Nicolas was also noted as a very wealthy man. He had numbers of fine robes and other wealth, large bands of horses, and before 1858 or 1860, had a good many cattle, the first of which he had obtained some years before from Indians and whites or half-breeds in the Colville and Spokan countries. He also cultivated some patches of corn, potatoes, and probably tobacco before 1860. He obtained the seed from traders at Kamloops or from traders and others in the south. Nicolas died at Grand Prairie about 1865, in the fall of the year. His body was taken to Kamloops by a great cortege of Indians and temporarily buried near the Hudson Bay fort. During the winter a large number of Indians remained with the body, and either the traders or the Indians or both kept a guard of honor over it in military style during the winter. In the spring it was exhumed and carried on horses to *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, where it was finally buried. Chief Nicolas generally (or at least very often) wintered at *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, as his father *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* had done, and he considered this place his real winter quarters.

An Okanagon informant gave me the following names as those of leading chiefs in various tribes about 1850, or in the latter days of Chief Nicolas. Adam, at Shuswap Lake, leading chief of the "real Shuswap"; William, at Williams Lake, and *Lo'xsᴇm*, at Soda Creek, leading chiefs of the Northern or Fraser River at Shuswap; *Cexpē'ntlᴇm*, at Lytton, head chief of the Thompson; *Pā'lak*, at Spuzzum, leading chief of the Lower Thompson; *Kirkwa'* or *Kᴇsawī'lᴇx*, "become bad," at Fort Shepherd, leading chief of the Lake; *Yēlᴇmᴇxstū'lᴇx*, at Kettle Falls, leading chief of the Colville. Gregor *Yokumtīkᴇn* was chief of the Nkamip band of the Okanagon when they talked with Commissioner Sproat.

One informant told me the following about *Tōnā'sqᴇt*.

"*Tōnā'sqᴇt* was not a chief nor descended from any chiefs. He first became prominent in the following manner. In 1858 some of the Okanagon were fighting the whites who came overland with pack trains and horses via the Okanagon route to the newly discovered gold diggings in British Columbia. Many of the white parties were killed. Horses were also stampeded and stolen from them. Most of the fighting took place near the British Columbia line. In all there were never more than 70 or 80 Okanagon fighting and most of them had no guns. *Tōnā'sqᴇt* was one of their number. Once they fought a large party of whites and stopped them from passing through. They had to retreat and change their direction. Then a still larger party of whites came on the scene. The Indians set fires in the grass on the

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flanks of the party, and another large fire ahead of them which spread into the trees. They separated and fired shots from behind the fires. The white party came to a halt and made ready for an attack. There were probably less than 20 Indians at this time while the whites must have numbered about 150. *Tōnă'sqxt* made himself leader of the Indians. He left half of his men here and there at the sides and front to shoot off their guns while he with the others rode down on the camp of the whites. The latter thought the Indians were going to attack them and prepared to shoot. *Tōnă'sqxt*, who was ahead, held his gun above his head and called out, "Don't shoot, we are friends." He said to the whites, "I have great numbers of my warriors all around, to the sides, and in front and behind you. They are waiting behind these fires. At my call they will come out and overwhelm you, but I do not want to do this. I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through my country." The whites believed him; they wrote down his name and gave him many presents. He and his following then allowed them to pass on, gave them directions, and did not molest them any further. After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better, and always gave him presents. In this way *Tōnă'sqxt* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief, but he was really no chief, although later the American Okanagon recognized him as such to some extent. *Tōnă'sqxt* himself, after Nicolas's death, claimed to be head chief of the Okanagon who lived on the American side of the line.

4.10. *Sukomɛ'lks*, married a Hudson Bay Co. employee in the Okanagon or Colville country. According to some informants she was a daughter, not a sister, of Chief Nicolas (4.9). There may have been two individuals of the same name. She had more children than those here recorded.

4.11. *Sapq̣xna'lks*, married *Xalxkskwai'lōx̣* of *Tutxkskū'lōx̣* (4.11 *a*), a little below Keremeous, Similkameen. She was the favorite sister of Chief Nicolas. She died giving birth to her first child, who became Chief *Tsxlaxī'tsa* (5.10). Her husband was almost pure Okanagon.

5.1. Donald McLean, married Julienne (5.1 *a*), daughter of Chief Jean Paul, of Kamloops. Donald McLean was famous as fiddler and Government scout. He was living at Kamloops, 1916, aged over 80 years. He had more children than enumerated here.

5.2. Duncan McLean.

5.3. Alexander McLean, living near Kamloops, 1916. He had more children living than enumerated here.

5.4. A daughter, married Donald(?) Manson, Lac La Hache, a Hudson Bay employee or son of a Hudson Bay employee, of Scotch descent.

5.5. *Nx̣o'mqɛn*, "Painted Head," married a Shuswap woman (5.5 *a*.) He died at Kamloops, 1913, as an old man. He had more children besides Julia (6.8).

5.6. *Ratcā'x̣ɛn*, "Tied Arms." He died among the Sanpoil about 1900, a very old man. He had more children besides *Ratcā'x̣ɛn* (6.9).

5.7 Mary *Sukomē'lks*. See 4.9.

5.8. *Kɛsɛska'lux̣* (*Kesaskai'lex̣*). See 4.9.

5.9. Julie. Married William Peone (5.9 *a*) in the Spokan country.

5.10. *Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa*, adopted by Chief Nicolas (4.9). He had 12 wives. Best known among them were (1st) an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pɛlɛks* (5.10 *a*); (2d) *Panā'lks*, "Folded Dress," from *Nkamtcī'nɛmuxᵘ* (Spences Bridge) (5.10 *b*); (3d) Marie *Mɛmī'x̣tsa*, "Hanging-loose Robe," a Kamloops (5.10 *c*); (4th) Sophie, from Spences Bridge, a younger sister of *Panā'lks* (5.10 *d*); (5th) *Tīkumtī'nɛk*, "Smooth Bow," an Okanagon mixed with Colville (5.10 *e*); (6th) *Seisi'tko*, or *Sisi'ntko*, "Two Waters," of *Ka'lɛmix* (Guichon), Nicola Valley (5.10 *f*); (7th) a woman whose name is not remembered (5.10 *g*); (8th) *Kanī'sta*, of *Ka'lɛmīx*, Nicola Valley (5.10 *h*).

Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa was the most prominent chief in the interior of British Columbia in his day, and was noted as an all-round good man. He was the recognized head chief of the Okanagon tribe on the Canadian side of the line and the only chief of the Okanagon in the Nicola country. He was the chief who carried on the negotiations with Government Commissioner Sproat regarding the tribal territory and hunting and fishing rights of the Okanagon, and the laying off of reservations for the people at Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, Quilchena, Guichon, and around the head of Okanagon Lake (*Nkama'pɛlɛks*, etc.). Like his uncle, Chief Nicolas, he had great faith in the Queen and the Queen's laws, and expected his people to be dealt with by the Government in the fairest manner regarding all the rights that they claimed in the territories inherited from their forefathers. About 1875 and 1876, when there was great dissatisfaction among the interior Salishan tribes in British Columbia because of white settlement on their lands and the failure of the Government to make treaties and proper agreements with them regarding their land and hunting rights, etc., *Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa* calmed the other chiefs and repressed the people, telling them the Queen would eventually see to it that the Indians would be dealt with fairly. He was friendly to the settlers and did not try to run them off. He simply asked them questions and let them understand that they were trespassing on land still possessed by the Indians. About this time an alliance was formed by most of the Shuswap and Okanagon chiefs for the purpose of a combined attack upon all white settlers, and there only remained the word of Chief *Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa* to set the country aflame. He stood out against all the others and advocated a peaceful policy. Through his efforts a

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serious Indian war was avoided. The Indians were appeased shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mr. Sproat and the apparent desire of the Government to acknowledge the rights of the Indians. However, considerable dissatisfaction remained among many. *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* was considered a wealthy chief and a good speaker. He died about 1884, after having chosen his son Alexander *Xwistesmexe'qɛn* to succeed him as head chief of the tribe. After his death two of his other sons became local chiefs of subbands, and another a church chief (so called). *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* survived most of his wives.

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6.1. John McLean.

6.2. Rosie McLean.

6.3. Alick McLean, about 1885. In wild excitement, he ran into the Indian village at Kamloops and shot some Indians. When he did the same a second time he was shot by the Indians.

6.4. Charles McLean, lately of Edmonton, Alberta.

6.5. Duncan McLean.

6.6. Alfred McLean.

6.7. John McLean.

6.8. Julie, living 1916 at Kamloops.

6.9. *Ratcā'ɣɛn*, living 1911 among the Sanpoil on the Colville Reservation.

6.10. *Nkeaskwai'lɛx.*

6.11. A daughter, who married an Okanagon man and has a family.

6.12. *Elɛmɛlpōsɛman* or *Iamɛlpō'sɛmɛn* (good heart); married *Xaikwa'tko* (— water) (6.12 *a*) and *Sixwē'lksa* (6.12 *b*), both Thompson from Nicola. He had several children living in 1915. He inherited his father's medals, two of which had belonged to Chief Nicolas, one of them a King George III medal. Shortly after his father's death he became chief of the band at *Kalɛmēx* or Guichon. This band was originally *Stuwī'ɣ* and later Thompson and *Stuwī'ɣ*, and not at all in the territory of the Okanagon. Owing to the slaughter of most members of the original band by the Shuswap (see Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region), followed by the settlement of many people of Okanagon origin at the place, the Okanagon element outweighed the Thompson and *Stuwī'ɣ*, and the Douglas Lake chiefs assumed control. *Iamɛlpo'sɛmɛn* died about 1901 and his half brother *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* (6.16) became chief of the band as well as of that of Douglas Lake.

6.13. George, married, but without issue.

6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*, married an Okanagon man and had a family living in 1915.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas (Nicola), *Xwistesmeɣe'qɛn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear," and *Sɛkɛlepkē'qɛn*, "Little Coyote Head"; married *Swaɣɛpī'nɛk*, "Surviving Bow," of the upper Thompson (6.15 *a*), 173 622 who died in 1914. He was hereditary chief of the Okanagon. All his children died young. His adopted son, Tommy Alexander, lives at Fish Lake.

6.16 John Celestin (*Salista'*), *Tsꭍlaꭓī'tsa*, "Standing Robe," married a woman from the Upper Thompson, partly of *Stuwī'ꭓ* descent (6.16 *a*). In 1915 he had an only married daughter who lived with her parents. He was chosen by his father to succeed him as head chief of the Okanagon, which title he held by hereditary right and gift. He lives at *Nkama'pꭍlꭍks* and at Fish Lake, as his fathers before him. He was living in 1916, aged about 74 or 75. Like his father and grand uncle, he is a shrewd man. After his father's death he became church chief by appointment by the priests. After the death of his half brothers, *Iamꭍlpō'sꭍmꭍn* (6.12) and Basil (6.19), he became chief of the Douglas Lake and Guichon bands. He is said to be the wealthiest chief in British Columbia. He made one trip to Europe, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. He has been several times in Okanagon representing his tribe.

6.17. Saul, died a number of years ago.

6.18. François, died a number of years ago.

6.19. Basil. Became chief of the Douglas Lake band after his father's death, as his half brother Chief Alexander, the head chief, did not wish to act as a band chief. He was shot and killed, in a brawl among Indians on the Granite Creek Trail, by Charles *Sꭍpꭍspepā'ꭓꭍn*, "Striped (?) Arms," of *Nsē'skꭍt*, Nicola division of the Upper Thompson, about 1885. He was succeeded as chief by his half brother, John *Tsꭍlaxī'tsa*.

6.20. Narcisse, died a number of years ago.

6.21. Michel, married Therèse (6.21 *a*), of the Upper Thompson, mixed with the Colville. She is a younger sister of the shaman Baptiste *Ululamē'ilst*, "Iron Stone," who lived at Potato Gardens, on Nicola River, 16 miles from Spences Bridge. The family were half Upper Thompson and half Colville mixed with Okanagon.

6.22. *Kopkopē'ilst*, married *Tsalutā'ilks* (6.22 *a*), of Douglas Lake, a daughter of *Tsexī'nꭍk*, "Standing Bow," a sister to *Kaxpē'tsa*, "sticking out bottom of robe," of the Spences Bridge band. This family is half Upper Thompson and half Okanagon in blood.

6.23. *Sapꭍxnā'ilks*, married Napoleon, of the Nicola Thompson. He died a number of years ago.

6.24. A woman whose name is not remembered. She was shot and killed by her husband, who shortly afterwards was shot and killed by her (?) relatives.

7.1. James Michel, married Maggie, a Thompson woman from Lytton. She was reared on the Colville Reservation in Washington, being fostered by a sister of his mother, who was married there. He received some education in the American schools and when he grew to manhood came back to his native place, where he received a share

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in the reservation at Guichon. He died near 1903 aged about 40 years. He had no children. After his death his wife went to the Quilchena Creek Reserve, Upper Thompson tribe, where she was living, 1916.

INDIVIDUALS IN OKANAGON GENEALOGY

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1675. See p. 263.
2.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1705. See p. 264.
2.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
2.1*b*. A Shuswap woman, Kamloops. See p. 264.
2.1*c*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 264.
2.1*d*. An Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief of *Salī'lxu*. See p. 264.
3.1. Man, name unknown. See p. 264.
3.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
3.2. *Kwolī'la*. Shuswap chief, Kamloops. See pp. 264, 265, 268.
3.2*a*. A Kamloops woman. See p. 264.
3.3. *Sixwī'lᴇx̣kᴇn*. Sanpoil chief. See p. 265.
3.3*a*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 265.
3.4. *Pelkamū'lôx*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 265.
3.4*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*. See p. 265.
3.4*b*. A *Stuwī'x̣* woman, perhaps partly Thompson. See p. 265.
4.1. *Ālī'*. See p. 267.
4.1*a*. Donald McLean. A Scotchman. See p. 267.
4.2. *Skwa'lkwᴇl*. See p. 267.
4.3. *Tcᴇmā'wia*. See p. 267.
4.4. *Nᴇkeeskwa'*. See p. 267.
4.5. *Takᴇlē'sqᴇt*. See p. 267.
4.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 267.
4.6. *Tahwū'lkᴇnᴇm*. See p. 267.
4.7. *Yenamusī'tsa*. See p. 267.
4.8. *Kokoimā'lks* or *Koimā'lks*. See pp. 264, 266, 267.
4.9. Nicolas *Xwistᴇsmᴇxe'qᴇn*. Born about 1780. See pp. 266, 267–270, 271, 272.
4.10. *Sukomē'lks*. See p. 271.
4.10*a*. An employee of the Hudson Bay Company. See p. 271.
4.11. *Sapx̣ᴇna'lks*. See pp. 268, 271.
4.11*a*. *Xalᴇkskwai'lôx̣*. See p. 271.
5.1. Donald McLean. See p. 271.
5.1*a*. Julienne, daughter of Chief Jean Paul, Kamloops. See p. 271.
5.2. Duncan McLean. See p. 271.
5.3. Alexander McLean. See p. 271.
5.4. A daughter, married Donald Manson, of Scotch descent. See p. 271.
5.5. *Nx̣o'mqᴇn*. See p. 272.
5.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 272.
5.6. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn*. See p. 272.

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opp. p. 276

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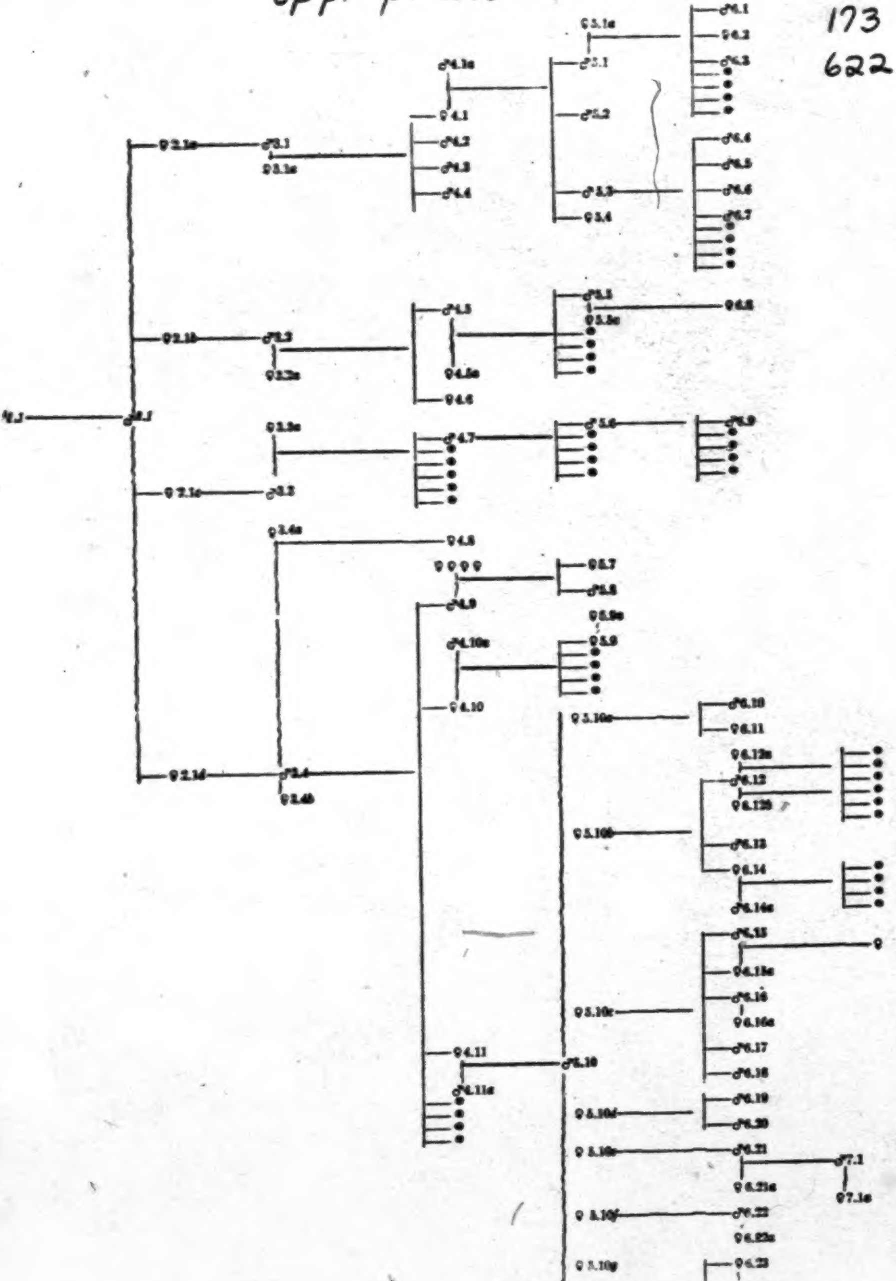

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5.7. Mary *Sukomē'lks*. See pp. 268, 272.
5.8. *Kᴇsᴇska'lux̣* (*Kesaskai'lex̣*). See pp. 259, 260, 268, 272.
5.9. Julie. See p. 272.
5.9*a*. William Peone. See p. 272.
5.10. *Tᴇxlax̣ī'tsa*. See pp. 268, 271–273.
5.10*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamā'pᴇlᴇks*. See p. 272.
5.10*b*. *Panā'ilks*, a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.
5.10*c*. *Marie Mᴇmī'x̣tsa*, a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.
5.10*d*. Sophie, younger sister of 5.10*b*. See p. 272.
5.10*e*. *Tikumī'nᴇk*, an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.
5.10*f*. *Seisi'tko, Sisi'ntko*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
5.10*g*. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.
5.10*h*. *Kanī'tsa*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
6.1. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.
6.3. Alick McLean. See p. 273.
6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.
6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.
6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.
6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.
6.9. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn*. Colville. See pp. 272, 273.
6.10. *Nkesaskai'lᴇx*. See p. 273.
6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.
6.12. *Elᴇmᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn* (*Jamᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn*). Guichon. See pp. 273, 274.
6.13. George. See p. 273.
6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*. See p. 273.
6.15. Alexander Nicolas *Xwistesmex̣e'qᴇn*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.
6.15*a*. *Swax̣ᴇpī'nᴇk*. Upper Thompson. See p. 273.
6.16. John Celestin. *Tᴇxlax̣ī'tsa*. See pp. 273, 274.
6.16*a*. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.17. Saul. See p. 274.
6.18. François. See p. 274.
6.19. Basil. See p. 274.
6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.
6.21. Michel. See p. 274.
6.21*a*. Therèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.22. *Kopkopēlist*. See p. 274.
6.22*a*. *Tsalutā'ilks*. Douglas Lake. See p. 274.
6.23. *Sapx̣ᴇnā'ilks*. See p. 274.
6.23*a*. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.
6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.
7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.
7.2. Maggie, a Lytton woman. See p. 274.

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567 **Slaves.**—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

551 **Names.**—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[3] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[4]

421 **Property.**—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. 421 On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. 431 Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

527 [431] **Festivals.**—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntcixa'nk* or *ntsehă'nk* or *toxto'xEm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'Em*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents

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[3] For instance, *Ā'temEm* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[4] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. [illegible] to 276. The names *Shel'ts*, *Wek'ptEm*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

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527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[8] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe[9] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[8] See g, fig. 112; Field Mus. 111743.

[9] See i, figs. 107-108.

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1] 844

845 TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2]

854 CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped

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[1] *a*, p. 304.

[2] *a*, pp. 310, 311.

[3] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 251 *a*.

[4] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 251 *b*, *d*.

[5] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281 *b*.

[6] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281.

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854 in soft robes of fawn skin, rabbit skin, lynx skin, etc. Bedding consisted of shredded bark, grass, and occasionally down of plants. Among the Sanpoil the bedding for bark carriers consisted generally of bulrush down or duck's down; but dry grass and finely teased bark were sometimes used. The Similkameen, Lake, and Colville claim that they used only boards; no bark carriers. The Okanagon say that they have always used board carriers, but that long ago a few families also used bark carriers for very young infants. These were simply beds used in the lodge, and not for carrying purposes. When the child had to be carried a board was used. The Nespeiim and Sanpoil say that very long ago bark carriers were used entirely, or almost entirely, by them. The shapes of these were similar to the forms of bark carriers of the Thompson. The most ancient kind were very deep and had no lacings and hoops. The baby was fastened in with a long band of dressed skin, or sometimes a rope, which was lashed round the carrier. A few had large loops on the sides, through which the lashing passed, as in some board carriers;[7] but this is thought to be more modern than the simple lashing around the outside of the carrier. Later, shallow bark carriers with hoops were often used. The deep carriers did not require hoops. About six or seven generations ago boards came into use and within a short time became quite common. The first kind adopted consisted of a simple board, in most cases reaching to the neck of the infant. The child, wrapped in a fur robe which came over its head, was strapped on the board by a lashing round and round, as in the oldest bark carriers. Later it became common to fasten flaps of skin to the sides of the board, which laced in front over the infant. Infants were also placed in skin bags and lashed to the board. Later the backs of these bags were frequently stitched to the board, and thus became a permanent attachment of the latter. The front of the bag was fastened with a lacing. Still later, hoops came into use to spread the hood of the bag or to hold the carrier covering—a small, light robe or a skin—off the child's face. This top covering was used to shade the child's face when it slept, to cover it when mosquitoes and flies were abundant, and to protect it against cold and wind when traveling. For a long

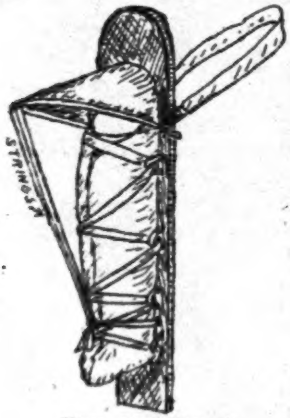

FIGURE 19.—Cradle board

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[7] See Thompson, a, p. 307, fig. 281.

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were 854
retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[8] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but 304
some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening 854
the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. 597
People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of chil- 861
dren. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

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[8] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

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861 elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

782 881 PUBERTY.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[9] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

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[9] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

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these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted. 782 881

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit. 776 881 532

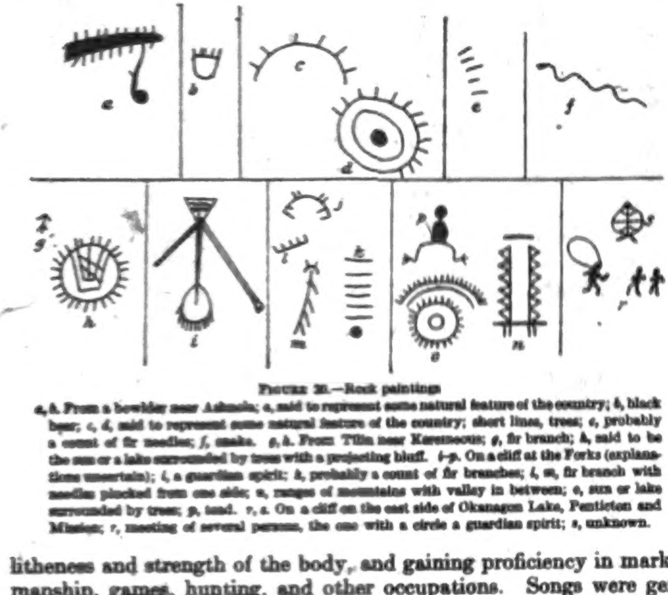

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tlita near Keremeos; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i–p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagan Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

776 881

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20–24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more 532 787 881

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rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for

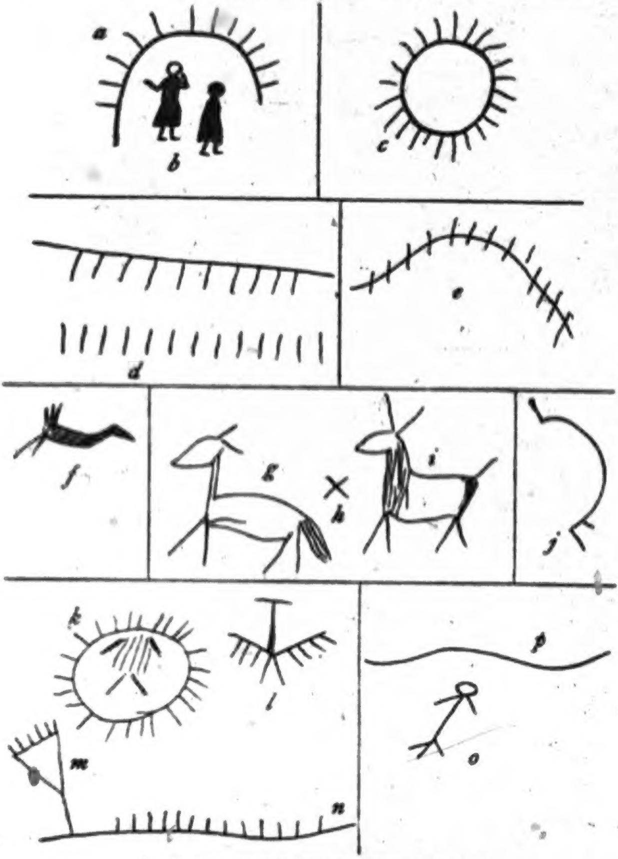

FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a-d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; a, sun on hill with trees; b, people; c, the sun; d, a count of fir needles; e, a hill with trees; f, a bird; g, a horse; h, horse trails; i, deer; j, rainbow; k, sun or earth with trees, l, m, n, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; o, p, an animal near a trail.

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imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

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At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training congregated to test themselves. A large, steep rock about 7 meters high rises abruptly near the trail at this place. The young men tried to run up to the top along the sloping side and then slide down. A man 881

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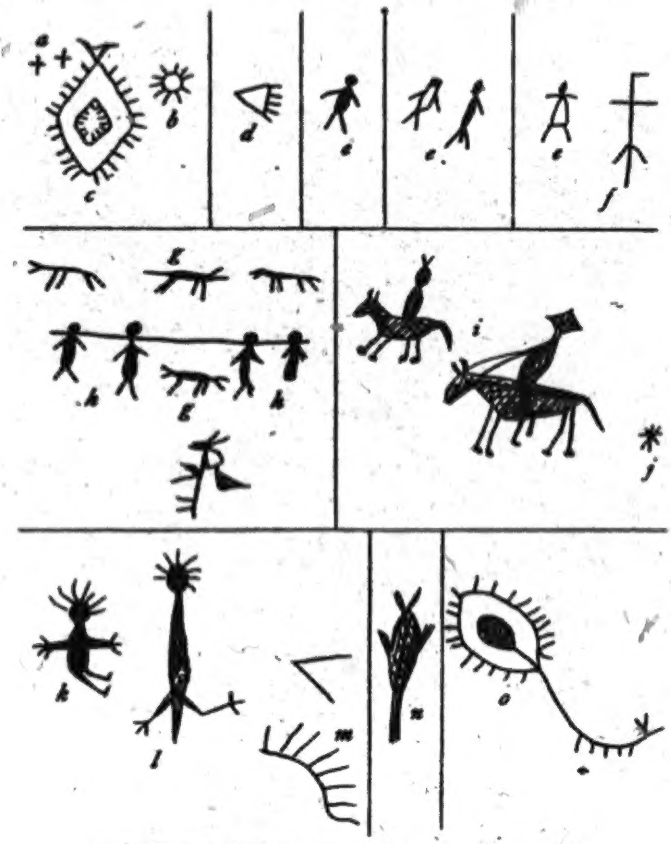

FIGURE 22.—Rock paintings on a cliff near Tcutcawi'xa, Similkameen Valley
a, Stars; b, sun; c, lake with trees, island with trees in the middle; d, grizzly bear; e, men; f, eagle; g, dogs or other animals with open mouths; h, people; i, men on horseback; j, star; k, l, men with feather headdresses; m, unfinished painting; n, a bird; o, stream running out of a lake with an island.

called *Kwzltē'sqzt* ("red cloud" or "emptying cloud") is the only one now living who has accomplished this feat. 881

Throwing, lifting, and carrying heavy stones were practiced to gain strength. Boys prayed that they might become strong. Boys

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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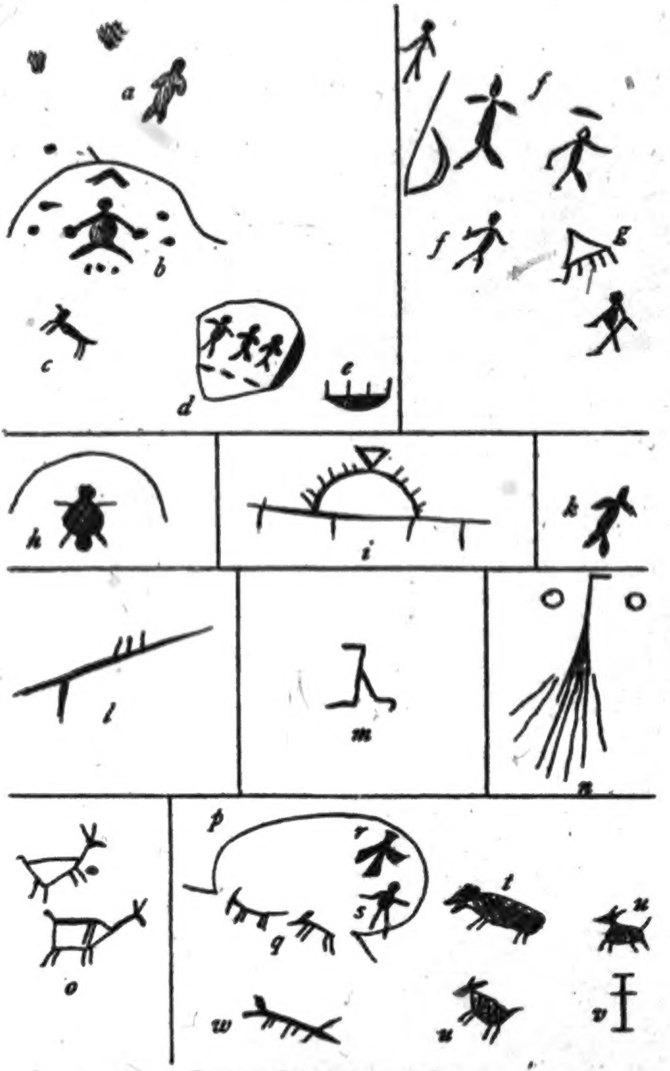

FIGURE 23.—Rock paintings near Princeton

a–e. On a cliff 19 miles below Princeton; *a*, man; *b*, doubtful; *c*, an animal running; *d*, three men walking; *e*, grizzly bear. *f–g*. On bowlders near the preceding; *f–w*, on a cliff near the preceding; *f*, men walking; *g*, grizzly-bear; *h*, beaver in his house; *i*, rising sun and earth line; *k*, man; *l*, *m*, doubtful; *n*, probably eagle and stars; *o*, deer or sheep; *p*, probably a corral for game; *q*, animals at the entrance; *r*, bird, probably guardian spirit of the man; *s*, man; *t*, bear; *u*, deer; *v*, an animal, head and forelegs; *w*, doubtful.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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Colville; Lakes

at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried. 881

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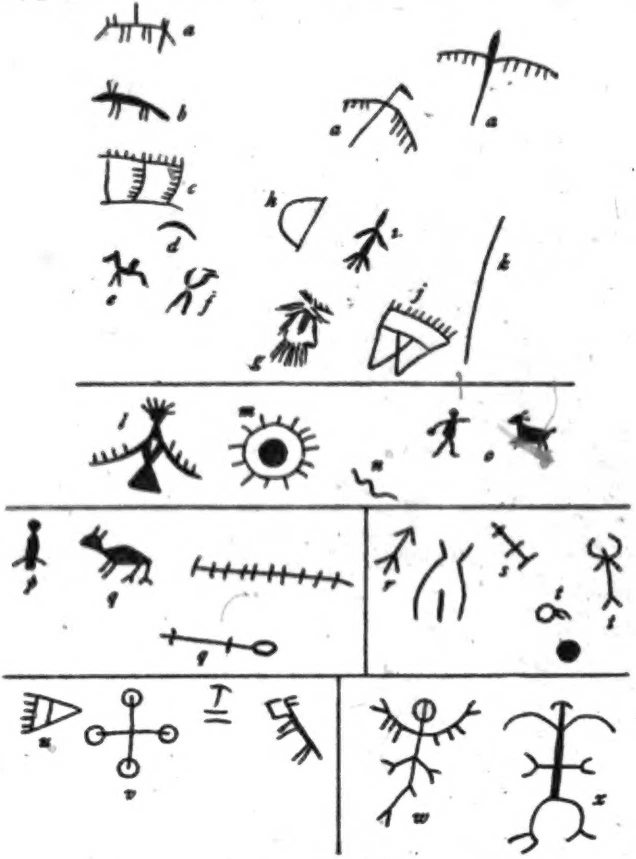

FIGURE 24.—Rock paintings

a–k. Found on bowlder 18 miles below Princeton; a eagles; b, wolf or coyote; c, bear's tracks; d, moon; e, person on horseback; f, person; g, doubtful; h, moon; i, animal; j, grizzly bear tracks; k, trail. l–o. On a bowlder about 19 miles below Princeton; l, eagle; m, sun or pond surrounded by trees; n, snake; o, man meeting a deer. p–x. On a cliff and in a cave near Tsut'sw'l'm, Similkameen Valley; p, man; q, animals; r, fir branch; s, animal; t, insects; u, grizzly bear; v, four quarters; w, eagle; x, an insect or a vision.

MARRIAGE.—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by "go-betweens," 583

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawā'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

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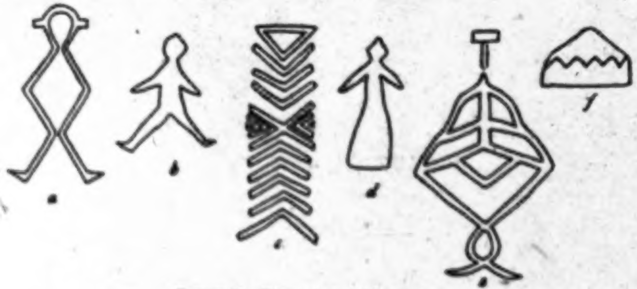

FIGURE [illegible].—Figures incised in bark of trees
a, Girl; *b*, man; *c*, perhaps ribs; *d*, woman; *e*, perhaps an animal; *f*, perhaps a woman's cap.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semiunderground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

764 DEATH AND BURIAL.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible]

[11] See p. [illegible]

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous 532
down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom
of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in 764
the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a
line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson
and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia
influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. 764
Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed,
wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried
on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a
custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies
were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the
Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying"
ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year
after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are
then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The 765
property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly
after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject
to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed
and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeŭ's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

Concept of the World.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding 773
the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very
closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the
earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a
mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same
personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When
he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old
man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long
white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above,"
"Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the
power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything.
Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source
of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he
lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great
Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited
power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or
beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world.
He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

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773 His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

Mythology.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

776 Various Supernatural Beings.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

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796 Prayers and Observances.—The prayers and observances of the Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 135, 141-161.

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1] 771 796

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 224 782

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 731 796 put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

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[1] See Thompson, a, pp. 349, 350.

775 The Soul.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

776 Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

756 Shamans.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

535 Dances.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and 535
food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes 535
parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs,
in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them 721
before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the
Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men
desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young
men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a
chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these
parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a 535
dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted
their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them 727
on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the
most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like
warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had 535
received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated 776
his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held 535
in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the 583
same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being 535
held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, 796
during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that
used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than 757
food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

757 *Pentstemon douglasii*, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

Aconitum delphinifolium, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

Philadelphus lewisii; Okanagon name *we'ẓawaẓxlp;* Thompson name, *wā'ẓaxlp;* leaves used as a soap for washing.

Gilia aggregata; Okanagon name, *ẓaẓalauhā'ps;* decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper. It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

Nicotiana attenuata Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kolkolxmanī'l;* Thompson name, *kā'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum;* Okanagon name, *xotlemilp;* Thompson name, *ka'tca*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina;* Okanagon name, *kwarī'uk;* Thompson name, *kolomī'ka*, also *kwalā'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

825 CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing
827 signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.[1] The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

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[1] See Thompson (a) p. 373.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

THE FLATHEAD GROUP

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Tribes of the Group.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes).
2. Pend d'Oreilles.
3. Kalispel.
4. Spokan.
5. Sᴇmtĕ'use } Extinct.
6. Tună'xe } Extinct.

Origin of Tribal Names.—The Flathead were also called Selish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flathead" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Jocko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

000 In the Handbook of American Indians [1] the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people,

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[1] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 415; see also ibid., pt. 1, p. 465, under Flathead.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

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Names for Themselves.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sel'lictcɛn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsɪ'lixtcɛn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sẹ́lic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[3] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stiqathomstcī'(ni)* ("people of *Sxqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Sxakā'lixtcī'(ni)* ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispē'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispē'lɛm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[3] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from *sälst* ("people"). If, however, the suffix *-ic* means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

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Spokan

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4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qein* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298).	The Spokan.
5. *Sɛmiē'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sɛmiē'use*.
6. *Tuna'xɛ* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xe*.

Names by which Known to Other Tribes; Names Given to Them by Salish Tribes.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sā'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lɛx*, *Sē'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *Sī'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlɛmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lɛmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstci'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sɪqa'tkomstci'nt*, *Sɪqatkomstci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomski'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Snia'lɛmɛn* or *Snia'lɛmɛnic* or *Snia'lɛmɛnɛx*, "people of *Snia'lɛmɛn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lɛm* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspī'lɛm*, *Kalispa'lɛm*, *Skalɛspi'lɛx*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lɛm*, the name of

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[3] Compare p. 296.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is Tunā'xe while the Kutenai pronounced Tunā'xa. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 303, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes -ix, -ic, -is, -ɛx, -ec, -ex, -l, -e, -ɛmx, -ɛmɛx, -ɛmic -ɛmux, -ux, mean "people"; -elt'ut, -tcint, -tci means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

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101 619 a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokan or *Spōqē'inic* are called *Spokei'.nᴇms* or *Spōqē'ᴇnᴇmc* by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spōkei'mux* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nᴇx̣* by the Sanpoil, *Spōqe'inᴇx̣* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spōkē'n* or *Spōqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Sᴇnoxamī'nᴇx* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. 101 621 It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

1. *Stsēkastsi'*, *Sīkastsī'lᴇn*, or *Sīkāstsī'lᴇnic* (=the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called *Sīkastsī'lᴇn*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[7] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (=the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snx̣o'mē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'nic* (=the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *x̣ome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[8] but this is probably incorrect.

101 619 +191 NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

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[7] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, [illegible], is translated "people with bad heads."

[8] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Sin-ha* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai	A'tūnuqlī'līm[1] ("Flatheaded".) Akkakɛna'kɛn, Ikkɛnik·e "Leg or leggy [4] people").	Maqkwi'qɛnak ("Red willow people"). e·kl'nuqlilim[5] [1]	e·kīnamil'kwa ('river people') e·kl'nuqlilim[5] [1] ("compress side of head.")	Sɛxɔome'n.[2] Sɛntutū'.[3]
Nez Percés		sɛnis'lɛmɛn'ti'tkɛn	kamī'spɛlɛ ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		tu'shpũa*, pepɛhpɛn'lɛma* ("people of the great fir-trees").[8]	tu'shpũa*, pepɛhpɛn'lɛma* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpūkā'n.[7] Cpoka'n.
Wasco				Lčtɬł'cuks.[9]
Klamath and Modoc				Spukā'n.[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Kok-tu'k-spi-tu'p-i-o*		ni-ka-ta-to-tu'p-i-o*	
Gros Ventres	Kaahaādnin[10] ("Flathead man").			
Arapaho	Ka-ka-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-hi'-to-tsi-o-ta-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nabaqiadibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Azuhe'pe, Ácuhkpe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ak-mi'n-e-sh u'-m e*, ak-min-e-sh u-m e* ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	á-tso-ká-pe*			
Yankton	pande-ska*, pas-ká'-ca* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably e'kw'qlnuk, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 147.

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sɛmtē'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

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Names Given by Them to Other Tribes.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

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Lower Fraser tribe	*Tᴇmsiū'*, *Lamsiū'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snχᴇlamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sihuē'pe*, *Sihwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukᴇtᴇme'xʷ*, *Nko'tᴇme'xʷ*, *Nkᴇtᴇmī'*, *Lū'kᴇtᴇme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sᴇmilkomi'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcᴇnākē'*, *Otcᴇnāqai'n*, *Otcᴇnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npoī'lce*, *Snpōī'lᴇχᴇc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sχōᴇēlpi*, *Sχoiē'lpi* (said to be derived from *sχoiē'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcᴇtste* or *Snrai'tcᴇtste* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpᴇskuā'use*, or *Snpᴇskuē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiā'use*, *Snkaiī'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Stci'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomkᴇske'lix*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Ska'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkʷ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qaqa'ten* by the *Tunā'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sᴇlkwōla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sēha'pten*, *Sahā'ptᴇne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomkᴇske'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skelī* ("above, up country or to the north") and *ᴇ'ulkʷ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 202, note 6.

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Wallawalla	*Sulows'*, *Suwalwe'le* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of a place).
Umatilla	*Kiī'us*,[12] *Nkaii'use*, *Okēma*[13] (meaning uncertain).
Paloos	*Sizkamici'ni*, *Stiqamici'ne* ("people of the confluence" with reference to the mouth of the Snake).
Yakima	*Iā'qima*, *Ia'kəme* (meaning uncertain).
Cayuse	*Kaii'us*[14] (meaning uncertain, thought by some to be from the name of a place or district).
Wasco	*Waisqo'ps* (thought to be from the name of a place).
Wasco and Dalles tribes	*Snəhaitu'* ("above the falls").
Bannock[a]	*Ăxwe'stsa*, *Sōxwai'tsa*, *oχhai'tsa*, *panak*[15] (said to mean "bark covering" or "bark lodges" because the tribe formerly used lodges of bark or of bark and grass; some translate the name "striped robes," and others "striped covering," either covering of lodges or covering of the body [robes, for instance]; some Coeur d'Alêne claim that "Bark Lodges" is the old name of the tribe, and "Striped Robes" a later name[16]).
Tribe unidentified, said to be similar to the Bannock; others say a tribe formerly living east of and near the Rocky Mountains.	*pi'lkaksn* (meaning uncertain, supposed to have some connection with "head").
Shoshoni or Snake (in general)	*Snō'wa*, *Snō'we'* ("snake").
Lemhi Shoshoni (a general name)	*Tcεtχwoi'stsn Snō'we* (said to mean "mountain snake").
Shoshoni east and south of Lemhi[17]	*Ona'xʷ sno'we* ("real snake").[b]
General name for tribes to the south of the Flathead group, particularly the Shoshonean tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the Rockies, and others beyond to the south, in contradistinction to the tribes of the Columbia drainage or west of the Bitterroots ("down-country people") and the eastern or Plains tribes ("cutthroat" or "sunrise" people).	*Tεsεntckuin ɛ Tke'lis* ("noon people" or "south people").

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[12] Compare Columbia and Cayuse.
[13] Compare the Coeur d'Alêne name for the Nez Percé.
[14] Compare names for Umatilla and Columbia.
[a] Called by the Columbia *spri'tsa*.
[15] Probably a modern name.
[16] In the sign language it seems that they were called by both names.
[b] The Columbia call the Shoshoni of the Mountains *Snəpla'stkεn*; those east of the mountains *Sn ̣ō'e*.
[17] The Ute and several Shoshonean tribes to the south and east are said to have had special names. Nowadays at least the Ute are often called Yū'ta, and the Comanche Kamā'ntsi.

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EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

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General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	*Tcxle'tstin s'ke'.lix* ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") *Nastu'*. ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	*Sarsi'*. This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	*Sicxqwé'*, *Sicxkwé'*. ("black feet").[18]
Blood	*Sxnhwulstci'nt*, *Snxwulstci'nt* ("blood people").
Piegan	*Txxtexmi'tsa*[a] ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	*Snkaioskestci'nt* (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles).[19]
Arapaho	*Lapaho'*, *Ala'pho* (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	*Wxtckaiu'*, *xtckai'u'*, *Tskakai'u'*, *Tcxzkai 'u'*, *Tst'kxkai'u*, *Tskwai'u'* (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white).[20]
Cree	*Nastu'* ("cutthroat" or "beheader"),[21] *Lekrí'* (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	*Nastu'* ("cutthroat," "beheader").[22]
Assiniboin	*Sikstunuxtu'*[23] (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	*Stl'mtci'(nt)* ("raven people").
River Crow	*Skwais'tci'*, *Skwoistci'nt* ("blue [or green] people").[24]
Ojibway	*Ntcu'wa'*, *Ntcu'a'*.
Iroquois	*yilikwe'* (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

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[18] Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather.

[a] Called by the Columbia *Skwal'tsa*.

[19] In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly."

[20] In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across;" sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south."

[21] In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alêne sign language name for them is "striped noses" or "scratched noses."

[22] In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

[23] Compare form and meaning of this word with *tuná'zx* or *katuná'xa*, which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection.

[24] In the sign language called "people who defecate by the riverside."

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DIALECTS.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokan. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *Sɛmtē'use* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokan divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'χe* (Salish-*Tuna'χe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.[3] 197 171*

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'χe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai. 191 171*

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.[4] *Flathead Tribe.*—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'χe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the 000

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[3] According to the Flathead, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'χe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish-*Tuna'χe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the Flathead Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtis, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 10 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'χe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish languages. See also list of *Tuna'χe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tuna'χe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'χe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'χe*.

[4] See footnote 29 on p. 308. Compare map in *Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*

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east. Their approximate northern boundary seems to have cut across the Big Belt Range near its center, following some hilly country north of Helena, between the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. The territory claimed by the tribe included practically all of the present counties of Deerlodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark. This is the country said to have been occupied by the tribe about 1600 (?), when they obtained the first horses. The extreme eastern and southern parts of the territory may have been to some extent neutral ground, and the district east of the Big Belt and Bridger Ranges was possibly not very fully utilized before the introduction of the horse. [10] About the time of the introduction of the horse the Flathead had for neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtš'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* on the northwest and north, and Shoshonean tribes all around them on the southwest, south, and east. About this time the Crow, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were unknown, for they were not in contact with Salish tribes, and originally they lived far to the east. The Sarsi, Cree, and Assiniboin were also unknown. The only tribes on the Western Plains at this time, other than Salish, were Shoshoni, Kutenai,[26] and Blackfoot, all of which were well known. The Blackfoot people were then in three (some say four) divisions, as they are now,[27] all speaking the same language. There were two groups of Shoshoni—those who lived in and west of the Rockies and those who lived east of the Rockies, on the plains. Both of these divisions consisted of several tribes, some of them speaking dialects considerably different from others. Most of them, however, spoke the "real Snake" language. Various Shoshonean bands or tribes occupied the Lemhi country, and the whole area south of the Nez Percé. These western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on salmon, like the Nez Percé, Spokan, and western Salish tribes. East of the Rockies, Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, including the National Park, and they are said to have extended east to the Big Horn Mountains or beyond. To the south, both east and west of the Rockies, the Flathead knew of no tribes that were not branches of the "Snake." Most of these people depended chiefly on hunting buffalo, elk, and mountain sheep. Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston, and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation. Some think they even stretched east almost to the present Northern Cheyenne Reserve. None of the former Shoshoni boundaries were properly known to the Flathead, however, except where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tună'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone. 000 [101] [177]

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[26] Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*.

[27] Blackfoot proper, Blood, and Piegan.

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne 000 [224] [484]

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfeet. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1750-1800] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

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probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace [726] generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward.

000 *The Tună'χe* (*or Salish-Tună'χe*).—The country of the *Tună'χe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tună'χe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonă'χa* or *Kutonă'χa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tună'χe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[30] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'χa*, *Tonă'χa*, or *Tuna'χa*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

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[30] See note 29. The names *Tuna'χe* and *Tona'χa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktuna'χa*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *aχ*(?) to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'χam*.—F. Boas.

Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tunā'x̣e* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, and the *Tunā'x̣e* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e* on the north, the *Sᴇmtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32] 000

The Sᴇmtē'use or Sᴇmtā'use.—The territory of the *Sᴇmtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Philipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sᴇmtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sᴇmtē'use* were 101 131

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[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

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101 thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tună'χe* on the east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

131 *The Pend d'Oreilles.*—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sχmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sχmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sχmtē'use*, Salish-*Tună'χe*, and Kutenai-*Tună'χe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tună'χe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sχmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101

131 *The Spokan.*—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[23]

133 137 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

000 DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

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[23] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

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000 of them, perhaps all, divided into two or more parties, who traveled in different directions from one seasonal ground to another, hunting, root digging, berrying, visiting, and trading. Some of these parties traveled considerable distances on these trips. In the summertime bands of Flathead might be met with in the valleys of the Big Hole, Beaver Head, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, and in the country north to Helena, as well as at points within the boundaries of their neighbors in the Bitterroot Valley and elsewhere. Parties also frequented the upper portions of Shield Creek and the Musselshell; but this may have been in later days, after the introduction of horses.[34] Changed conditions, wrought by the adoption of the horse, the importance of buffalo hunting, and wars with the Blackfoot appear to have resulted in the breaking up of the old system of geographically localized bands and to have forced the tribe to live together as a unit. In the summer the tribe split into two or three large parties, who came together for the winter in a single large camp or in two camps close together. Sometimes, for protection, the tribe remained united [M] during the whole year. In later times they wintered as far west as possible, according to some, in Pend d'Oreilles territory. *Tlka'lɛmɛls*[35] ("thick bushes" or "willow bushes"), now known as Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley, was for many years their main winter camp. In the schedule of Indian Reserves[36] the Flathead appear to be divided into three bands—the Bitterroot, Carlos band, and the Flathead.

000 *The Salish-Tunā'xe.*—The number and locations of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* bands are not fully remembered. It seems that there were at least four main divisions. The largest band is said to have had their headquarters at a place called *Sɛnsū'kol* (said to mean "ice piled up") on Sun River, near Fort Shaw. This was considered the main seat of the tribe. Another band wintered at *Sɛnsū'skul* (said to mean "little ice piled up"), also on Sun River; a third division had their headquarters on Dearborn River; and a fourth generally made their main camp somewhere near Great Falls, but whether on the main Missouri or at the mouth of a tributary stream is not clear. A fifth band is sometimes spoken of as having lived farther north and west, in the foothills of the Rockies, at the heads of some small streams near some little lakes. The people of this band were mixed with Kutenai and it is not quite certain whether they belonged properly to the Salish-*Tunā'xe* or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*.

(In a later communication Mr. Teit sent the following information obtained from the Kutenai.) There were two bands with separate chiefs that lived together near Browning, Mont. (on the present

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[34] Some people think that very long ago there were scattered bands located more or less permanently at all those places.

[35] Compare *Ke'lɛmɛls* (list of Okanagon villages, p. 206, No. 3).

[36] Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1905, p. 495.

000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'ẓe* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmstū'kɛnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

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The Sɛmtē'use.—The *Sɛmtē'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplē'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie. [178]

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

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[37] Said to be the *Sɛmtē'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[38] Said to be the *Flathead* name.

[39] Some say that each tribe of the *Flathead* group was divided into *four* bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

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361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
131 or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon, Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtĕ'use*, as this place was considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[*] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St. Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
178 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission, in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
619 divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsĭ'ni* ("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsin*, "entrance, outlet, or
131 confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slâtĕ'use*, and sometimes *Tsentĭ's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwĭ'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

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[*] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

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the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtst'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyĕ'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Steet'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

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The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[a] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

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[a] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. 298.

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361 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south
619 along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not
131 go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but
I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called
Sntsuwé'stsɛne lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 *Population.*—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of
all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to
obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early
times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number
of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much
that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that
the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different
winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter
camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have
been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15,
while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise,
at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some
winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none
[177] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of
lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that
many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter,
thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur
d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said
to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so
many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering
only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small
numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more
people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the
fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend
162 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the
171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars.
Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous
and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the
head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmtē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were
161 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems
162 possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time
+171 after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars
with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43]
The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan,
1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. xi, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1850, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is— 161 162 171*

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	----

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the *Flathead* Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunā'ẋe* and the greater part of the *Sεmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sεmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little

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165 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-
731 in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispē'lɛm,* eastern Washing-
ton. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead
173 suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It
*[171] spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Col-
ville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in
some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long
lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people
died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."
165 About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The
731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
[757] occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan
tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water,
and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee,
from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry
and warm. After this very few died.

174 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'χe,* Salish-*Tunā'χe,* and *Sɛmtē'use,* and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'χe.* At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

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the Salish-*Tună'x̣e* and Flathead had them, the Kutenai had none, 000
and the Kutenai-*Tună'x̣e* few or none. About this time the bands of Shoshoni living in the country north and east of the Salish-*Tună'x̣e* were attacked. Blackfoot parties in great force appeared persistently, and drove the Shoshoni out of the country, killing numbers of them. Finally all the Shoshoni disappeared south of the Missouri, and no Shoshoni came near the Missouri again for many years. The people of some bands were nearly all killed off, while others fled to the south. Some of them migrated a long distance, in order to be out of reach of the Blackfoot, and it is not known where they settled. None of them, except perhaps a few stragglers, went west into the mountains, and none stayed east of the mountains anywhere north of the Yellowstone. They went to a distant country and disappeared. Some of them may have been killed by the Crow.[48] At about the same time, when the Shoshoni were first attacked, the Blackfoot may also have driven out the more northern bands of Kutenai (the Kutenai-*Tună'x̣e*) that lived east of the mountains. Information obtained from the Kutenai agrees with this. The attacks of the Blackfoot on the Salish-*Tună'x̣e* continued, and for a number of years there existed a constant warfare between these tribes. The Salish-*Tună'x̣e* were a strong, wealthy, warlike tribe, and noted for courage. They resisted the Blackfoot stoutly, but at last were reduced to a remnant that lived at one place on Sun River. Here they held out for some time, but finally they were overwhelmed and completely scattered. Some were made slaves by the Blackfoot and others were adopted as members of the tribe. Some escaped and took refuge among western
tribes. Most of them crossed the Rockies and settled among the \563
Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. A number settled among the Flathead and a few among the Kalispel and even the Colville. Some strayed farther away and settled among the Nez Percé and mountain Shoshoni. A very few took refuge among the Crow, but none among the Coeur
d'Alêne. Shortly before the final breaking up of the tribe, a band 000
of them migrated east and nothing further was heard of them. Another band went somewhere south of the Missouri, where after a time they were attacked by either Blackfoot or Crow and most of them were killed. The remnants settled among the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock. Some *Tună'x̣e* died of a disease of some kind.

(At a later time Mr. Teit writes, basing his statement on information obtained from the Kutenai): The tribe had no horses and no guns. At some time, long ago, one of the bands living near Browning was visited by an epidemic, perhaps smallpox, and all died except

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[48] In answer to queries, I gained no information from the Flathead regarding the Comanche and Kiowa having lived in the north on the confines of the Flathead country. If they ever lived there they may have been considered Shoshoni, perhaps included among the Shoshonean bands who migrated south at the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot. Neither did I get any information as to the Bannock having lived east of the mountains. Some of them occasionally wintered there, but their headquarters were around Fort Hall.

000 nine, who became well through the ministrations of a young woman (called the younger sister). This girl had an elder sister married to a man of the other band, and lived among them. The nine survivors went to take up their abode with their friends of the other band, but the latter would not let them near for they were afraid of contagion. [563] At last they allowed the girl to join her sister. The other eight[A] then left the country, crossed the mountains to the west and settled among the Pend d'Oreilles. Some years afterwards the remaining large band disappeared, and it is not known whether they were exterminated by the Blackfoot or some other tribe, died of smallpox, or migrated. It is generally believed that they went off in a body to some distant country where their descendants are now living.

After the disruption of the Salish-*Tunā'χe*, Blackfoot parties began to enter the Flathead country and to attack the Flathead who wintered in the northern and eastern parts of the tribal territory. Many were killed. The rest forsook their former homes and retired farther south and west. The Blackfoot raids continued until all the Flathead concentrated for protection and moved west into the mountains.

All the tribes who had formerly inhabited the plains along the eastern side of the Rockies in this region had now disappeared, while the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock, who had for some time been in the habit of going east for buffalo hunting, were now, like the Flathead, obliged to remain west in the mountains and hunt buffalo at short range. The whole country along the eastern foot of the Rockies, north of the Yellowstone, was in possession of the Blackfoot and had become very dangerous ground. The entire Flathead tribe now wintered in the Bitterroot Valley, generally in a single large camp near Stevensville. Here they constantly coralled and guarded the large number of horses they possessed.

About this time the Crow were first heard of as advancing from the east and fighting the Shoshoni, whom they drove out of the Yellowstone River country into the mountains and around the headwaters of the river to the west and south. It seems that the Crow occupied part of the Shoshoni country and stayed there. In the same way the Blackfoot now occupied all the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* country and part of the northern Shoshoni country, but they did not winter or make any permanent camps in the old Salish-*Tunā'χe* country. Their camps were all north of Sun River and the Missouri. Probably they would have gradually occupied permanently most of the country their war parties had overrun had they not been checked by the alliance of all the western tribes. This may also have checked the further advancement of the Crow westward. Having overrun nearly all the eastern country, the Blackfoot now extended their war expeditions west of the divide, and sometimes appeared at Stevensville, where they attempted several times to run off the Flathead horses, but never

[A] [i.e., eight Kutenai---Analyst]

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai 000
and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war 648
parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. 727
However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the [181]
Rockies were the *Sᴇmtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going
and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them
several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant
of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula.
Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked
again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox
came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of
the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled
among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined 648
with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great [224]
measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had [178]
evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern [166]
part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the [361]
bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*).
About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them
stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles
country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and [224]
at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the
latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and
Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally
east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of
the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated
most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country
after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps
in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend
d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally
camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both
Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had
begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties
occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with 648
them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the 224
mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and
about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles.
Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne
arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these
forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia,
and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west.
At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes
Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

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d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand [199] in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire 648 guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

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century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows: 648 174 166 167

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatē'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

166 174 167 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

[487] There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 582 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'χe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'χe*. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɛmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

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Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Sɛmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tună'x̣e*, Kutenai-*Tună'x̣e*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tună'x̣e* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, *Tună'x̣e*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣ăpa'eqxt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsă'utkɛn*, a *Stlapai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

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from the Fraser Delta, mixed with Lower Thompson; *Tsxlsémtt'*, a Colville; Michel Colville, a Colville. These men were all in the employ of the Hudson Bay Co. at Fort Colville, and came to the Flathead together about 1860. They all married on the reserve, but left few descendants; only Michel Colville had two sons and a daughter who grew up. About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. He was born at Kamloops. About 1890 there came an Upper Thompson, who married and was living in 1910 on the reserve at Mission. Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Hudson Bay man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. One was Crow and one was Snake. Later he deserted his wives and children and went to Red River, Manitoba, and never returned. His descendants are now on the Flathead Reserve. Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. He had two sons and four daughters, all of whom are on the reserve. Jim Dalloway, Ben Kaiser, and Tom Hill, Shawnee refugees, settled among the Flathead about the time the early traders arrived. A white man who had a Piegan woman for wife settled in the Bitterroot Valley a long time ago and had a very large family. His children all intermarried with Flathead and some of them and their descendants are now on the reserve. About 1810 a Flathead girl was captured by Piegan or some other tribe from a Flathead camp near Sun River. Later on she married a Chippewa. Some of her descendants came back a few years ago and proved their rights in the Flathead Reserve. Revais claimed that there were 12 persons on the reserve who were half Flathead and half Shoshoni, and 6 men who had Nez Percé wives. Fifteen Iroquois settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles and 19 among the Colville. All were at one time employees of the Hudson Bay Co., and all married women of these tribes. They have some descendants on the Flathead and Colville Reservations to-day. It is said that about 1820–1825 a small party of Iroquois, originally from around Caughnawaga, Quebec, under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse (or Big Ignace), reached the Flathead country, and being well received there, married and became members of the tribe. This party had been migrating westward for several years. Revais stated that when the treaty was made Governor Stevens told the Flathead that the Jocko Reserve was to be for the three tribes of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. Some of the Flathead wanted a reserve for themselves, as they did not consider themselves

bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and 177
Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of 181
medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead
were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, [171]*
honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of
temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was [831]
much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some [178]
of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were
more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish- [171]*
Tunā'xe were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sxmtē'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very
bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the 000
Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
197 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
[412] made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths. 531 171* [389]

Dressing of Skins.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6] 281 171*

Rawhide Work.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes. 281 415 171* [178] [439]

Woven and other Bags.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery. [531]

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only. 285 171*

Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their 285 531 171*

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[1] *c*, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] *f*, pp. 175, 178.

[4] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65.

[5] See p. 44.

[6] *f*, p. 176, fig. 3.

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285 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel.
531 (Fig. 26.)

*171 Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of
286 the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by
*171 the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the
[237] Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of
vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

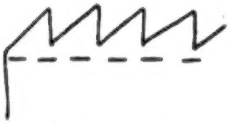

Figure 28.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope
were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp
283 being chiefly used. Most of the thread for
*171 sewing was of sinew taken from the backs
of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer.
294 Needles were little used, but sewing was generally
237 done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed.
Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon.
*171 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It
227 is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles
and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the
*171 Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all
415 the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead,
made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the
314 ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while
some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrange- 415
ment of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan 314
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend 184
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, includ-
ing cedar.

Coiled Basketry.[7]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, 285
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend 285
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. 531
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is un-
certain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication
have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the
Squamish and Sechelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the
Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet.
This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms
and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coil-
ing from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[7] See a, pp. 140-142.

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000 ever, from the known Salish styles (o, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and
Stuwī'x made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the
region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types
exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their
ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory
extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of bas-
ket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also
made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones,
but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the intro-
duction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so
small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type,
because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

531 Designs on Baskets, Bags, etc.—It is said that designs on mats
*171 were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in
vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all
geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled
designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
[178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more
common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

462 Division of Labor.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and
*171 bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery,
made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc.,
made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most
of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the
berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other
ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted
robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian
spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing.
They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used. 342 171* 184 [417]

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing 344 361 171* 361 342 171* [592] [364]

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants, while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

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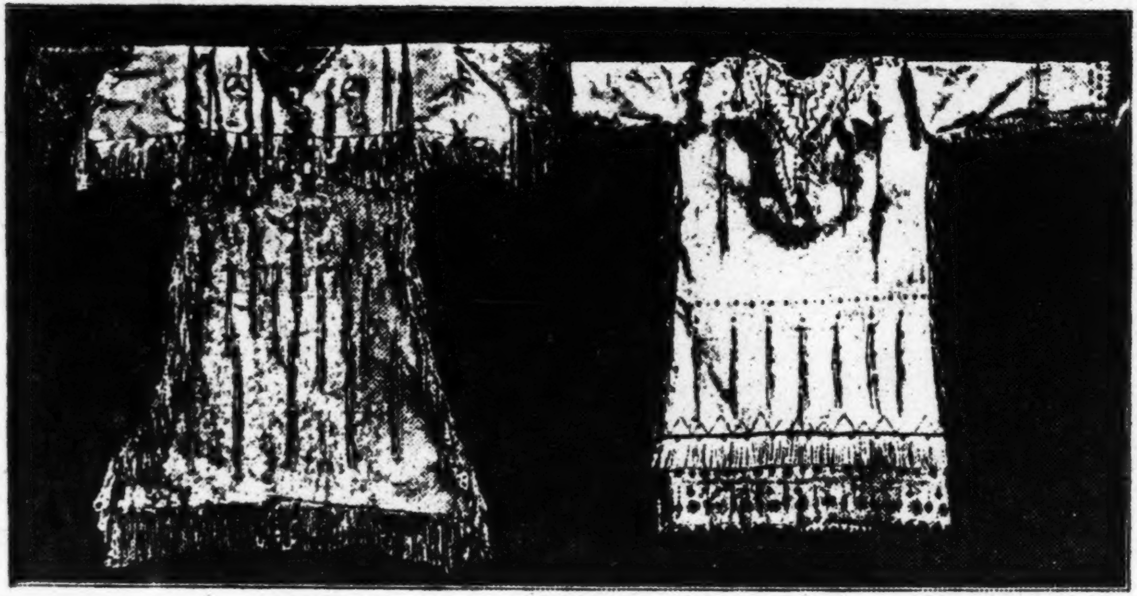
camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated [354]
lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

OTHER LODGES.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters 342
in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical 171*
forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes
families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the 171*
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations,
when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, 171*
and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend
d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named
tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food.
Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is
said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used
some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The
latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles,
and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets
were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend



DRESSES

Interior Salish.

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Kalispel
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app. p. 334

291
531
171*

415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food 352 *171 was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. [237] Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. [372] Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 281 CLOTHING (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. [184] Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and [184] was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot [3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 128, pattern No. [illegible] (p. 147); Thompson, *e*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 82, 83; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *e*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111890-111893.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*e*, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
^ Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

opp. p. 335

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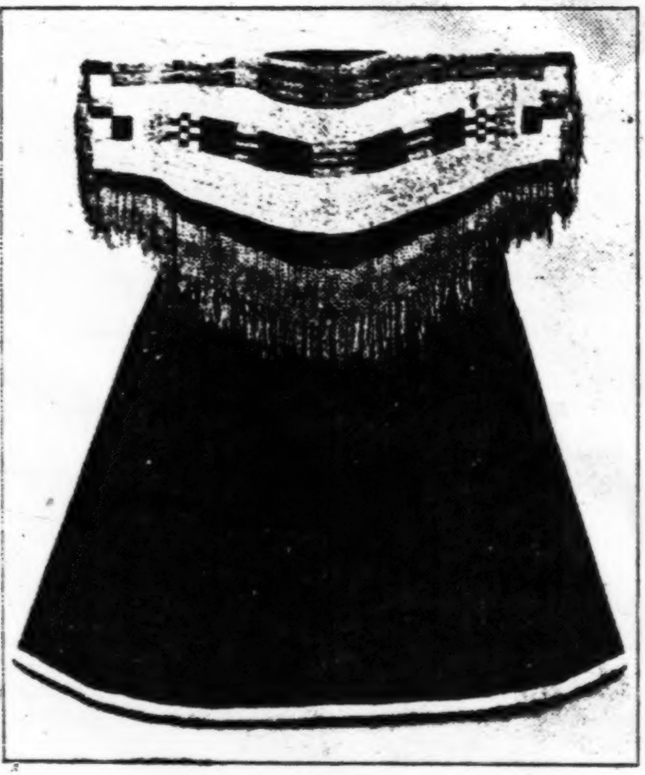

DRESS

Flathead tribe.

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27. 291 281

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171* [531]

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings. 291 171*

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was [illegible] in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar- [284] [531] [178]

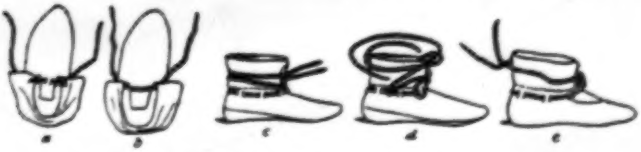

FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] d, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[6] d, p. 47, fig. 1.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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291 *171 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] [531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

292 *171 [439] Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." 294 *171 Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18 [7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] 6, p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111909.

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 1117[illegible]

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were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and other tribes. 291 171*

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11] 531 291 171* [178]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes. [237]

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[10] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111909.

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The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some

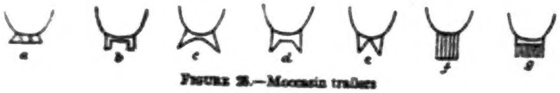

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

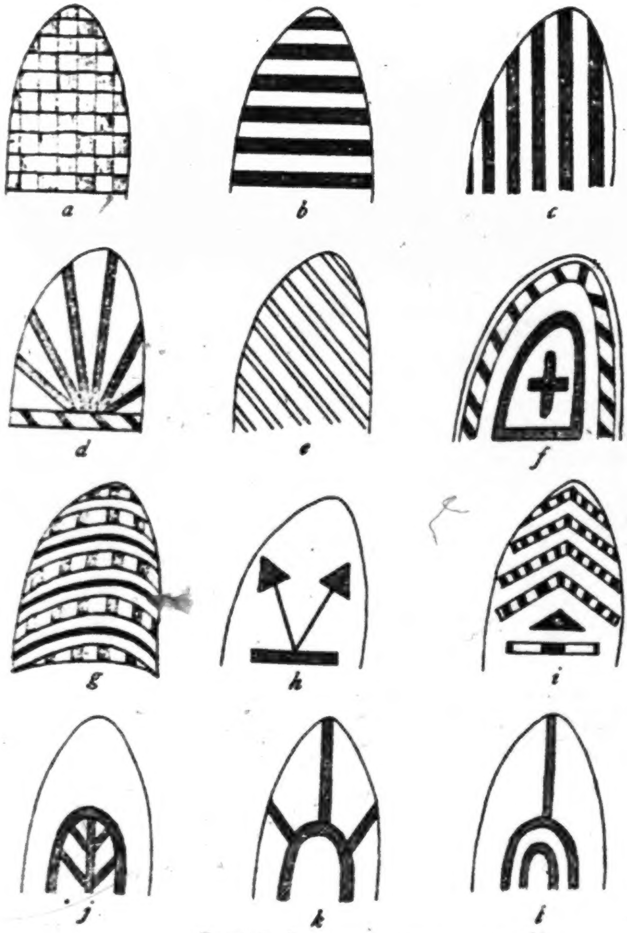

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

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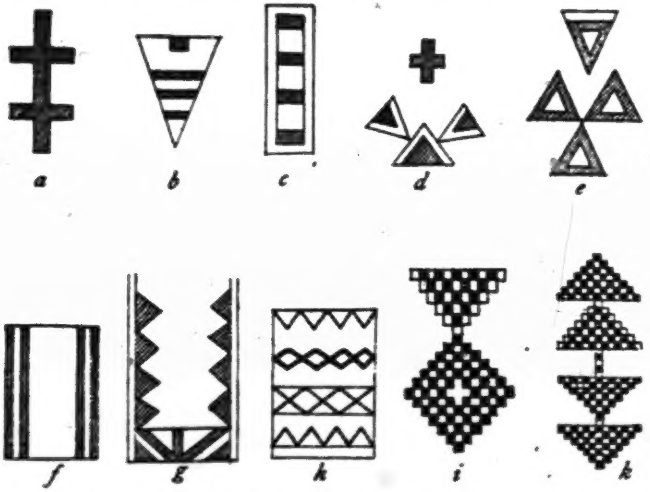

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

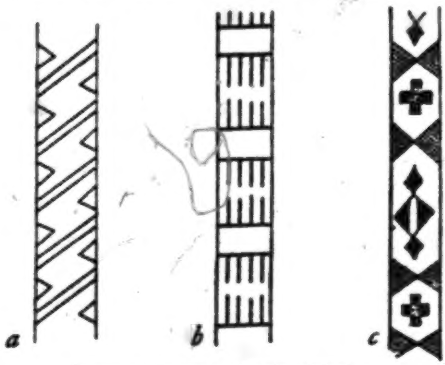

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally.

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191†
[237]

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[12] See Field Museum, 111890-111893, 111909, 111782, 111783.

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000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*171 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
317 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*171 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
[303]

[291]
[531]

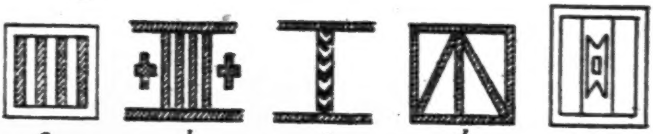

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

[291
531]

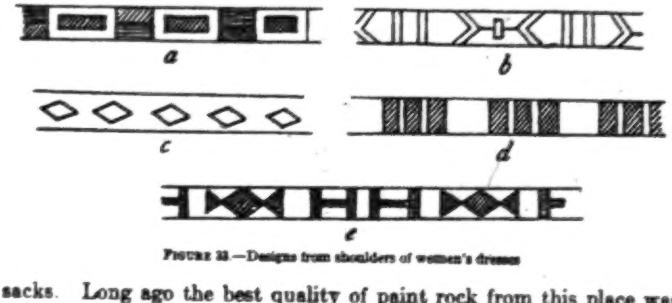

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said
[823] that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
•178 if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
[592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

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4. *Stemmaxmamqé'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Skwikwi'ssltsi'* or *Sxwoixwoilsaltsi* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xwoixwoil*, "plenty"; *ssltsi'* or *ssltsi*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunä'χe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunä'χe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Lämqe'.ks* or *slxmqeiks'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ärli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622• 619

1. (Alexander) *Tx'msxlhaqiltse'* or *txmslχaχ.lse'* ("No-Horses"; from *txmsl*, negative "without"; *haqiltse'* or *χaχ.lse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunä'χe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunä'χe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Texnko's'hue'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihwsllict* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwixl*, "plenty"; *slict* or *sllict*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunä'χe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunä'χe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Noä'lqen* or *Noä'rlqxn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltex.'ł'* or *Nkotilts.ł'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648]

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Kw'lkuls ksimi'* or *Kwlkuls qoii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Stswi'ssxom.χl'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsaks'lts'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arls'mqxn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tcaqs'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

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near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 302 171*

304 171* [184] Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Öreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

302 171* I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. [301] [292] [177] Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

V. SUBSISTENCE

222 171* Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

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415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
178 generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
*171 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
[222] type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[412] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing
to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
178 gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
*171 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
[415] with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[407] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather
the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other
Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

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late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring. 221

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan: 222 824

ROOTS

1. *A'thwa, ɛ'txwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlᴇm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pô'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Sä'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Stlôkôm* (unidentified).
9. *Mxoä'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwᴇnkwä'nᴇm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *Sᴇsä'lᴇm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsä'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]);
13. *Siai'ᴇkᴇn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kᴇrtsᴇn* (unidentified).
15. *Molä'xpa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slä'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Łô'xlôx* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsäkwä'kᵘ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Stsa'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'natc* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'wᴇslᴇ* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pô'lpolqᴇn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltaltlaax*[1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqweikwai'qᴇn* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tᴇmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yä'rica* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsä'lᴇ*[2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shô'xᴇm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqᴇm, kei'tkᴇm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *Stᴇxcä'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npokpeka'xᴇn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sisä'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *Tᴇptᴇptai'ᴇlp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

Sᴇlᴇxwai'lᴇpkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

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[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.

[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

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SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qa'puxa* (hazelnuts).
824 *Swi'stic* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stertsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamoxstci'nxm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hoxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkxn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shwt'xna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 Agriculture.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 Hunting. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1836, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

224 of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited.
*191 When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances
[492] carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

000 Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'χe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were
136 abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

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136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend
d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the
exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The
Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but
great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time
224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, trans-
178 portation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of
other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great
*171 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place.
Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the
parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes
became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes,
who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of
life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively
buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. What-
ever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the
mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide
bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used
as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be
used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the
[222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became
of less importance, because these industries could not always be
prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging
grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and
people often found themselves far away at the proper season for
berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect
these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game.
A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by
old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties.
000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by
the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves,
and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the
plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other
eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived
a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead,
and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested
country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on
the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The
Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted
buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at
the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains
tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the
Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and
it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and
Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

head and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied. 000

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse. [224]

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or

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171*
[171]

224 never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they
*171 went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although
[177] they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive
224 prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they
[178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead
*171 tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan.
[184] Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around
221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtĕ'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtĕ'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xᴇ* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 [171]*

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501 [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it
501 *171 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sxmtĕ'use*, Salish-*Tună'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

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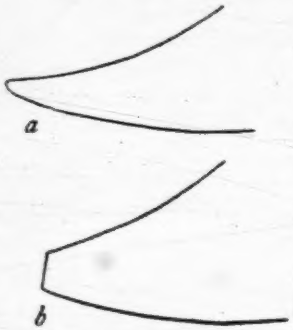

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau
[262] [237] and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tună'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse 000 flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting.

I obtained the following information from Revais and others 231 concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. 171* "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmtē'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; 177 and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier 000 than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower 231 Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the 173

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231 173 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 *171 482 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 *171 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflèches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflèches and secured by the same rope. [177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type[1] similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. [531] Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] 7, p. 12, fig. 8.

used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

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Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.[2] Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used almost altogether by women.[3] Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.[4] Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly different shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.[5] Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.[6] Beaded pendants[7] (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead.

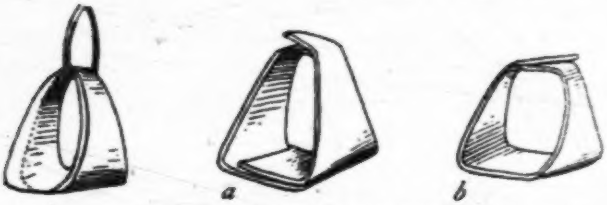

FIGURE 35.—Stirrups. a, Made of two pieces; b, made of one piece

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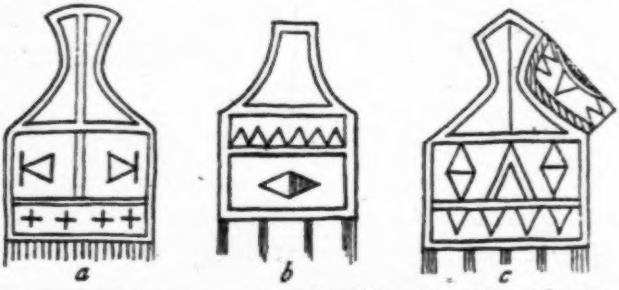

FIGURE 36.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. a, Common type. b, Less common type. c, With beaded foot rest

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[2] For the first type see *l*, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps *l*, p. 24, fig. 20; for the second, *l*, p. 10, fig. 5.

[3] *l*, p. 4, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.

[4] *l*, p 6, fig. 2.

[5] *l*, p. 18, figs. 11, 12; the former also used by women.

[6] *l*, pp. 16, 19, figs. 14, 15.

[7] *l*, p. 22, fig. 22.

492 531 *171 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

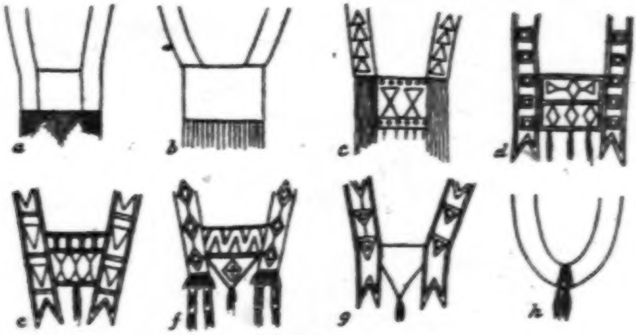

Figure 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover, safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

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[8] I, p. 23, fig. 10.
[9] Thompson, p. 253, a, fig. 131.
[10] instance, I, p. 23, fig. 18.
[11] figs. 23, 24.

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parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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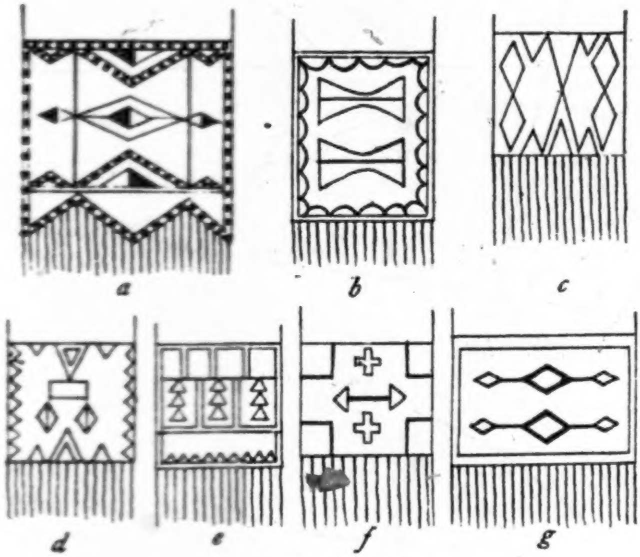

FIGURE 28.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 438 [178]

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487 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy
438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led
directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy
439 country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this
point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the
roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down.
The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important
trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away.
From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where
there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower
Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that
continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to
the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia
River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and
south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From
the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane
River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the
Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North
and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the
Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the
region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central
position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to
their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of
Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for
*[171] trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders
they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in
search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to
have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost
[648] annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went
sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding
trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez
Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day
River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to
trade for cattle.[12] There was not much trade directly north and south
across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to
the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In
early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little
trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur
d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the
Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains
influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up
buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of
the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and
Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

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[12] E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

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Kalispel
Spokan

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informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'xe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tunā'xe*. 000 There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

000 hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place
was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to
trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any
all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the
Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near
by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the
inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically
uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading
parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni,
and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties
of Salish-*Tuna'χe* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*,
438 and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the
439 advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding
articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the
487 person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded
to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green
soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons,
ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood
and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia
River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later
days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward.
Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains,
also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River
route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses
ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that
passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same
material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including
polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo
skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally
000 buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long
ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot,
also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles.
The Salish-*Tunā'χe* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot
also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian
439 and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already
438 stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and
other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects
common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes,
clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after
members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and
other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting,
trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes
000 whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of
Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

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way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.) 000

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439 within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487 and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE.—The weapons of the 411 Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713 surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under "Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171* knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178] skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237] skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531] designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531] of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171* Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725] also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727] related their war exploits.

WARS.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000 wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

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000 of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the
Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked
the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off
with considerable loss and never came back.

721 The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago.
628 Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once
the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The
[648] Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number
[184] of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always
friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars
with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time
they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided
down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties
occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast,
and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette.
The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers"
because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the
Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap
and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunä'ҳe*. In
very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars
with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about
1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of
[648] buffalo hunting (1880-1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—
the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne,
Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including
the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot,
Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in
the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and
Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came
very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered
as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak;
while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock.
It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western
000 alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment
of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the
eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are
said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow
against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until
after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances
for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each
tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they
been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow
628 would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early
times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

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again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were 628
not.

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always
friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or 926
three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some 171*
horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were [648]
the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This
led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged
a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever
afterwards remained friendly.

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of
allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A
large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading
of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing,
and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65
miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow
stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some
Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed
at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only
two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and
danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dis-
patched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This
war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people
were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed
the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken
unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find
that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted
as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were
killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the
Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language
quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but
none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards
it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the
Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged be- [728]
tween the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents
were exchanged.

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Black- 000
foot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot
war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most
of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most
numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood
were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but some-
times they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally
the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident

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[1] See pp. 126, 316 et seq.

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(meeting one another on the buffalo grounds); and in some instances very large parties were encountered, composed of Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres. Once a fight occurred in the Big Hole Valley between Flathead and Blackfoot at a time when war parties of the latter were constantly appearing in the Flathead country. A party of Flathead numbering about 150 and including many women and children, under Chief Big-Eagle, had separated from the main body of the Flathead, and were traveling south. As they came over the top of a ridge they discovered a Blackfoot party of about 200 warriors. When they saw each other the Flathead drew up on the side of the hill and the Blackfoot did the same at the bottom. The former were all mounted, and the latter were all on foot. Some of the Flathead wanted to hold no parley with them. They thought it best to leave and at once send some men out to inform the main body of the Flathead, with the object of joining forces and cutting off the Blackfoot. Chief Big-Eagle was against this and said he would go and make peace with them. He took with him Bear-Track, who was subchief. They dismounted and went to the Blackfoot on foot. The latter formed a circle, with their chiefs in the middle, and the two Flathead chiefs entered the circle to smoke. Big-Eagle arranged his pipe and the Blackfoot chiefs agreed to smoke it and make peace. While the chiefs were smoking a Blackfoot Indian who was standing behind Big-Eagle pulled his bow out of his quiver without Big-Eagle or his companion noticing it. When they came back to their people some of the latter said to Big-Eagle, "You have no bow." The bow was a specially fine one, and Big-Eagle said he would go back and get it. Some of the people tried to dissuade him, fearing that the Blackfoot might kill him; but he said, "No, we have just finished smoking and have made peace." He walked back unarmed along with Bear-Track and demanded the return of his bow. The Blackfoot told them, "Asking for your bow is equivalent to declaring war on us. Our peace-smoke is now broken." They at once began shooting at them. Big-Eagle fell, pierced with many arrows, and Bear-Track escaped wounded. A fight ensued, the mounted Flathead circling around the Blackfoot, but the latter drove them off, and the Flathead had to retreat. Several were wounded on both sides. The Blackfoot did not manage to capture any horses or scalps, and soon gave up following the mounted Flathead, who now crossed country and overtook the main body of their tribe. As soon as the latter heard the news they held a short war dance. A large force of Flathead warriors returned to look for the Blackfoot; but the Flathead were unable to locate them. This happened toward the end of the eighteenth century.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
70 [war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting,
and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Walla-walla,
Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[649] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of
Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was
large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their
ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the
Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand
fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly
assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed
the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always
in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60
years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot
party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot
Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side
were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not
strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead
country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They
camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward
Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties
exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley,
as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them
near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency
at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being
pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to
advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous
night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to
obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves
might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

726 most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the [727] western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Blackfoot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Blackfoot were pursued but made good their escape.

726 Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were *171 carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat. The Pend d'Oreilles called reenforcements, followed the Blackfoot, [727] who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and made their escape through the woods in the night. After this, McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post. [103] The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*," from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

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into six parties at the different breastworks. The Salish concentrated all their men, and riding out into the open rapidly rushed one breastwork after another, attacking from the sides and driving the Blackfoot out on the open plain. In the onslaught their chief, a Piegan, and several others were killed. The Blackfoot managed to get together and rally. The mounted Salish kept them surrounded and a long-range fight ensued. The Blackfoot were much superior to the Salish in guns, but they ran short of ammunition. They moved along slowly all day, the Salish having them surrounded and fighting them all the time. During the night they broke up into several parties and tried to escape; but in the morning the mounted Salish caught up with the largest party, attacked it and killed all the members. Another detached party when overtaken and surrounded began to sing a death chant. The Salish also rode through this party and killed them all. By nightfall all the Blackfoot had been disposed of except a few of those who had escaped the night before and had not been located or overtaken. They may have numbered 15 or 20 men. It is said that a Pend d'Oreilles party came on them later in the country farther north and killed nearly all of them. Probably not one of this party of Blackfoot ever reached their country. During the first night, when the Blackfoot were preparing to attack the Salish camp, they had managed in the dark to steal two very valuable horses. One was a pinto and the other a brown. When next morning the Blackfoot were driven out of their breastworks two unarmed lads mounted these horses and tried to escape with them. A Flathead on a very fleet horse chased them, and after riding about 6 miles killed them both and recovered the horses. During the two days' fighting the Salish lost very few men and had very few horses shot, but a number of horses and men were wounded. The Flathead who led the attack on the breastworks was killed by a ball and another Flathead (a subchief?) was shot and killed by a wounded Blackfoot when only about 2 feet away. A Flathead near by struck the latter down and scalped him at once.

Wars with the Cheyenne.—Sometimes the Cheyenne and Salish fought. Once they had a war in which they attacked each other many times and raided each other for horses, but no decisive battle was fought. A number of horses were stolen on both sides, but very few people were killed in either tribe. The most severe engagement was fought a short distance north of the Little Horn; neither side gained an advantage over the other. At the time of the Custer battle, or shortly afterwards, the Cheyenne deserted the country in which they had made their headquarters and moved temporarily into the Crow country, while the Crow moved north to the confines of the Piegan and stayed there for a time. It is said that this migration was due to fear of the Sioux.

000 *Wars with the Assiniboin.*—About 1865 a Flathead party of considerable strength was camped at Three Buttes, near the confines of the Gros Ventres northeast of the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana. War was on with the Assiniboin at that time and a war party of them attacked the camp at night. They managed to open a great number of the lodge doors and shot inside, killing in all four men and wounding the Flathead chief and some other people. A woman ran out of one of the tents with a pistol in her hand. The Assiniboin did not kill her as they were waiting for the men to come out. She shot the Assiniboin chief dead and escaped in the dark. The Assiniboin were driven off and at daybreak the Flathead started in pursuit. When they overtook them a running fight ensued and many of the Assiniboin were killed and wounded.

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About the same time a large party of Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Upper Kutenai, and some Pend d'Oreilles were hunting buffalo in the Sweet Grass Hills on the confines of the Piegan country. A large party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not far away in another direction. Two or more years before this the Assiniboin had boasted that they would drive all the Salish and Kutenai out of the buffalo country. A large war party of Assiniboin came for the purpose of attacking the camp, but when they saw the great strength of the Salish-Kutenai, they immediately made off without risking a battle. The Salish camp had 225 lodges.

000 *Wars with the Sioux.*—About 1860 a fight took place with Sioux in the country between what is now the Crow Agency and Fort Benton. A Sioux party of 15 or more had gone to steal horses from the Crow, and the latter had killed them all except one man, who escaped. Some other Crow had also killed some Sioux, who were now bent on revenge. A party of 75 or 80 Flathead warriors were traveling near this place, trying to locate buffalo. They had not heard of the recent fighting between the Crow and the Sioux and did not know that the latter were near. They saw a great many tracks which they concluded were made by River Crow, but they were tracks of Mountain Crow fleeing from the Sioux. The Flathead camped for the night. In the early morning they saw several strangers stealing some of their horses and the young men gave chase. These strangers were Sioux, who had discovered the Flathead camp. After a run of about 15 miles the Flathead had killed four of the Sioux and recovered most of their horses, but this had brought them in front of the Sioux camp. The Sioux all came out and the Flathead ran back. The Sioux, being on fresh mounts, caught up with several of the Flathead and killed them. Probably they would have caught up with all of them if their horses had been good, but Sioux horses were generally not as good as Flathead horses. A large number of Sioux took part in the pursuit, and when they reached the Flathead camp they surrounded it.

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More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.[1] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

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Wars with the whites.—With the exception of the Spokan and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

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[1] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

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while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855–56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakɛn*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last

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the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped 000 to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral 191* 648 during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads; and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the 721 [628] whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other [563] tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

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721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
[727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry[3] was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well 728 supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It [727] is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's 721* defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority [722] of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one 726 of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

126 turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

000 [648] In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either

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on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead,
Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between fami- 727
lies were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they [648]
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, [628]
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes.
A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni
captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the
Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms
and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flat- 171*
head (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez
Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was
held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the
Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo
robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to
see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected
that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the 191
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville.
However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook
was not used a great deal, the principal language being French.
Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also
employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the
Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by
the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly
different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 375
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living,
common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
[619] of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
178 chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
621 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information
about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
*171 bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
*171 organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding
the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
*171 the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
*171 each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations
of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

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They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scouting,
guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at 171*
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding
positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 361
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231
171*

361 side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass
231 within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.
*171

CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the
622 tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the
*171 small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was
619 elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two
000 small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tcĕ'les keisĕ'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Kotsi'la keisĕ'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotsĭrĕ'tkat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

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4. *Stemaszszmqzł'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Sheihei'zèlisi'* or *Sxweisweilselici* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *sweisweil*, "plenty"; *zèlisi'* or *selici*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunä'xe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunä'xe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charlos [or Carlos]) *Łämqe'.ks* or *slzmqaike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ärli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622 619

1. (Alexander) *Tz'mzlhaqtlise'* or *tzmzlqaq.ise'* ("No-Horses"; from *tzmzl*, negative "without"; *haqlise'* or *zaz.ise'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunä'xe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunä'xe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcsmko's'hwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihwislitcł* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwisl*, "plenty"; *slicł'* or *sliсł'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunä'xe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunä'xe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Nsä'lqsn* or *Nsä'rlqsn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltsz.'ł'* or *Nkotilts.ł'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648]

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls keimi'* or *Kulkuls qaii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Rizwi'sesem.xł'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsoka'lks'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arls'mqzn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tcsqe'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

622 619 None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silxmuxs'tu'*. was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoitsmsla'* or *Kwokwo'ila* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunâ'xe* word. He was partly of *Tunâ'xe* descent.
2. *Tcukwi'tsqan* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix -qen "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Silxmlôlôroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunâ'xe* name. *lôlôroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunâ'xe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunâ'xe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

000 The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilxni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilxni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

622 619 178 I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan as head chief of all the Spokan. 622 619 When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqan* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwistpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spaik'x*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. 624 619 Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

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tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point. 624 619

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ēsqEt* ("cloud"), *-ēlst* ("stone"), *-qEn*, *-qain* ("head"), *-ī'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names: 551 171* [787] 551 787 171* 551 171* [428]

Tona'sqEt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Saxsaxpaqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stakastci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Elemi'uxs spakane' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoispakane'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

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000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'ɛ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'patsxmxa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulent'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titlelu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tesxmxɛ' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Idleixmt' or *Yōleixmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. [439] Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. 276 788 *171 In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. 276 *171 A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

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X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177]

HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 12, a Spokan carrier. [113]

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*171 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
*171 Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
*171 obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

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ctive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party 766 had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, 171* cut wood, and tracks.

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three 000 worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition.

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkᴇn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkᴇn*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkᴇn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that 775 souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. [823] The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes 773 are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains 171* and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero.

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain 776 lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. 171* Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

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776 *171 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or near their sphere of influence.

787 *171 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained 533 *171 [787] one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

778 *171 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 *171 [756] BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

756 *171 000 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

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would take his drum and sing, making them all join in the song. After singing a while, he would say, "The Piegan have made medicine and keep the buffalo. I will break their medicine and make the buffalo come. In four days the buffalo will arrive, and you will see many of them." Buffalo never failed to be found or seen in the time and numbers he stated. Sometimes Bear-Track would say to the chiefs or to the people, "The Crow [or Blackfoot, as the case might be] are on their way to steal horses. They will be here to-night. Make ready and kill them." His prophecies always proved to be true. He could tell when battles would be fought, foresee the results, and the numbers killed. He could tell where friendly and hostile camps were, and where and when persons would be found or met. The Crow and Blackfoot knew him well, and were very much afraid of him. If some of them happened to hear his drum they would run back and give up the attempt to take horses. They believed he could see them as soon as he began to drum and sing. Many hostiles, as soon as they learned he was in the camp, would at once leave and abandon the attack. They believed he could frustrate all attempts to take horses and scalps; and that if they tried to open a fight they would certainly be killed.

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Missions.—Nominally almost all the people of the Flathead tribes are Catholics, but they do not appear to be as much under the control of the church as, for instance, the Coeur d'Alêne. Revais told me the following about missions. The first priests to come west of the Rockies to the Columbia or Oregon country were the two Blanchets and De Mars from Canada. The first missionary among the Flathead was Father De Smet. He had no fixed headquarters, but traveled about among the Indians. A special mission was founded in the Bitterroot Valley about 1840 or 1841; but it was given up after a few years, on account of Indian wars and the frequent raids made for stealing horses and cattle. Father McGraney [1] was the first resident priest of the mission. He moved to Oregon about 1842 or 1843. In 1843 (?) [2] Father Hogan founded a mission at Kalispel and had a church built there. The mission at this place was given up and transferred in 1854 to the present one on the Flathead Reserve at St. Ignatius. Some of the Iroquois who settled among the Flathead interested them in the white man's religion and in the Bible, and persuaded them to send to St. Louis for priests. Four young Flathead men started in 1831 and reached St. Louis, where they wintered. Two of them died there, and the other two set out for home in the spring, but never reached there. It is supposed they were killed or captured on the road. Some authorities say seven men started—three Flathead and four Nez Percé. Three of them turned back, two

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[1] I give the name as it seemed to be pronounced by Revais.

[2] Revais seemed to be sure of some dates, and not so sure of others.

797 *171 died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

796 *171 Ceremonies and Dances.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

000 Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

796 535 *171 *Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkɛn* to keep them well and preserve them

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from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole. 796 535 171*

First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tkm* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song. In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

Hunting dances, buffalo dance.—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

Guardian spirit.—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tkm* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

Turkey and other animal dances.—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or 535 171* dancing organizations. In later days the turkey dance was introduced, the dancers wearing feather bustles, and imitating the walking and actions of the wild turkey. The dancers stooped forward, walked stiff legged, held one hand up to the forehead and the other back at the backside. Most of the animal dances were named after the animals imitated, such as deer, bear, dog, raven, chicken. Some of the leaders of these dances wore regalia appropriate to each dance.

Marrying dance.—The marrying dance went out of use at an early time. It was nearly the same in form as that of the Coeur d'Alêne. The young women danced in one line and the young men opposite them in another line within touching distance. When the song commenced the two lines moved in opposite directions. All carried short sticks or batons. When a man chose a girl he touched her on the shoulder with a stick. If she refused him she struck the stick off with her stick.

Round dance or squaw dance.—The women form a circle or a three-quarter circle close together, and sometimes join hands. They move round sidewise, following the sun's course, and bringing one foot up to the other with a jerk. The drummers usually stand in the middle of the circle and move around slowly, in the same manner as the dancers do. Occasionally the drummers sit. They and the dancers sing together. In one of these dances which I witnessed four drummers stood back to back, facing the dancers, and turned as the dancers did, so that their faces were nearly always toward the same part of the circle. The women formed a wide and complete circle on the outside, except at one place, where a gap was left wide enough to allow a person to pass through easily. Many of the dancers joined hands; others put their hands on each other's shoulders or around each other's waists. As soon as the drums started all went round singing. Presently a woman among the spectators took up a man and led him through the opening in the circle to the space inside between the dancers and the drummers. Here they went round together in the same way as the other dancers. Several other women among the spectators did the same, and also some women in the original dance circle left it and took up partners. The couples in the inner circle joined hands or locked arms, and went round in pairs close together. After a time the music stopped and the dancers stood still. Presently it started again, and they continued. This pause was a notification that the next time the music stopped the dance was at an end. At the end of the dance all took their seats except the couples who had formed the inner circle. These now formed in a line. The dance chief advanced toward them and asked each woman in turn what she intended to pay her partner for dancing with her. The chief then called out in a loud voice that so and so would pay such and such an amount to her partner for dancing with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900. 535, 171* [177]

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun. 000

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The 796 171* 72 [702]

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruit-
*171 ing ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (accord-
[778] ing to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
[622] Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Yé'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the re-
796 counting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
535 down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, 555
and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered
in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, 796
and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left 171*
the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his com- 535
panions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount 555
his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared
wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and head- 796
band. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below 171*
the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this [292]
way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a
great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial [302]
weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of [178]
their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing 535
and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance 796
chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers
squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators 171*
around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
*171 one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other
foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older
dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in
this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in
the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance.
Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding
themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of
the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time
twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping
forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The
dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the
chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them,
and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The
earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle
counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations
and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute
and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will
soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about
five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again
all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music
starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men
with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the
music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the
music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest.
Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers
perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers
advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for
tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
[534] The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black
were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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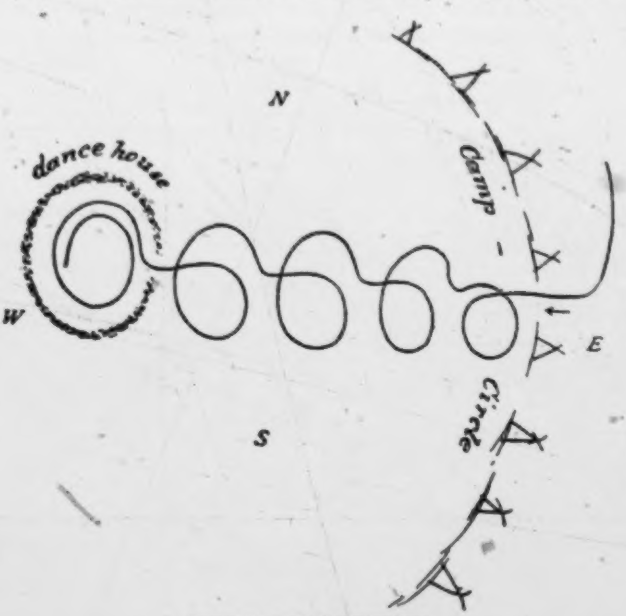

FIGURE 29.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lel-el-el-el!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *171 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 *171 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. 278 *171 Besides charms of this kind, poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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[For data on Blackfoot wars with the Southeast Salish, Flathead, and others, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, especially pp. 316-321, and 361-365.]

[For data on the history and cultural institutions of the Kutenai, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, *passim*.]

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NR8 Flathead NR8

[For data on history and cultural institutions of the Flathead, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, passim.]

[For data on the Nez Percé war of 1877, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, pp. 372-373.]

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[For information on the introduction of the horse to the Plateau area in general, see 7: Teit, category 116, pp. 350-351.]

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 **Southeast Salish**
Sanpoil

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau,
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ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others.
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sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
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114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

101 121 As a field for investigation for the group I hit on the Southern Okanagon. The cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

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4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation. 122 [115]

TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Columbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third tribe, the ·nkutᴇme'xᵘ or Nekᴇtᴇmᴇ̄'ux̣ of The Dalles country. However, the affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1] 101

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People, names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were considered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais, Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a shaman) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside, attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticulations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were sometimes called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be 173 101

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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123 Mr. Teit was thoroughly conversant with the Thompson Indians, among whom he lived for a great many years. This facilitated his investigations considerably. It will be understood that the information given here is almost entirely based upon questioning of the Indians. The ancient customs have disappeared to such an extent that direct observation is impossible. The historical data contained in the following account must also be considered in this light. They are the records of oral tradition among the Indians and not based on documentary evidence.

On account of Mr. Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson tribe, it is natural that his inquiries were very largely guided by what he knew about the customs of that tribe. It is not unlikely that this may have colored, to a certain extent, the descriptions. I doubt particularly whether the negative statements contained in his report can always be taken as conclusive, because the question whether a certain custom is in vogue may be misunderstood and similar customs may have existed. Mr. Teit's statements of opinion must be taken as those of his informants, not his own, unless expressly so qualified.

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821 The winds:

uxumu's.............	"north wind"
sqwa''ats............	"south wind"
scuxuli'kʷ............	"whirlwind"
skə'mpəmə'tcu't.....	"storm," "heavy wind," "fog" (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

k̓i'k̓at...............	"short distance"
luku·'t, qumi·'ut......	"long distance"
kuk̓wi·'na............	"small," "little," "few"
xui'i't...............	"large," "big," "many"

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125 822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englibs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[33] and two of tints.[34] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[33] Or full colors as seen in the shadow.

[34] Or full colors as they appear when "mixed" with white.

Wave length in ten millionths of a millimeter	Bradley designation	Native Terms		
		Standard	Shade No. 2	Tint No. 2
	Red-violet[25]	xs'n	qwa'i	pa·'[27]
	Violet-red[25]		xs'n	xɛ'n
6571	Red	kwı'l	tlka'tlxa	
	Orange-red		kwı'l	
	Red-orange			
6085	Orange	kuγa'i	p̓u·'m[26]	p̓u·'m[26]
	Yellow-orange			kuγa'i
	Orange-yellow			
5793	Yellow		qwi'n	p̓u·'m[26]
	Green-yellow			pa·'[27]
	Yellow-green	qwi'n		
5164	Green			
	Blue-green			
	Green-blue	qwa'i[28]	qwa'i[28]	
4695	Blue			qwa'i[28]
	Violet-blue			pa·'[27]
	Blue-violet			
4210	Violet			

FIG. 23. Color names and classifications.

The standard colors constitute an unbroken series from one end of the spectrum to the other.[29] The native classifications are of much the same nature as our own, except that there is no term in the native nomenclature corresponding to our violet or orange. The latter is divided between the reds and yellows. The violets

822

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[25] Non-spectral colors.
[26] Translated "buckskin."
[27] The term applied to the grays.
[28] Probably the diminutive of black.
[29] That is, no one term is applied to two non-contiguous segments of the spectrum.

822

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I submitted to the informant the color chart for house paints in the Sears Roebuck catalogue. Twelve primary colors appear: [125]

pIq, white
q!waI, black, chocolate brown
p'ōm, trown (various shades)
pōm, buff
   micpō'm, russet brown
q!ōlx, beaver brown
   micq!ōlx, seal brown
Iō'c, lilac, light pink
   micIō'c, leather brown, chocolate brown
qōrē', Chinese yellow, tangerine, burnt orange
   micqōrē', Colonial yellow
   hanIcqōrē'c, light brown
pa', gray, buckskin, fawn
   micpa'', dark fawn or dark buckskin
tχēlpc, gray
kwIl, Turkey red, terracotta red, light fawn
   mickwI'l, dark wine red, oxide red, maroon
   hanIckwI'lc, maroon
   lōcIckwI'lc, maroon
qwal, pure blue, marine, sea blue, the color of the night sky; myrtle green, the color of the dark green leaves
   qwaIcqwaIc, dark blue, slate gray
   hanIcqwaIc, lead color
   micIocIcqwaIc, dark steel gray
   IōcIcqwaIc, dark stone gray

p. 181(c)

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

1

PREFACE

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never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually 101
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They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach-
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Coeur d'Alene

194

The following is an explanation of the symbols used:
Vowels have their continental values.

ĕ	open e, as in "fell."
ŏ	open o, nearly as in German "voll."
ᴇ	obscure vowel, as e in "flower."
tl	affricative.
ł	~~voiceless~~ *L*
q	velar *k*.
c	English *sh*.
x	medial palatal continuant, corresponding in position to *k*.
x̣	velar continuant, corresponding in position to *q*.
'	glottal stop.

Special attention is called to the use of *x* and *x̣* which has been changed from earlier usage to conform with the system now generally employed.

Mr. Teit uses the period (.) to indicate in some cases a glottal stop, in others strong voicing.

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128

Dr. Gladys Reichard had ~~the~~ kindness to revise with native informants all Indian words in the chapter on the Coeur d'Alêne. She was able to identify most of the terms. The spelling of Indian words in this chapter is, therefore, reliable, except in the case of a few words that could not be identified and which are marked with a query.

Franz Boas.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very 197 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur [128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was [411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and [412] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes. [324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the [531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems [323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a *171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

Dialects.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[8] 197

The Colville use the term *Saliχtci'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

Habitat and Boundaries.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13 ●

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwī'χ* or *Stᴇwī'χᴇmux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

Divisions, Bands, Villages, Place-names.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[9] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'χamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[8] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[9] This division is called *[illegible]* ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, *[illegible]*, Lake people.

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INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·'luxʷ) of the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpuell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi·'ləm), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1] [Any such assumption is definitely in error. /01 731

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix. [551]

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (snəqaie'tkʷ) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the snəqaie'tkʷ groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (snoie'lpʷ).

The two names (Nespelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were seperated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Ferry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common. 131 197

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[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

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197 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lqxtcɪn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcɪn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan sɪnəqaie'tkʷ Lakes sɪnəkā'ɪt Colville	nsi'lqxtcɪn
Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'kutcɪn
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi stske'tɪmixʷ	nɪ'χwa'mux'tcɪn
Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtcɪn

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177 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

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171 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the sɪnəqaie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[3] Cf., page 26.

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 137 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.

[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[5] 187

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples. 101

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City. 131 133

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[6] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters. 101 131 361

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[5] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[6] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

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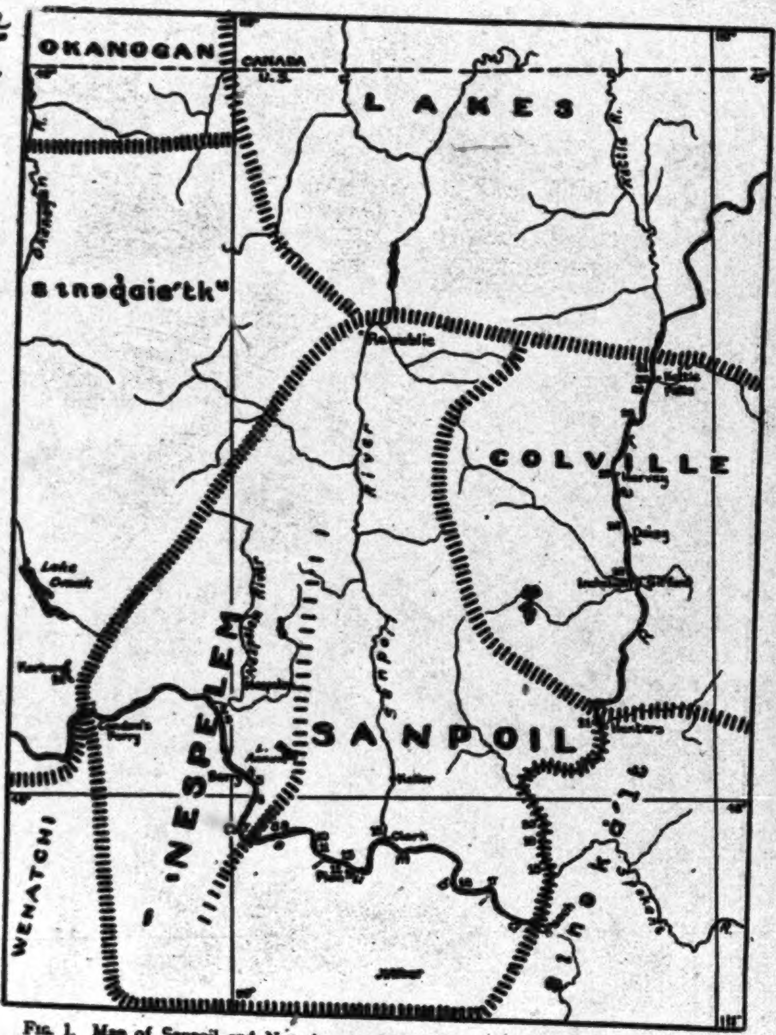
OKANOGAN
CANADA
U.S.
LAKES
Kettle R.
Republic
COLVILLE
Harvey
Daisy
Hunters
Lake Omak
Nespelem River
SANPOIL
Sanpoil River
Keller
Clark
'NESPELEM
WENATCHI
Wilbur

FIG. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle´tkû, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqalé´t^{kû} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa´in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqalé´t^{kû} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

● 131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

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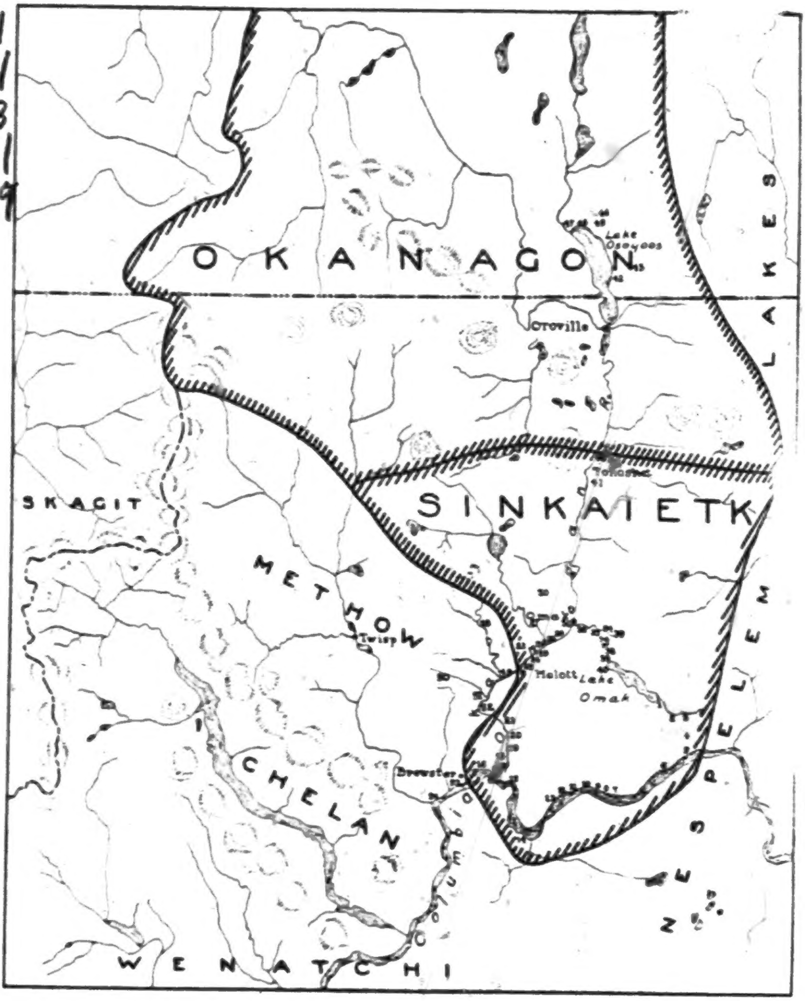
OKANAGON
Lake Osoyoos
Oroville
Tonasket
LAKES
SKAGIT
SINKAIETK
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Lake Omak
Brewster
CHELAN
COLUMBIA
NESPELEM
WENATCHI

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people") 101
Klamath	Ła'mał
Wishram	Wī'sxam
Wasco	Wasqo'pᴇm
Chinook	Tsᴇnū'k
All Coast Indians	Sukᴇtī'kᴇnux̣, Sukotī'kᴇnux̣ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)
Lower Fraser tribe	.sʟᴇmsiū'ᴇx
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ᴇtsᴇn (possibly the Cowichan)

DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alêne, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct. 197

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsᴇnux̣ or .nkeēus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé. 131

2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

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[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows: 621 131 ●

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kᴇtᴇmux̣ or Tiä'kᴇtux̣[25] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kᴇtux̣,[26] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx[27] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[28] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[25] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchᴇn or .niä'qᴇtcᴇn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tᴇm in .nia'kᴇtcᴇn means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iä'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iäkᴇma and stia'kᴇt, etc. 101 105

[26] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[27] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[28] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention. 159 622

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928

Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were: 621 131

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcɛlē'nɛx, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zux̣, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zux̣ or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20]

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[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Pisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pewa'nwapam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallatoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutEme'xᵘ, NekEtEme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 2[illegible]-205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago. and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[23]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[24] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[23] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[24] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

least about ten thousand.[36a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these 161
tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi 131
are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except 167
that of the Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they 131
were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however,
shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took 101
place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[37]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

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[36a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[37] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them 167
settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the 131
country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, 101
ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam 167
near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this 197
tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been
associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper 101
Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are 114
undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper 167
Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration 197
legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants 131
who have changed their language.—F. Boas.]

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tᴇnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of
tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached 131
its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large 721
war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[26] At this

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[26] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kᴇtux̣, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kᴇtux̣ or Stia'kᴇtᴇmux̣. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

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[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

ion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name 167
is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from 131 ●
the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and 197
because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake. [72]

The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are 167
rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when 131
Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

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[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and 167
occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane 131
seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of 115
the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[38] During my con- 167
versations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at 131
Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweē'tca, or Kwoiē'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers.

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[38] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[37] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[38] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others. 167 131

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language. [164]

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[39] regarding

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[37] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[38] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[39] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunā'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunā'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well 159 115

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date. 167 131 ●

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years. 159 115

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived 167
from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this
place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made 131●
their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The 101
language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two
tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining
each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam.
In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and [72l]
killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined,
and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls.[46a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish
about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three 551
descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among 167
the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are 131
preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior 101
Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekεtεmē'ux̣, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[46a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is 114
found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tᴇxaidek or Tᴇxai'nᴇk (chief)	Toxei'.nᴇk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsᴇlᴇxkai'nᴇm	Tsᴇlē.xkai'nᴇm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cᴇlᴇkqai'n	Sᴇlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sᴇmkᴇn	Zu'sᴇmkᴇn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sᴇmkᴇn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolᴇk	Zā'xᴇlᴇk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nᴇmkᴇn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nᴇmkᴇn or Zanᴇmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkᴇni'tsa (the youngest)	Mẹx.kaini'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wᴇtskᴇla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwi'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux̣; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake.

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The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the 167 Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to 131 ● the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia 177 valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon, then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

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[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -ī'nᴇk, -qai'n, -kᴇn, and -ltsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tsᴇl, sᴇl, tsox, are common root-parts of names.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

THE OKANAGON

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

101 Tribes of the Group.—The tribes of the Okanagon group are
131 (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

Tribal Names.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoee, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpee," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'nix̣*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.[1]
2. *Snpoi'l*, or *Snpoi'lix̣*, *Snpoai'lεx̣εx̣*.
3. *Sxoiē'lpix̣*, or *Sx̣uiē'ylpix̣*, *Sx̣wei'lpεx̣*.
4. *Snai'tcεkst*, *Snrai'tcεkstεx̣*, *Snāi'.tcεkstεx̣*.

The suffix *-ix̣*, *-εx̣*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

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[1] Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are *Ōkanā'qai'n* and *.ōkanā'qai'nεx̣*.

Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salix* and the old name dropped out of use.[3] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qĕn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country. 101 131

Snpoi'l or *Snpoi'lix* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tckst is from *ai'tckst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lixtcn*" or "*Nse'lixtcn*," which means "Salish-speaking "(from *Sa'lix*, *Se'lix*, or *Si'lix*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcn*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.—The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following: 101 201

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[3] See p. 264.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

DIALECTS.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[8] 197

The Colville use the term *Salịstct'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwī'ẋ* or *Stᴇwī'ẋᴇmux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131 ●

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES, PLACE-NAMES.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[9] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'ẋᴇmux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[8] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[9] This division is called [illegible] ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, [illegible], Lake people.

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101 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

621 131 3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwi'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

101 621 361 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spa'xəmən* or *Spa'xəmən*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spa'xəmən*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkamə'pəlks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkamə'pəlks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pənti'ktən*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkami'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkami'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kərəmyi'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnü'lox*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snəkə'st*, *Tcutcuwi'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsaməm* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 206.

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nkaitʼxtcx*.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
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[illegible] following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Sakɛmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takɛlɛxɛitcɛkɛt* ("trout ascend"? [from *ɛi'tcɛkɛt*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sihwi'lɛx*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kā'ntcā'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'xtɛn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skɛtu'kɛlōx*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntɛkɛli'tkʷ*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nɛmi'mɛltɛm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntsɛltsɛli'tuk*[a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Stco'xɛllkʷ*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntsɛtsɛrri'ɛɛm*	At or very near Northport.

[131] The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kɛluwi'ɛst* (now Rossland), and *Tcɛɛulɛxxi'xtca* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'mɛlɛp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

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[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. [illegible]

Seven or eight miles east of Nelson.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tună'χe* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tună'χe*, and the *Tună'χe* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tună'χe*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tună'χe* on the north, the *Sεmtĕ'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tună'χe* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tună'χe* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32] 000

The Sεmtĕ'use or Sεmtă'use.—The territory of the *Sεmtĕ'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Philipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sεmtĕ'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sεmtĕ'use* were 101
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[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tună'χe* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

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Kalispel
Spokan

101 thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'χe* on the
131 east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sεmtε'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sεmtε'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sεmtε'use*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'χe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sεmtε'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. 131 It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[23]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at 133 137 higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems 000 now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

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[23] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'xɛ* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmxtū'kɛntk!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

361 *The Sɛmtɛ'use.*—The *Sɛmtɛ'use* also were in several bands, win-
619 tering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the
131 largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the
headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot
and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed
separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River
country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place
called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplɛ'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known
as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big
Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near
Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign
this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flat-
[118] head territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated,
and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

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[37] Said to be the *Sɛmtɛ'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[38] Said to be the *Flathead* name.

[39] Some say that each tribe of the *Flathead* group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the
131 lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon,
Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near
Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may
have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtē'usɛ*, as this place was
considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend
d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large
band wintered at *Snyɛ'lɛmɛn*[40] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St.
Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse
this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not
quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
178 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission,
in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in
two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number
of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsī'ni*
619 ("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsīn*, "entrance, outlet, or
131 confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a
considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower
Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispɛ'm.*" They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispɛ'lɛm* or *Kalispɛ'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slātē'usɛ*, and sometimes *Tsenī'ɛs*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcɛwi'la* or *Tcuwī'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

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[40] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyē'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stsel'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[41] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

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[41] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. [illegible].

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south
619 along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not
• 131 go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but
I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called
Sntsuwĕ'stsɛne lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of
all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to
obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early
times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number
of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much
that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that
the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different
winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter
camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have
been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15,
while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise,
at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some
winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none
[177] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of
lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that
many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter,
thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur
d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said
to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so
many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering
only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small
numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more
people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the
fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend
162 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the
171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars.
Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous
and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the
head tribe of the group. The *Sxmtĕ'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'xɛ* were
161 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems
162 possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time
after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars
+171 with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43]
The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan,
1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. xi, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1860, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau,
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually 101
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others.
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach- 648
ments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them 131
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reser-
vation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international 175
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last 114
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Depart- 122
ment of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal 114
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native mes- 117
sianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been in- 121
cluded here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit 114
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more sum- 122
marily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me 127
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encourage-
ment and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identify- 114
ing botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal 132
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com-
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcrip-* 114
tion of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 194
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 137 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.

[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The 157 most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[8]

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by 101 the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, 131 133 the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary 101 points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the 131 territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the 361 latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[9] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

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[8] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[9] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

HUNTING

221 224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (sp·'xam). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221 224 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. 462 During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in snaktá'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226 262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

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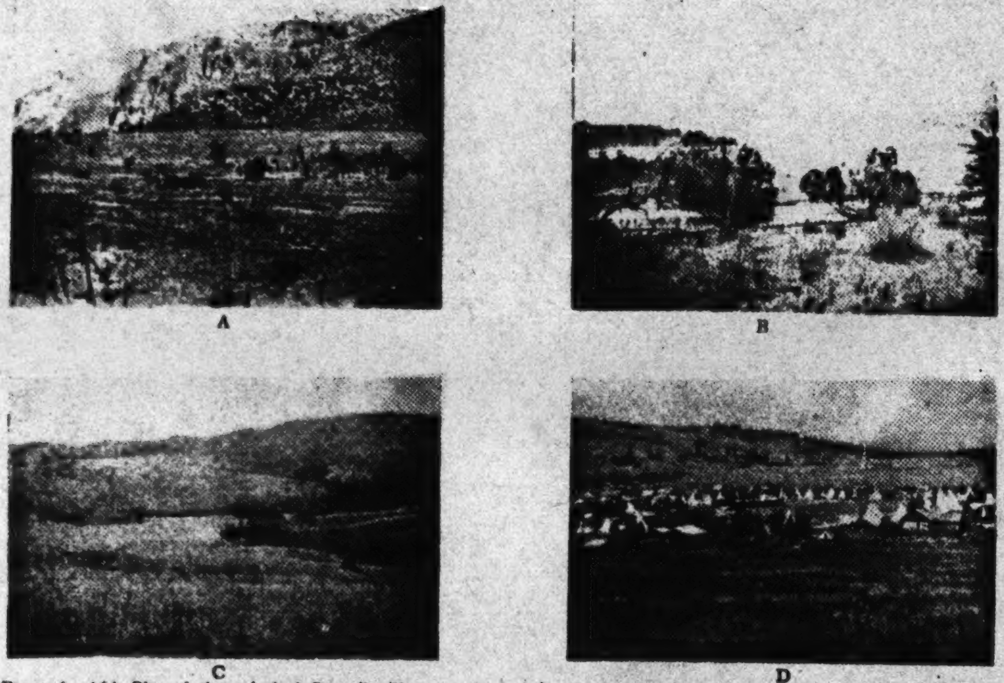

PLATE 4. (A) Site of the principal Sanpoil village, at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. (B) The Columbia River opposite fig. A, with the Sanpoil River in the foreground. (C) Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake) with the Sanpoil mountains in the background. (D) Modern camp circle at the present village of Nespelem.

•133

13 We have the following to date this quake. Cecile, now (1930) about fifty-eight, had just been born. (The quake was felt in her own country, the Kalispel.) Lucy Joe, now over seventy, said she was then fourteen and married about that time, but Cecile stated that Lucy Joe had told her she already had children. (Lucy Joe said the earthquake rattled houses and continued for a year.) Julie Josephine, probably about eighty, already had a child at the time. These data place the earthquake in the early eighteen-seventies.

The best identification of the earthquake would seem to be the very strong shocks of December 10 and 11, 1872, centering at Helena, Montana. This fits best with the statement that the shocks occurred on two separate days about Christmas. There are two other possibilities: the destructive quake of March 26, 1872, centering in Inyo County, southeastern California (which was felt as far away as Mexico City, Oregon, and Missouri), and the widely felt shock of November 22, 1873, centering on the southern Oregon coast (Heck, Earthquake History of the United States, 49; Holden, Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast, 88-92, 96).

The fall of rocks on the Columbia which accompanied this should be dateable, but I have been unable to find adequate references. William S. Lewis states that it occurred i[illegible] 1874, but without citing his warrant (Coone, Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman, 20). No severe shocks in this area during 1874 are listed in the authorities cited above. — L.S.

1[For context of this footnote, see p. 173(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 173 (c)

Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[illegible] 131

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions. 133 ● 137

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most 000

[illegible] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[276] [324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[410]

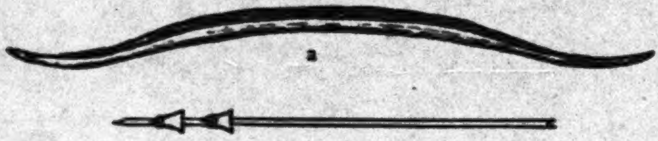

Fig. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[18]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237
322 411 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkᵘ) were utilised. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuẋwa'xailpᵘ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵘ), was used in the manufacture of

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[18] See page 89.

[a] [i.e., bear-hunting party.--Analyst].

224 624 841 The leader of the party[a] had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. 224 302 Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224 He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 825 An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224 Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

p.23 (A

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 236 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 263 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the [1]
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of [1]

1

13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the buffalo, see Allen, *The 'merican Bisons*, 181 f.
14 Brown, *Old Fort Okanogan*, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of plant foods at the end of this section.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 25 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 25 (c)

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[1] 19 Possibly the grouse is meant. Several varieties of pheasant have been introduced on the reservation and, in ~~common~~ with local whites, the Indians now use the name for birds of the grouse type. — L.S.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 120 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 120 (c)

136

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11 This is doubtful, since the prairie dog is not on record from this region. — L.S. 1

1 [For context of footnote, see p. 171 (B), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 171 (c)

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more per- 251
manent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343
keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered 417
with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against
the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching
skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for
drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251]
camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other
tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251
in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322
used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat,
roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping 343
outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms
built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower
limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of
poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were
not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were
used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abun-
dant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among 285
other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where
people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 314
rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to 352
some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to
cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine
boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts
one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials
were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed
mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often
blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of
bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains
or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged
on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins,
bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth
down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed
on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests.
Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513]
a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire.
If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire.
Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room.
Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or
sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials.
Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237]
as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

224 made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards
411 of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

● 136 *Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the
224 Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel,
[262] and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

224 The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

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[5] 4, p. 244, fig. 225.

[6] 4, p. 233, fig. 240.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

224 of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited. *191 When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances [492] carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

000 Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were ● 136 abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

• 136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend
d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the
exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The
Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but
great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time
224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, trans-
178 portation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of
other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great
*171 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place.
Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the
parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes
became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes,
who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of
life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively
buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. What-
ever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the
mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide
bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used
as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be
used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the
[222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became
of less importance, because these industries could not always be
prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging
grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and
people often found themselves far away at the proper season for
berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect
these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game.
A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by
old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties.
000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by
the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves,
and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the
plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other
eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived
a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead,
and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested
country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on
the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The
Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted
buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at
the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains
tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the
Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and
it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and
Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. 227 171* They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them."

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. [411] [136] ● No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. [438] A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. 501 They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. [171]* The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having

137, 824

Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[Latin botanical names of plants occurring in Coeur d'Alene territory have not been excerpted in this category, but may be found throughout the source in category 116--Analyst.]

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 137 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.

[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[3] 187

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples. 101

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City. 131 133

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[4] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters. 101 131 361

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[3] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[4] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

283 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (sal.ka'stia), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsan); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pä'xpuxilpᵘ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqəlastan); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwl'qwl-amənī'lpᵘ, "blue brush").

283 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 [137] Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the root of the western scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stan), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwai'p̓. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It
was called ta'"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 492
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastí'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called guqəpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloq̓əke'n) were utilized extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285
raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313
be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk.
The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314
was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251
U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log 285
a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about
four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 314
to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the 415
midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i′na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large num- 285
bers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314
above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots,
the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrap- 415
ping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and
slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staḍa′istən). Indian hemp was [137]
used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi′ptu, the bedding mat, swi′pəlap, the food mat, sia′i′aks, and the berry drying mat, nəq̣ali′mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches.
The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [331]
sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qasami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large 322 logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden 324 mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the 412 hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk [137] was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded horizontally. The trunk was [illegible] each side of the limb, about four inches from it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length, served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jasper. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

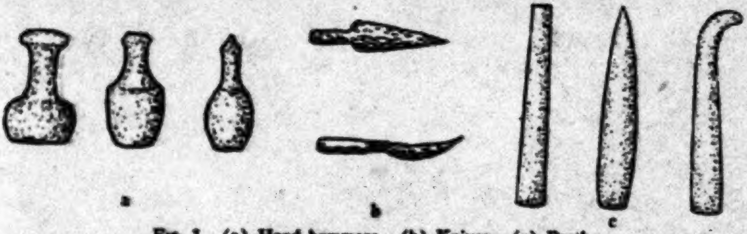

FIG. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372 The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'liman) itself was perma- 412 nent; the seat or hearth (xu'lkip") was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukı'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while 372 travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 286 291 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presumably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 286 291 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. Nó foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis, [137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓ətsäsuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̓ai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The [illegible] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always [illegible] of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two 294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nləkwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were 281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front 286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than [illegible]. Leg291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in pl[illegible] hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggin[illegible] ere of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around t[illegible] with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

for receiving the main shaft was hollowed in the fork. A sharp point of bone was attached to the head of the foreshaft, giving the whole the shape of a Y. The point was made fast to the body by wrapping with cord of Indian hemp and the application of pine pitch. Pieces of bone suitable for use as spear points were obtained by heating in a fire a section of bone, preferably from the leg of a deer, until it splintered. Fragments of approximately the correct size were chosen and shaped with stone scrapers. Shafts were made of fir, selected for straightness and freedom from knots. In some cases poles seem to have been used after merely removing the bark and in other instances the pole was apparently split down the middle and each half scraped and worked until an elliptical cross section was obtained, one pole thus furnishing two shafts. The shaft was detachable from the foreshaft which held the point, but connected to it by a short cord. The end selected for attachment to the foreshaft was rounded and tapered to fit snugly but not tightly into the socket. The connecting cord was an extension of the one binding the foreshaft to the point. Two or three feet of slack was allowed between the point and the shaft. When a fish was speared the shaft left the socket and the fish could be played and drawn in by means of the cord and the shaft. The length of the shaft varied, depending upon the place at which it was to be used, from fifteen to twenty feet or sometimes more.

226
411

A large three-pronged spear (wi·´tcka) (Figure 8, a) was used for large salmon, principally the chinook. Its use was restricted to instances where an approximately vertical thrust could be obtained. It was therefore used extensively in fishing from canoes. The foreshaft consisted of a socket with three prongs; a center prong which was tapered and projected in line with the mainshaft, and two side prongs at angles of about thirty degrees to the center prong. The socket for the main shaft was hollowed in the large end of the middle prong, which was made of hardwood of any variety. The small end was tipped with a point of bone, obtained in the same manner as for the small spear. The two side prongs were of ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* Max., (mutc'mutci'lpʷ) a resilient wood; they were somewhat longer than the center prong, or about fifteen inches. These prongs were pointed and each was fitted with a single barb. The barbs were of bone and bound with cord of Indian hemp. Heavy cord of the same material was used to fasten the side prongs to the center one, and extended, as in the case of the small spear, to be attached to the main shaft. This shaft was similar to that of the small spear, both in shape and length.

[137]

TRAP FISHING

By far the most productive mode of taking fish, especially salmon and trout, was by means of traps. Within Sanpoil territory the principal traps were located near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, at npui·'luxʷ, and below the falls on the Nespelem river, at nspi·'lәm. The traps in the smaller streams, however, also produced very considerable quantities of fish. Usually only a single trap was placed in each stream, but in the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers sometimes two or even three traps could be profitably maintained. Kettle Falls, in Colville terri- 226 one was placed on the bank at the edge of the water, one on the opposite bank, and if a third was used, it usually was set at approximately the middle of the stream. 226 Skilful workmen were required for this duty, since it often involved working in deep water. The cross poles connecting the supports were raised about two feet above the surface of the water. Sections of saplings were cut the necessary length to reach from the transverse poles to the bed of the stream and placed in this position at intervals of about twelve inches. In the meantime other men were occupied with weaving the fencing. Young branches of the Scouler willow, [192] *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (si·'lu, "young growth") were used exclusively for this purpose. The withes used for the weft were made flexible by twisting and rolling on the thigh; this task fell to the older men who were unable to take part in the heavier work.

The prepared weft elements were woven with the more rigid warps, by the 226 open twine method, into sections of the required width and a length of approxi- 285 mately twenty feet. These were called q̓laxe''. The sections were rolled up, carried to the site of the weir, and unrolled in upright position against the previously laid supports. Workmen, wading and swimming in the stream, securely fastened the fencing to the foundation. Care was taken to leave no open spaces between the bottom of the weir and the bed of the stream. A row of stones was laid along the bottom of the weir on either side, to anchor it in place. All apertures due to irregularities in the stream bed were filled. A weir was never located where the stream bottom was covered with large boulders, for such a situation rendered it impossible to close effectively all the holes below the weir. The fish were certain to find openings between the rocks that would permit escape. Likewise, a weir built upon a sandy stream bed was of no value, for the sands would soon wash out and leave holes beneath.

The lower weir was similar in construction to the main one, but smaller. It was less carefully constructed and extended only slightly above the surface of the water. At several points openings were left of sufficient size to permit a large salmon to enter. The two weirs thus formed a large enclosure in which fish accumulated during the night. In ascending the stream they would find their way through the openings in the lower weir but would be repulsed by the one above. Since all the efforts of the fish were bent upon travelling upstream to spawn, the smaller weir, though low and containing openings, was a sufficient barrier to keep them within the enclosure.

To facilitate removal of the fish from this large area, a basket-like trap (skəmuqu'aɫ) (Figure 9) was built against the bank at one end of the lower weir. The usual size was three feet wide, six feet long and three feet deep. An aperture was provided in the end of this trap, and from that opening a deflecting barrier extended at an angle upstream until it reached within a few feet of the opposite bank. Thus the opening to the trap was at the point of a V-shaped figure formed by the barrier and the shore. When the large trap was to be emptied several men waded into the water and drove the fish into the small trap, the deflecting weir assisting them by directing them to the opening. Other workers clubbed the fish and threw them onto the bank as fast as they accumulated, thus avoiding piling

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[141]

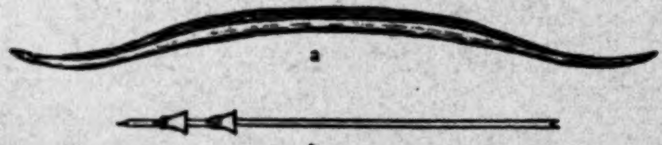

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[18]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237 322 411 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkᵘ) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wux̣wa'xailpᵘ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵘ), was used in the manufacture of

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[18] See page 89.

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411

the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was [382] wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (pukhni'ʔpʷ), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluqʷ tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish.

The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow. 237 222 411

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[16] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'qᵘ on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (pəspəstsəni'ultən, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course. [187]

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

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[16] Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

222 251 482 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 222 251 252 262

1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'lps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'xukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'tqwa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 232

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tlam). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annuus* L., (wuɣwaɣkā'lpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (ṗuli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smɩtsunā'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potato, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̇waq̇wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'iukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

137 16. txais'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches)
222 and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed
251 and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine
moss.

252 17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with
262 water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa·'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (siake'ƚpʷ). The berries (sƚukasa'ƚaq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'ƚpʷ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'ƚpʷ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣la'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqʷ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun. 137 222 251 252 262

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (saá'ṗt'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly.

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (təqe'mtəqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sadγsi'lpʷ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpulakəni'lmɩlxʷ, "wide leaved plant"; pá'lpulakən, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mɩtca'kʷ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la·'la'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stɩkətcuxwi'lpʷ, the tree; sti'ktcʷ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saqaslkeimɩ'lxʷ, "good bush"; səχa'slukʷ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yəykɑi'lpʷ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

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33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (spu·'sam, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (anti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takan). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'na, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγka' pᵘ, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Petasites speciosa*, (xoxti'lpᵘ, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (ssa'tkulpᵘ). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

42. Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (χloχlowi'lpᵘ. "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[8] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137 222 251

43. suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender. 252 262

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44. Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵘ). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45. Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (q̓e'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46. Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkā'lpᵘ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47. Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48. Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49. Woolly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti"wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. [272]

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[8] For medicinal use see page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sástəm, "spear wiping plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in the same manner as the preceding one. 137 [272] 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 251 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[3] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[3] See page 76

It was next twisted back on itself for half its length, carried around the heel, and fastened to the cross cord on the opposite side. It was then similarly twisted back and the end attached to the toe strap. 481

This shoe averaged three feet or more in length, twelve inches in width at the front, much less at the back.

The second type of snowshoe was ovoid in shape (Figure 20, e). It was called nɛγiγo'pa from iɛγ, "round." This was a less satisfactory shoe than the preceding one, but it was more easily made and required less rawhide. In stringing and harness it was similar to the long one.

The sliding snowshoe, i'tctu (Figure 20, a, b, c), was the most complex of all forms. The frame was made of syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh., (wuẋwa'ẋaipᵘ). This shoe was adapted to use as an ordinary snowshoe or for sliding where the snow was crusted. In the latter case a pole was sometimes used as an aid. This pole, called t́aki'kstən, was of fir, even in diameter and about six feet long. The shoe was made in two varieties. The significant difference was in the form of the frame. One was continuous, an elongated oval (Figure 20, a); the other was closed at the back only and had almost parallel sides turned up at the front (Figure 20, c). Each was made of two pieces of green wood, spliced together either at both ends or (in the second variant) at the back only. These pieces were not left in the round, but worked to a rectangular cross-section, about one-half inch by one and one-half inches. They were arranged to rest on the narrow edges. At the front, which was raised about six inches, the thickness was lessened considerably. During the shaping process the frame was occasionally held over the fire to increase its flexibility. The splices were bound with rawhide. Temporary cords were used here, too, to hold the frame in shape until it dried. [157]

When dry three cross pieces of wood were added, one near the front, one somewhat forward from the middle and one near the back. These were shouldered and fitted into [illegible] bored in the frame at the sides. They were rectangular in section, similar in size to the frame. The forward piece rested on its edge, the other two on their sides. The stringing was of two strand rawhide as in the common snowshoe. The forward and back sections were longitudinally strutted. The two central portions were strung in a complex pattern consisting of lengthwise, transverse and diagonal cording. The diagonal cords were fastened to holes bored in the frame and to the center string. Other cords were looped around the frame at the place of attachment but the frame was notched at the bottom so that the cords would not project beyond the running surface.

The harness was fastened to the middle cross piece of wood. It consisted of two cords, one looped around the toe and the other wrapped around the ankle and fastened to the toe loop at the center.

The overall length of this snowshoe varied between two and three feet. The widths at the three wooden cross pieces, from front to back, were respectively five, nine, and four inches. This shoe was used most extensively while hunting.

Toboggans were made from raw deer or bear hide. The hide was held in front of the feet with the hands. Sometimes pine branches were used on crusted snow.

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1. Common Sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwinqwinəmani'lpᵘ, "blue brush"). This plant is one of those most commonly found in the territory of the Sanpoil, and perhaps the one most extensively used for medicinal purposes. A tea was brewed from the pulverized leaves and stems and used for the treatment of severe cases of the common cold and la grippe.

   A stronger tea, used in treating indigestion, biliousness and tuberculosis, was made from the tips only of the stems and a few seed pods. Sweating was customary preceding and following the drinking of the potion. Furthermore, these infusions acted as laxatives.[4]

2. Common Sagewort, *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Jeps., (naqənəqati'lpᵘ, "ill-smelling bush"). A few leaves were placed in the nostrils and permitted to remain there for about an hour to relieve a cold in the head or a headache.

   Pulverized leaves of this sagewort were sprinkled on sores to hasten their healing.

3. Dragon Sagewort, *Artemisia Dracunculus* L., (tsitsiaqi'lpᵘ, "squeaking bush"). Roots of this sage were steeped in cold water to obtain a brew which was used in the treatment of colds.[5]

4. Purple Sage, *Ramona incana* (Benth.) Dougl., (smık'nıkı'taqi·'n). This was another herb popularly used in the treatment of the common cold, or for any illness of a general nature. The potion was made by boiling or steeping the leaves in water.

5. Antelope Brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən, "grease wood"). The berries of this plant were crushed and mixed with water to form a concoction for the treatment of constipation or hemorrhage.

6. Rabbit Brush, *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (Pall.) Britt., var. *speciosus* (Nutt.) Hall, (papa·'lənəlpᵘ, "buckskin brush"[6]). A smudge produced by burning this brush was considered effective in curing horses of distemper. A few pieces of brush were placed in a container, lighted, and held below the horse's nostrils.

   Also, the branches and leaves were pulverized and mixed with water to form a paste-like substance which was rubbed on horses to protect them from horseflies and gnats.

7. Buckbrush, *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh, (we·'γəlpᵘ, koli'tkilpᵘ). This brush was utilized in the preparation of a powder for use on sores or wounds. After removing the bark the sap wood was scraped away, then dried and pulverized. Grease or oil of any kind was rubbed on the afflicted part and the powder sprinkled on top of it.

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[4] For non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 36.
[5] For a non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 76.
[6] So termed because of its use in smoking buckskin.

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8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wá·'lək, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. 137/278 757

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itskən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (x̣ax̣a'ilpᵊ). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̇otsq̇otso'iá'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.
It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

    The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion. [847]

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.(12) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [415]

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'x̣u's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tubercolosis.

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[9] See page 135.

[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

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17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137/278 757

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes.

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sət'si'xənt, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakɑni'lpʷ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (ṗətsṗətsəmɛ'kuɬ, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpʷ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (təl'təl'ti'lpʷ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (xoxti'lpᵘ, "cut-off bush"). The roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, to form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful parts, sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultice in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hair wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (xoxo'i'lpᵘ). The stickers and outer covering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split into fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color, which was used for colds.

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stamtamani'i'lpᵘ, "grave-bush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

[515] Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and [302] scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis lingusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓atsasuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'xpoxilpᵘ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̓iq̓i'tani'lpᵘ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxlorwi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 197 278 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilpᵘ). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

    One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

    The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (steptepsa'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵘ). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (təptəpələ'u'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [757]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

    The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

    A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sua'tkuipᵘ). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nqᵘ). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 151.

[20] Identification not certain.

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38. An umbelliferous species, (ǎlǎpi'spəs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

757 39. tcuqtcuqti'łpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

40. məsməsaiu'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[33] [841]

41. tcəstcu'słəmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulquləmi'łpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. χa'sχəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[803] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soq̓e'imən ɫ'i'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'łkutən..........	"time that it snows"
ktsa'tsa'łtə'n..........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kəɫ..............	"time that it is white"
skənu'γumən.........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpətctitə'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən............	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən.........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[33] Cf. page 134.

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LIST OF PLANT NAMES

Berries

1.	Service berries, sI'a Possibly Teit's"[1]	sI'a, Amelanchier alnifolia (Nutt)
2.	Red foam berries, sxö'sem	sχö'sEm, Shepherdia canadensis (Nutt)
3.	Black thornberries, cxwanI'q	sχwanI'k, Crataegus rivalaris (Nutt)
4.	Red thornberries, χaχ'χa'I'I	
5.	Huckleberries, stEks'lqx	stêχê'llk, Vaccinium membranaceum (Dougl)
6.	Willowberries, stI'q'tsu	sti'ksχ^u, Cornus pubescens (Nutt)
7.	Blueberries	
8.	Raspberries, ɫaɫa	χla'la, Rubus sp.

[1] [For foot note, see P. 29 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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9. Strawberries, tq!émtqEn		tEkei´mkem, *Fragaria californica* (C and S)
10. Thimbleberries, palpŪ´lEqxn		
11. Bearberries, skŪlĪ´s		
12. Red berry, tátka; grows high in mountains; not important		

Roots

13. Bitterroot, spĪ´tlum	Possibly Teit's	spĪ´tlem, *Lewisia redivive* (Pursh)
14. Small onion, walqwĪŪ´pᵗˢ		yekiyu´kEps, *Calochortus macrocarpus* (Dougl)
15. Camas: Black round camas traded from Idaho, Ī´t'xwa White round camas dug at Waterville, tsaxŪlō´sa White camas with long bulb, ka´Ūōs		ē´txwa or Ī´txwa, *Camassia esculente*
16. Big onion		
17. "Potato," a bitter bulb, stákcĪ´z		stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
18. "Yellow Bells," sEma´rata		
19. "Carrots," sklō´kŪm		
20. A root, poaĪ´k		cxei´kEn, *Sium lineare*
21. A bulb, cŪĪ´xᵘ		s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*
22. A root "white camas ?), tcŏkōlō´sa, (perhaps comes from Waterville, above)		
23. Tiger lily bulb, stExtsĪ´n		stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
24. "Parsnips," mīcō´wī		
25. A "parsley," ᵗsīms'ne´lqA		smitsenÁ´lkᵘ, *Peucedanum macrocarpus* (Nutt)
26. "Potato," skwEnqŪlnEm		skwenkwĪ´nEm, *Claytonia sessilifolia*
27. "Radish," xEnxEx		xa´nExan, *Cycopus uniflorus*

Other Plant Foods

28. Pine cambium, tsĪ´xwī	Possibly Teit's	tse´xwe or tsŪ´xe, *Pinus ponderosa*
29. Sunflower seeds, mĪ´ktŪ		mĪ´kto, *Balsamorrihiza sagittata*
30. Choke cherries, tlŏxtle´xᵘ		xlo´x.fox, *Prunus demissa* (Walpers)
31. Black moss, skwalĪ´p		skolē´p, *Alectoria jubata*
32. Pine nutlets, sq!aŪ´q!Ū		sqa´uku, *Pinus ponderosa*
33. Fungus, kĪa´panter		
34. Fungus, pĪ´tlxk'n		
35. Fir tree, tsqĪlxp		
36. Early bud, cwa´ya (See No. 21, its root, which is eaten)		s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*

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18 See Individual Life Cycle.

19 Ironwood, used by tribes on the Columbia, does not grow in this region. >*

20 Modern examples made for casual hunting of small game are quite short. A specimen in the Washington State Museum (no. 2-271) is thirty-two inches in length. >*

*[For context of these footnotes, see p. 53(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53(c)

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276 These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller; they were made for them by the men. No woman [562] could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and 276 a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite 316 pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, 439 since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked 276 on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. 324 The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds [531] and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462] formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276 group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. 623 This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314 weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant [137] was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were 276 stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then

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by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

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Food.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl	*sx̣a''ulutx̣wa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ĕtxwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *c'lx̣wa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'il'ɛm.*

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[141] See p. 192.

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3.	(Probably *Lomatium kaus* Wats. ? or (*Peucedanum cous* Watson).	*pī'wia.*
4.	Root of an unidentified plant said to have a yellow flower and a round and rather flat root.	*p'ǎxʷp'ɛxʷ.*
5.	Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small round root.	*tu'xwa.*
6.	*Allium* sp., possibly *geyeri*	*sistc.*
7.	*Allium* sp., probably *cernuum*	*qwɛlī'wēlle* (Thompson *kolā'wa, kala'ua*).
8.	Root of an unidentified plant said to have a tall white flower and a small round root.	*el'ā'qom.*
9.	Probably *Daucus pusillus*	*mō'smɛn.*
10.	*Claytonia* sp	*sqwā'tɛm.*
11.	Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small flat root.	*la'q'ǎmxʷ.*
12.	Probably *Fritillaria pudica*	*tc'a'wɛẋ* (Thompson *tcā'wɛx*): *Lilium columbianum.*
13.	Probably *Sium lineare*	*mā'tsɛmɛts.*
14.	Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a large long root, and just one leaf which grows on top of the water.	*sqcigɛts* (Thompson: *Opuntia s'qɛqx''ɛ*).
15.	Probably *Cnicus undulatus* Gray	*marǐ'opa.*
16.	Root of an unidentified plant	*pitcelu'sa.*

My informants claimed that the roots of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* and *Balsamorrhiza hookerii* were not eaten, although one or both of these were used by the Flathead. Also they said that the roots of *Lilium columbianum* (Hanson) were not eaten, although this root is much used as a food by the Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, and others. *Lewisia rediviva* did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but was plentiful in Spokan territory, where Coeur d'Alêne parties went to dig it.[142] The *pitcelūsa* grew only on the borders of the Nez Percé territory, and parties went there to gather it. Some of the unidentified species used by the Coeur d'Alêne may be the same as some of those used by the Nez Percé.

BERRIES

	Latin name.	Coeur d'Alêne name
1.	*Amelanchier* sp. (service berry or June berry).	*sla'q.*
2.	*Prunus demissa* Walpers (chokecherry or black wild cherry).	*ta'ẋlɛẋ.*
3.	*Prunus* sp. (red wild cherry)	*t'ɛcile'pa.*
4.	*Sambucus* sp. (elderberry)	*stsā'qɛq* (Thompson: *tsǐ'kuk*)
5.	*Crataegus* sp. (black hawberry)	*sẋo''naic.*
6.	*Crataegus* sp. (red hawberry)	*kwāla.*
7.	*Cornus pubescens* Nutt. (red willow berry)	*stilctɛxʷ.*
8.	*Rubus* sp. (raspberry)	*nẋalā'tsǐ* (Thompson: currant *laā'sa, xlaā'sa*).

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[142] *b*, pp. 203, 204.

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9. *Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry).	*po'lpolqᴇn.*
10. *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry).	*mātsu'q* (Thompson: *mā'.tcak, mā'tcak*).
11. *Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble).	*tsi'ltsisluma"*(Thompson: *tsi'tsl.ūm.*
12. *Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)	*ni'i'i'ēmēlps.*
13. *Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)	*ya'ricᴇn.*
14. *Ribes* sp. (wild currant)	*isā'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *isā'l.za*, Okanagon *.sisā'res*)
15. *Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry).	*sχo'sᴇm* (Thompson: *sχō'sᴇm, shō.'zᴇm*).
16. *Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry).	*stca'qom* (Thompson: service berry *.stca'gum, .sts'ō'gom*).
17. *Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry).	*stūcō'(stk)*.
18. *Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry)	*(sᴇn) paqpaqa'χᴇn.*
19. *Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry)	*stā'qin.*
20. *Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape)	*sqwā'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.skā'u*, roseberry *s.kōkwā'u*).
21. *Arctostaphylus uva-ursi* (bearberry)	*i'lic* (Thompson *ā'ik, āi'ᴇk*; raspberry *.sāitsku, .sci'tck*).
22. *Rosa* sp. (roseberry)	*iχᴇnutsᴇχᴇwᴇᴇwoiye'pā* .

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Sorbus sambricifolia E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	*wa'χe'ēlp.*
Lonicera involucrata	*.sa'mpaqᴇn.*
Juniperus, two sp. (juniper berry).	
Symphoricarpus racemosus Mich. (snowberry).	*st'ᴇmut'ᴇmne'"*(lχᴇn) ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	*tāiᴇpiēlp* ("black plant") (Thompson: *sia'piapi*, black; *siāiēpūsa* Ribes, sp.).

SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokan.[a]	*k'e'puᴇwa* (Thompson: *.qapuᴇ*).
Nutlets of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*)	*stastcā'ics'* (Thompson: *.stsikk*).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine (*Pinus albicaulis*).	*sowi'stic.*
Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*, one or two sp., possibly also seeds of *Helianthus* sp.	*mi'icto* (Thompson: *mi'kio*).

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[a] Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.

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Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'x̣we* (Thompson: *stse'x̣we*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*ststsamox̣tse'nᴇm*.
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacᴇm*.
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*x̣o'x̣ip*.
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pā'qai*.
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sā'tc'ᴇtct*.

The *Opuntia* (*sx̣u'wēnātc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

Tools and Methods of Harvesting.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket. 222 252 412

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler. 222 237 314 412

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. 131 It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[23]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at 133 higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus 137 and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems 000 now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

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[23] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox
twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and
164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps
were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States
Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as
494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91
Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According
to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with
the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez
Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom inter-married with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was
with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first
intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe
began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo
hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles,
and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later
times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and
Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse,
Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes.
The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish
tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their
reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan.
Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods
among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long
ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from
the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been
introduced from this source.

141 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
157 what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
577 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few
being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily
built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large
heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious
and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much
attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early
times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sand-stone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals.
Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

177 bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

181 141 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sχmił'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

181 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and
were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same
141 stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous
and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western
Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance
and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the
tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded
a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur
d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai
still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

105 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week
among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes
177 merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal
boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'x̣e* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'x̣e*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

324 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan
and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
32 The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation
by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

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THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with concep- 843
tion, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child
were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and for-
tunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the
father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed
against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The
first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at
least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first
pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, ac-
quainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother,
and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence
was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (stantukui'ltxᵉ) to change
temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with
his own people until shortly before the child's arrival.

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of un- 158
happiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly 861
cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus
were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was re- 843
quired to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted prin-
cipally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback
riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was
not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen
the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come.

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insult- 262
ing another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict mal- [578]
fortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during preg-
nancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and 843
delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her
husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child
would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it
were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything
killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have
cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then
have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preced-
ing childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was
not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be
foolish.

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant 784
woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she
did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was 843
not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 756 776 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of [illegible] power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 431 753 776 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance, might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

753 756 776 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.* Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'q̓aman. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

157 776 778 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance. It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (ʦaki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of wasẉa'xa·'łpᵘ. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named iłk'x̣ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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*Described on pages 189 f.

These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit ~~152~~ 778 songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome."

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke 754 said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. Also, the commands given 787 by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit.

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. The fact that a person had 787 obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat.

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulà) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224
from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway
or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the
bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer
found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462]
canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting.
All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those
that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed
at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that
returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced
were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken
to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not 177
always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted 224
men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often
quite close together. At a signal given by the hunting chief, the
hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them.
They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd.
The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that
they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152]
more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat,
fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs
above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall.
It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not
used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk
or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country
and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224
some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292
Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also
used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls
made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224
Thompson [169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281]
for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick
that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the
Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common
among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected
and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running
nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 248.

[170] a, fig. 228.

173 728 [166] and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief[216] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. [152] He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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was the last war with the Spokan. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

Wars with the Kalispel.—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alêne was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.[217]—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alêne territory. The Coeur d'Alêne never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutsna'lqʷ* entered the Coeur d'Alêne country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alêne were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alêne. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not

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[217] The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

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be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 702
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible] The impor-
tance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 856
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until 861
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person 881
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, espe- 881
cially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the
same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed
that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond
between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[illegible] *a*, pp. 317-321, *b*, 247-250.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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161/164 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 MIGRATIONS.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred [144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 157 577 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 412 WORK IN STONE.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

[416] 177 221 Further-more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe, [621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 241 621 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were *often called "small chiefs." On their election, if* wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were 157 622 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. 157
People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or 622
if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[283] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up 157
the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single 177
community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed 622
away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stēla''am*, with head- [551]
quarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *X̣wīstcenī''tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Cīlcīltcō'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stēla''am* died, André *Sēlts* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stēla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[284] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyt'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[283] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original 177
site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the 621
surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[284] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

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Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqᴇt*, "rolling on the clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'enł'enemɪ'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastᴇmᴇlpo'* (?) (full name *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *χwᴇlispo'sᴇmᴇn* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mä'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

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COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were

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generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or

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on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice. Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

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The next morning the woman's brother picked up his axe and went to the doctor's house. He left the axe outside and went in. He asked the doctor to come outside. When they got outside the brother pointed at the sun which was just rising. "I want you to take a last look at the sun," he said, "never again will you see it and never again will you kill another person." Then he split the doctor's head open with the axe.

Nothing was done to the man who killed the doctor. Everyone thought he had done the right thing. (John Tom)

While sitting in his house one day John Tom's son began to shiver. He turned around toward the door and fell unconscious. When his father came home he found him on the floor. He doctored him but it did no good. Finally he called xuxu'last, another Sanpoil doctor. After examining the boy he said to John Tom, "You were once doctoring inampt'.sa. You took away her power (Salmon) and made her die. Her father (ktampa'skat, 'cloudy,' also a shaman) found out why she died and sent his power to make your boy sick. I can keep him from dying but he will always be paralyzed on his right side."

The boy is still paralyzed. He can walk by dragging his right foot but he can't move his eye or his arm. He is very childish. He is always joking and laughs at everything. His wife left him when this happened. (Burke)

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Chronic mental derangements were treated by shamans with varying results. Permanent cures were sometimes obtained; at other times cases had to be given up. Insane persons who could not be cured were short lived.

qui·qui·ta'lks, Burke's aunt, was an hysteric (stsaiaye'[illegible]). When she was about sixty years old a horse which she prized very much died. After being told about it by Burke, who found the dead animal, she did not speak a word for a whole day. During the night she became ill and did not get up the next morning. Burke called Sam sa'xtala, a Columbia shaman, but he did not help her. For two weeks she remained in bed and did not speak. Then she got up but was never normal. She was irritable, shiftless, and flighty. She wept at the least provocation, recognized her family and friends only a part of the time and was seldom certain where she was. After having a question answered she asked the same thing over again. She lived about ten years longer. (Burke)

An unusual abnormal case was that of sqwea'luq. From childhood he was extremely slow in all his actions. In eating, for example, he carried food to his mouth and returned the implement to his plate so slowly that it took him two or three times as long to finish as anyone else. He spent most of his time gathering useless objects such as sticks and carefully searching for out of the way places to deposit them. He always hesitated a long time before answering questions. After every studied remark he made he laughed uproariously. If reprimanded he burst into tears and then laughed at himself for having done so. He died quite young. (Burke)

anqwa'la was afflicted with a more serious abnormality (sctsqoqwa'wa'xᵘ, "crazy"). After difficulties with his wife ending in separation he became subject to spells of insanity. At times he disappeared to the mountains where he ran around like a wild animal. He walked elevated logs, jumped over wide canyons and sat on the very edge of cliffs with his feet swinging over the edge, singing all the while. He would not return from such escapades until caught and forcibly taken back. These attacks continued for about a year. At the end of that time he was cured by a shaman named kcosa'luxkan, "two-pointed horn." (Burke) 158/755

John Tom recounted one case of magical "poisoning" which he treated but without success: "I was called to doctor a woman named tamta'lks. I couldn't find out what was wrong with her. Her heart was as if it were in hot water, but I couldn't find out why. I went home and lay awake nights for two weeks thinking about it. Then I decided she had been poisoned. I went back to her and asked her if she could remember when she first got sick. She said she had been visiting up in the Colville country and had stopped at an old woman's house to eat a few bites. Then she had vomited and got very ill. I told her that that is what I had thought, but I didn't want to say so because I didn't want to hurt her feelings. Then I told her that the old woman had put poison (ksni'lsman) in her food. She did it for the mother-in-law of tamta'lks, who did not like her son's wife. There was nothing I could do for her. She died in a little while." 754

A woman shaman whose common name was tcutcuwa'lks, but who practiced under the name she had received from her spirit, ksaa'iakan, "bad head," gained a wide reputation for her ability to heal wounds and was well paid for her services. She treated by sucking in the usual manner. She always sucked out large quantities of blood, filling a basket in a short time(!). She finished her treatment by blowing over the wound and her patients seldom failed to recover quickly. 755

Suzanne was another female shaman who was often called by those suffering from serious wounds.

A young man named kwlamini'tsa had been stabbed. The wound had been neglected until gangrene appeared and the man had lost consciousness. Suzanne was called. She threw water on his face and then sucked on the side of his body opposite the wound. She drew out a quart of blood (!). Then she blew on the blood and the water and threw it over the sick man. That night he regained consciousness. Within a week he was well.

885 554 as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities.

886 It was known that women sometimes died at menopause.

158 Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow.

762 Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes."

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids

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[illegible] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultra-* 261
montana Wats., (skukuwi'lp^{u}), which were present in abundance, and which could
be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season,
became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise.

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indi- 173
rectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall 261
of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early
part of the nineteenth century.[3] The second was a severe earthquake which came 731
in November, 1873.[4] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken
in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given
over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffer-
ing resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows:

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called 159
> it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches
> deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the 173
> whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except 261
> in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many
> people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And 731
> the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more.
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[3] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[4] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sχoχomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear, than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common. The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful. A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realized more and more the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits were found near the time of puberty. 787 787 881

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it was a dream experienced in sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom 157 787 answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by the women. You will be sharp-eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat. 159 / 787

Bear, when a boy, was seeking a spirit. He saw someone sitting on the top of a mound of earth. It was Cricket. Cricket said, "You see, I am sitting on top of a mountain. With one leap I'll jump down to the valley below. Then I'll spit blood. You will do the same thing." Cricket jumped down and continued, "Now whenever you get hurt, you can let out blood also, and it will cure you."

Another boy met Eel. Eel said, "When you grow up you will be able to swim long distances under water. You can dive down on one side of a lake and come up on the other."

At another time Bear was seeking a spirit on the shore of a lake. He came upon a dead horse. The Horse said to him, "You see, all of the trails lead to this lake. All of the animals come here to feed upon me. The birds do the same. See all of the feathers they have dropped around me. All of that is my property. When you are a man you will have the same luck."

A lad on a quest met Magpie who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same with you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said; "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time.

A boy sent to play the stick game usually received gambling power if he were successful in his quest. After playing a while, the rocks which represented the other players assumed human forms and, after asking what he was doing, proceeded to play with him. Later one spoke, gave the boy power and a song, and once more became rock. 787

The lad who properly carried out the instructions for diving was supposed to find a large house far below the surface. This is suggestive of the coast belief in spirits that lived like men in houses under the water. But what happened after the house was discovered I could not learn for none of my informants had had such an experience or knew of anyone who had. It was simply one of the traditional forms. There may have been others of similar nature but they were not common.

It was not always necessary to go in search of a spirit in order that one might be obtained. They often appeared when least expected. The case of a crippled girl is illustrative. She had never been out of sight of her house, so difficult it was for her to get around. Once while she was alone there appeared a handsome young man with a green hat. It was Mallard Duck. He told the girl that she would be

able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them. 787

Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song. 756 787

John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird. 159 756 787

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lx^w, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, taptcani'tk^w, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance, 787

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-law living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
601 near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
● 159 her. KEłpūqtsI′nEkin, the head of one household,
was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna′lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa′sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (łkI′ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi′st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē′lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwałk-
621 Enma′lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwałk-
159 Enma′lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

621 gwańkEnma´lūxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

•159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sl'pa´s, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe´n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEłpūqtse´nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. [881] Julia Josephine was never a słsłxō´mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu´xpu´x [?].

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 [619] Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friendly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. 422 All other property is strictly personal. Husband and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

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the religion of its elders.

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of s[illegible]wilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqŏllĕû. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora´tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cŭnī´na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkŭmkŭmă´swŭltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaĕ´l^{ûx} and up to Enasxwŭĕ´nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalī′t'aman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō′ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō′ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals
221 behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsüwi'st^{n}.

785 866 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

wives or his female relatives. 000

587 If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son: of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother."

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

159 ● 595 The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage.

Mary's brother was married to k'alōp'kEn's ● sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alōpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This man and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alōpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

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159 595

to marry him. K'alōpa'kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa'kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa'kEn one horse.

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ŭnqwŭnłEp people. K'alōpa'kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan. Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa'kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa'kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were seperated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkŭmcI'n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa'kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpa'kEn was always good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

591

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved

p. 117 (B)

789 791 night on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock.

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans coöperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait by its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku´sum, destroyed the power of that hero.[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

159 Suszen's story of Sulktasku´sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. Sulktasku´sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes.

Sulktasku´sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

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[1] [For footnote see p.155(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

and lived there with his people. There were horses then, but he was poor and had none. He had a little boy. They decided to move, so he and his wife carried their things in packs on their backs and his little boy sat on top of his pack. Coming over a hill, he felt queer, like a horse. So he bucked like a horse and his little boy fell off. Everybody laughed at him.

Two years later they decided to go to the buffalo country. There he met the Blackfoot hunters. They motioned for a smoke and the Blackfoot agreed. They traded goods there on the prairie. Sulktasku'sum had a white horse which he wanted to trade for a Blackfoot horse. They talked sign language. The next day, Sulktasku'sum and his seven-year-old boy went alone to the Blackfoot camp to trade at the invitation of the day before. The inviter had not told the Blackfoot camp that Sulktasku'sum was coming. A Blackfoot watcher saw them coming and the camp attacked him, chased him, and shot him.

Finally the Blackfoot chief, whose feathers looked good, came close and tried to catch Sulktasku'sum's horse with his hand. Sulktasku'sum shot the chief with his gun and killed him. He was surrounded by Blackfoot, but they were amazed that their chief, who had never been shot before, was killed by this stranger. Farther on, he dismounted, poured his bullets on the ground, held his horse at the end of a hair rope while the horse ran around him in a circle, and Sulktasku'sum fought with them.

The seven-year-old boy, who had gone ahead, reached camp and told about his father back there fighting. Sulktasku'sum's people went to his rescue. He was wearing a red shirt. It was all torn by bullets, but the bullets never touched his flesh and when he pulled the shirt-tails out, the bullets fell on the ground from underneath. That was his power: like the rock. He was not a chief then.

He got his power when a small boy. Once he saw some boys shooting with bows and arrows at a magpie nest. Magpie nests are strong: arrows will not go through them. When the boys went away, Magpie told little Sulktasku'sum that he would have magpie power, never to get hurt from bullets.

So his people thought he had good enough power to be a chief.

They used to go every year after the salmon run in the fall to the Blackfoot country. They stayed there till the middle or end of winter before returning. After this, the Blackfoot were enemies.

When the Blackfoot danced in the winter their doctors tried to find what Sulktasku'sum's power was, so they could kill him easily. They saw his power sometimes but could not catch it. Finally an old woman told them that they should put feathers in a hole in the wall and when his power came they

159 should cover it up and put it in a basket of water and talk about what to do with it. The old woman said, "My power told me we have to put bullets with the feathers, not pretty girls: he doesn't care about them nor good clothes." So Sulktasku´sum's power went right there and was caught. The Blackfoot knew then what his power was. They cut it all to pieces and killed his power.

The next summer when Sulktasku´sum went there, they had a fight with the Blackfoot. He had one arm shot off. His people said, "Let's go." He said, "I've fought a long time. I will fight until I die." His people left him. The land there is level. His people watched him from a long distance. Soon his leg was shot and broken. Finally he was out of bullets. The Blackfoot cut off his head, his arms, his legs, and his flesh. They did a dance there.

In the evening the Blackfoot left. Sulktasku´sum's people went there and saw him all cut up. His guts moved around until the next day, before they stopped. The Blackfoot danced until his guts stopped moving. Then their doctor said, "He is dead." After that Moses Columbia did not go to the buffalo country because they had no good leader. There were white people at Portland in those days, but the fort had not been built at the mouth of the Okanogan then.

Though this story is not entirely clear, especially as to the way in which bullets were used, it may have some value as an Okanagon's conception of a native hero and of Blackfoot shamanism.

754 In the old days shamans often bewitched people of whom they were jealous, or who refused to give them what they had demanded, such as food. The night following the provocation, the offender's child or wife might become ill and die within a short time. Just before death, the victim was possessed by the shaman, who might say through the victim's mouth, "If you had given me the food I asked for, this would not have happened." A stronger shaman could avert the death if he could "draw out the sickness." After extracting it he held it in his hands and asked the bystanders, "What shall I do with it?" Then he threw it into the fire, and the shaman who had caused the sickness died, while the victim recovered.

Cecile gave the following account: she had known the characters in the story. Joe Leo's mother, Suzanne, had grizzly power, one of the strongest of all. She also had other powers. If anybody got hurt, she could save him. Once, when at Okanogan, she was out of whiskey. There she met a woman from Nespelem, rich and handsome, with gold teeth. Both women were on horseback. Suzanne said to the Nespelem woman, "Give me a little drink. I'm all out of booze." But the other replied, "I don't drink with people like you. I drink with my own kind of people. I'm rich, and I'm good-looking besides. I don't drink with poor people like you."

himself had been to purgatory to do penance 787
for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had
returned to life to teach mankind. At one
time he told them that the end of the world 792
would come ten days later, or if not then, in
eight years. He advised them to build a 776
long house for nightly congregations, and
warned them that if they did not know how to
pray when doomsday arrived they would turn
into birds, rocks, and other non-human
things. They were very frightened and obeyed
him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased
by the loss of a girl who had run
away from fright at the time of the earthquake
and had not since been seen.

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven
young men and seven young women. At night 792
he taught them prayers and songs — prayers
somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; word- 159
less songs which resembled Catholic hymns —
so that they could teach them to others during
the day. Every night these fourteen disciples
carried torches of pitch pine when
they accompanied the master to the big house.

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

792 159 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned various parts of the construction to groups of men, and appointed a policeman to stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 792 177 159 Another dreamer of about this time was sŭlpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar band."[1] A few years before the priests came into the region, sŭlpEqēn dreamed that they would arrive and that the Indians would receive money from the Government. At that time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SŭlpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."[1] SŭlpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 792 Something of the same sort of Dream dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who, after the whites had arrived, decorated his moccasins with red flannel and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 796 These accounts suggest that the Dream dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It involved three main conceptions: falling stars (see below), earthquakes, and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows: 621 131

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kᴇtᴇmux̣ or Tiä'kᴇtux̣[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kᴇtux̣,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchᴇn or .niä'qᴇtcᴇn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tᴇn in .nia'kᴇtᴇn means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iä'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iäkima and stia'kᴇt, etc. 101 105

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention. 159 622

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Salish**
Columbia
Wenatchi

The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[27] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[28] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others. 167 131

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language. [164]

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[29] regarding

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[27] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[28] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[29] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French-Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunā'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunā'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well 159 115

Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date. 167 131

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā′mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years. 159 115

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the ‘A′mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. 131 About 1850 their headquarters 101 were at Pa′sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē′ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar.

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[49] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. [72] The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam.

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai′xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[49] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. 159 He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. 115 He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement.

1:Hodge E-5 1907,1910 Southeast Salish

Nespelem (Nespelim)

000 **Nescambiouit.** See *Assacumbuit*. 000

Nescopeck. A mixed Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware village formerly at the mouth of Nescopeck r., in Luzerne co., Pa., where a town of the same name now stands. It had been abandoned by 1779. (J. N. B. H.)

Neshamini. A Delaware tribe or band formerly living on Neshaminy cr., Bucks co., Pa.

Neshamani.—Clay quoted by Day, Penn., 486, 1843. **Neshaminas.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 127, 1816. **Ne-sham-i-nes.**—Macauley, N. Y., II, 166, 1829. **Neshaminies.**—Proud, Penn., II, 294, 1798. **Nishamines.**—Sanford, U. S., cxlvii, 1819.

Neshannock. A white-fleshed variety of potato; from the name of the place in Pennsylvania, where it was first produced. *Neshannock*, the name of a village and stream in Mercer co., comes from a word in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, signifying 'place of two rivers', from *nisha* 'two', *-hanne* 'flowing stream', *-ock* locative suffix. (A. F. C.)

Neshasath (*Nᴇ'c'asath*). A sept of the Seshart, a Nootka tribe.—Boas in 6th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 32, 1890.

Neshaw. A local word for eel in Massachusetts. Trumbull (Natick Dict., 80, 1903) says: "The name of 'neshaw eel' is yet retained by the fishermen of Marthas Vineyard and perhaps elsewhere in Massachusetts for the silver eel (*Muræna argentea*)." The derivation is from Narraganset *neeshaúog* 'eels', literally 'pairers,' from *nees* 'two', *auog* 'they go to'. This Algonquian name, Trumbull thinks, may have belonged originally to the lamprey. (A. F. C.)

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Nesheptanga. An ancient ruined pueblo situated in Jeditoh valley, in the Hopi country, N. E. Arizona. It seemingly was one of the group of villages built and occupied by the Kawaika people, who were of Keresan stock from the Rio Grande. It was first described, but not named, by V. Mindeleff in 1885 as a ruin between the Bat House (Chakpahu) and the Horn House (Kokopnyama), and was partially excavated by Dr Walter Hough for the National Museum in 1901. See Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 50–51, 1891; Fewkes in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 590, 1898; Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 333 et seq., 1903.

Neshepatanga.—Hough, op. cit., pl. 82.

Neshta. An extinct subgens of the Wazhazhe gens of the Ponca.

Nesta.—Dorsey in 15th Rep. B. A. E., 229, 1897 (*c=sh*).

Nesietsha. A Naskotin village at the confluence of Blackwater and Fraser rs., Brit. Col.

Black-Water.—Morice, Notes on W. Dénés, 24, 1893. **Nesietsah.**—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 109, 1892.

Nesikeep ('little deep hollow or cut', according to Teit; 'destroyed', referring to the incidents of a story, according to Hill-Tout). A village belonging to the Upper Fraser band of Ntlakyapamuk, on the w. side of Fraser r., 38 m. above Lytton, Brit. Col. Pop. 12 in 1901, the last time the name was officially reported. Dawson gives this as a Lillooet town.

N'eik'p't.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Ethnol. Surv. Can., 4, 1899. **Nesikeep.**—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901. **Nes-i-kip.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., sec. II, 44, 1891. **Nesykeep.**—Can. Ind. Aff. 1892, 312, 1893. **Nieskap.**—Ibid. 78, 1878. **Nsk'ēp.**—Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 172, 1900.

Neskollek. A Natsotin village on Babine lake, Brit. Col.

Nes'qollek.—Morice in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., X, 109, 1892.

Nespelim. A Salish tribe on a creek of same name, a N. tributary of Columbia r., about 40 m. above Ft Okinakane, Wash. Ross speaks of them as one of the Okinagan tribes, while Winans classes them as part of the Sanpoil. The latter two together numbered 653 on Colville res., Wash., in 1906. 101 [161]

In-as-petsum.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 185, 1855. **In-spellum.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849. **Nepeelium.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 253, 1877. **Nespectums.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nes-pee-lum.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Nespelim.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, pt. I, 702, 1902. **Nespilim.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. 88, 1896. **Sin-spee-lish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855.

Nesquehonite. A variety of magnesium carbonate, from *Nesquehoning*, the place in Pennsylvania where it was found, and *-ite*, representing the Greek ιτος. Nesquehoning, the name of a stream and village in Carbon co., signifies, in the Delaware dialect of Algonquian, 'at the black deer lick,' from *nisque* 'black', *mahoni* 'deer lick,' *-ing* locative suffix. (A. F. C.) 000

Nestucca. A branch of the Tillamook, formerly living on and near Nestugga r., N. W. Oreg., now on the Grande Ronde and Siletz res. Their popular name is derived from that of their country; their own name is Stagä'ush ('people of Staga'). Pop. 46 in 1881. They are no longer separately enumerated.

Apäfan.—Gatschet, Kalapuya MS., B. A. E., 30 (Atfalati name for the Oregon Salish; perhaps from *tchápăfan*, 'on the coast'). **Nes-tŭ'-kia-me' ɟunnĕ.**—Dorsey, MS. Tutu vocab., 1884 (Tututunne name). **Nas-tŭk'-e-me' ɟunnĕ.**—Dorsey, Naltunnetunne MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Naltunnetunne name). **Nestackee.**—Condon in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1863, 83, 1864. **Nestockies.**—Palmer in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 111, 1856. **Nestucalips.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestucals.**—H. R. Rep. 98, 42d Cong., 3d sess., 374, 1873. **Nestuccas.**—Huntington in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 71, 1868. **Nestucka.**—Ibid., 62. **Nestuckah.**—Victor in Overland Mo., VII, 346, 1871. **Nestuckers.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 221, 1861. **Nestuckias.**—Taylor in Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 40th Cong., spec. sess., 26, 1867. **Nextucas.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 525, 1878. **Nestrucca.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 74, 1874. **Nes Tucca.**—Ibid., 412, 1872. **Nestuccas.**—Ibid., 346, 1875. **Nikaas.**—Framboise (1835) quoted by Gairdner in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841 (probably identical). **Nikas.**—Duflot de Mofras, Expl., II, 335, 1844 (probably identical). **Nistoki Ampafa amim.**—Gatschet, Lakmiut MS., B. A. E., 105 (Lakmiut name). **Shibalta.**—Gatschet, Shasta vocab., B. A. E., 1877 (Yreka [Kikatsik] name). **Sĕ ni'-tĕ-li.**—Dorsey, Coquille MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 ('flatheads': Coquille name). **Stagä'ush.**—Boas, inf'n, 1906. **Tágaheah.**—Gatschet, Nestucca MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (own name). **Tcqe'-k'qâ.**—Dorsey, Alsea MS. vocab., B A. E., 1884 (Alsea name).

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish

Southern Okanogan (Okinagan)

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where are still the remains of a town. It is possible that White's branch was also called Okalusa in Romans' time. This writer represents the Black Water warriors as predatory in their habits, often making inroads into the territory of the Creeks. In 1831 the Black Water people numbered 78.—Halbert in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., III, 367–368, 1900; VI, 420, 1902.

Black Water.—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 165, 1761. **Oaka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, map, 1775. **Ogue Loussas.**—Jefferys, French Dom., I, 164, 1761. **Oka Loosa.**—Romans, Florida, 310, 1775. **Okaloosa.**—Lattré, Map U. S., 1784. **Oke Loosa.**—Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 420, 1902 (misquotation of d'Anville). **Oké Loussa.**—d'Anville's map in Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, 158, 1897. **Ogué-Loussas.**—Du Pratz, La., II, 241, 1758.

Okanagan Lake. The local name for a body of Okinagan on the w. shore of Okanagan lake in s. w. British Columbia; pop. 37 in 1901, the last time the name appears.

Kelowna.—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. II, 166, 1901.

Okapoolo. A former Choctaw village probably in the present Newton co., Miss.—Romans, Florida, map, 1775.

Okatalaya (*Oka-talaia*, 'spreading water'). One of the Choctaw Sixtowns which controlled a large extent of territory in the present Jasper and Smith cos., Miss., but centered on Oka Talaia cr.—Halbert in Pub. Ala. Hist. Soc., Misc. Coll., I, 383, 1901.

Okawasiku ('coot'). A subphratry or gens of the Menominee.—Hoffman in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 42, 1896.

Okchayi. A former Upper Creek town on Oktchayi cr., a w. tributary of Tallapoosa r., 3 m. below Kailaidshi, in Coosa co., Ala. Its inhabitants were of Alibamu origin, as were also those of Okchayudshi. Milfort gives a tradition concerning their migration. Another Creek settlement of the same name was situated on the E. bank of Tombigbee r., at the ford of the trail to the Creek Nation, which was in a bend of the stream a few miles below Sukanatchi junction, probably in Sumter co., Ala. This was probably the mother town of the other Okchayi and of Okchayudshi. (A. S. G.)

Hook-choie.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hootchooee.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 852, 1832. **Oakchog.**—Sen. Ex. Doc. 425, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 302, 1836. **Oakchoie.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 341, 1851. **Oakchoys.**—Swan (1790) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, V, 262, 1855. **Oakgees.**—Galphin (1787) in Am. State Pap., Ind. Aff., I, 32, 1832. **Oakjoys.**—Blount (1792), ibid., 270. **Ocaha.**—Jefferys, French Dom. Am., I, 134, map, 1761. **Ocehoy.**—Romans, Florida, 327, 1775. **Ocha.**—Alcedo, Dic. Geog., III, 361, 1788. **Ochia.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **Ockhoys.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 80, 1854. **Ok-chai.**—Adair, Am. Inds., 257, 273, 1775. **Okchoys.**—Romans, Florida, 90, 1775. **Oke-choy-atte.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 266, 1851. **Okehoys.**—Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., I, 190, 1836. **Ookchoees.**—Schermerhorn (1812) in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d s., II, 18, 1814. **Ocieulles.**—Milfort, Mémoire, 266, 1802. **Occullies.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., I, 88, 1851.

Okchayi. A town of the Creek Nation, on Canadian r., near Hillabi, Okla.

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Ókchäyi.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., II, 186, 1888.

Okchayudshi ('little Okchayi'). A former small Upper Creek town in the present Elmore co., Ala., on the E. bank of Coosa r., between Odshiapofa (Little Talassee) and Tuskegee. The village was removed to the E. side of Tallapoosa r. on account of Chickasaw raids.

Hook-choie-oo-che.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch, 37, 1848. **Hookchoieooche.**—Hawkins (1813) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 854, 1832. **Little Oakchoy.**—Creek paper (1836) in H. R. Rep. 37, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 122, 1851. **Little Oakjoys.**—U. S. Ind. Treat. (1797), 68, 1837. **Oakchoieooche.**—Pickett, Hist. Ala., II, 267, 1851. **Oktchayi'dshi.**—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 141, 1884.

Oke. The principal village of the Ehatisaht (q. v.), on Eperanza inlet, w. coast of Vancouver id., Brit. Col.—Can. Ind. Aff., 264, 1902.

Okechumne. A former Moquelumnan group on Merced r., central Cal.

Oshchumni.—Kroeber in Am. Anthrop., VIII, 659, 1906. **Okechumne.**—Wessells (1853) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 30, 1857.

Okehumpkee (probably 'lonely water'). A former Seminole town 30 m. s. w. from Volusia, and N. E. of Dade's battle ground, Volusia co., Fla. Mikanopy was chief in 1823, between which date and 1836 it was abandoned.

Oakhumpky.—Gadsden (1836) in H. R. Doc. 78, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 407, 1838. **Ocahumky.**—Scott's map, ibid., 408–9. **Okehumphee.**—H. R. Doc. 74, 19th Cong., 1st sess., 27, 1826.

Okete. The Yurok name of Big lagoon on the N. W. coast of Cal., 10 m. N. of Trinidad, as well as of the largest of the several Yurok villages thereon. (A. L. K.)

Okhatatalaya (*Okhata-talaia*, 'spreading pond'). A former Choctaw town in the westernmost part of the present Newton co., Miss. It was named from a pond several acres in extent, near the center of the town, which was a great resort for wild fowl.—Brown in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., VI, 445, 1902.

Okilisa (*O-ki'-li-sa*). An extinct Creek clan.—Gatschet, Creek Migr. Leg., I, 155, 1884.

Okinagan (etymology doubtful). A name originally applied to the confluence of Similkameen and Okanogan rs., but extended first to include a small band and afterward to a large and important division of the Salishan family. They formerly inhabited the w. side of Okanogan r., Wash., from Old Ft Okanogan to the Canadian border, and in British Columbia the shores of Okanagan lake and the surrounding country. Later they displaced an Athapascan tribe from the valley of the Similkameen. In 1906 there were 527 Okinagan on Colville res., Wash., and 824 under the Kamloops-Okanagan agency, British Columbia; total, 1,351. Gibbs in 1855 gave the following list of Okinagan bands on Okanogan r.: Tkwuratum, Ko-

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1: Hodge E-5 1907,1910 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

000 **San Pascual.** A former pueblo of the Piro on the E. bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the present San Antonio village (which occupies the site of Senecú), Socorro co., N. Mex. Shea (Cath. Miss., 82, 1855) states that a mission existed there and that it was destroyed during the rebellion of 1680. According to Bandelier, however, the village in all probability was abandoned about 1675, since Senecú, on the opposite side of the river, was destroyed early in that year by the Apache. Consult Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 250, 1892. See also *Piro*.

San Pascual. A former Yuma rancheria on Gila r., Ariz., 16 to 20 leagues above its mouth, visited by Anza and Font in 1775.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 392, 1889.

San Pascual. A village of the Gidanemuk, a branch of the Serranos of s. California, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776.

San Pasqual.—Garcés, Diary, 273, 1900.

San Pedro (Saint Peter). A Yuma rancheria on the Rio Gila in Arizona, 3 leagues above its junction with the Colorado. It was visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699.

S. Pedro.—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889 (see p. 259). **S. Petrus.**—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726. **St Peter.**—Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759 (located where San Pablo should be).

San Pedro. A Mohave rancheria, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776; situated on or near the w. bank of the Rio Colorado, lat. 35° 01′, about 8 m. N. W. of Needles, S. E. Cal.—Garcés, Diary (1776), 234, 416, 1900.

San Pedro de los Jamajabs.—Garcés, op. cit.

San Pedro. A Timucua mission on the present Cumberland id., Fla., named in 1688 in an address from the chiefs of the tribe to the King of Spain, a translation of which appears in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., XVIII, 497, 1880.

San Pedro. A rancheria of the Tejas (Hainai), on a stream of the same name, at which the Franciscan mission of San Francisco de los Tejas (q. v.) was founded in 1690. It contained 80 men in 1782 (Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 665, 1886). See *Nabedache*.

San Pedro. One of the principal settlements of the Mayo, situated in s. Sonora, Mexico.—Hrdlička in Am. Anthr., VI, 59, 1904.

San Pedro Guasave. A former settlement of the Guasave (Vacoregue) on the E. bank of Rio Sinaloa, about lat. 25° 40′, N. W. Sinaloa, Mexico.

Guasave.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. **San Pedro Guasave.**—Ibid., 332.

San Pedro Martire (Saint Peter the Martyr). A Dominican mission, founded May 28, 1794, by Father Pallas, about 40 m. E. of Santo Tomás mission, lat. 31° 50′, Lower California.

San Pedro Martyr.—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 50, 1869.

000 **San Pedro y San Pablo** (Saint Peter and Saint Paul). A mission established by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1780 among the Yuma on the w. bank of Colorado r., near the site of modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob), 8 or 10 m. below Yuma, in extreme S. E. California. On July 17-19, 1781, the mission was sacked and burned by the natives, about 50 Spaniards, including Garcés, three other friars, and Capt. Rivera y Moncada were killed, and the women and children made captives. See *Concepción*, *Missions*, *San Pablo*.

Bicuñer.—Coues, Garcés Diary, 21, 1900. **San Pedro Pablo.**—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 51, 1869. **San Pedro y San Pablo.**—Arricivita, Crón. Seraf., 504-511, 539, 1792; Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 397, 1889; Coues, cited above. **San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.**—Coues, Garcés Diary, 19, 1900.

San Pedro y San Pablo. A Cochimi settlement and visita in 1745, situated 8 leagues E. of the parent mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, lat. 27°, Lower California.

San Pedro and San Pablo.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., II, 198, 1759.

Sanpet. A body of Ute formerly occupying San Pete valley and Sevier r., central Utah. Powell found 36 on the Uinta res., Utah, in 1873, although they are said to have numbered 500 in 1865. They are now included under the collective name of Uinta Ute. (H. W. H.)

Land Pitches.—Farnham, Travels, 58, 1843. **Sampectches.**—De Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sampiches.**—Prichard, Phys. Hist. Man., V, 430, 1847. **Sampichya.**—Burton, City of Saints, 578, 1861. **Sampuches.**—Collins in Ind. Aff. Rep., 125, 1861. **San-Petes.**—Humphreys in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1859, 361, 1860. **Sanpiche Utahs.**—Wilson (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 185, 1850. **San Pitch.**—Correll (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 29, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1862. **San Pitches.**—Cooley in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1865. **Sanpits.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 5, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Sampiche Utahs.**—Wilson in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1849, 67, 1850.

Sanpoil. A body of Salish on Sans Poil r. and on the Columbia below Big bend, Wash. Gibbs classed them as one of the 8 bands of Spokan and also as one of the 6 bands of Okinagan, they being claimed by both tribes. In 1905 they were reported to number 324, on the Colville res., but in 1909 their population was given as only 178, the disparity being attributed to duplication in previous counts. No treaty was ever made with these Indians for their lands, the Government taking possession of their country except such portions as have been set apart by Executive order for their occupancy. 101 / 161 / 728

Giagpells.—De Smet, Letters, 220, 1843. **Hai-ai'-nima.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Yakima name). **He-high-e-nim-mo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855. **Hihighenimmo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Hihighenimo.**—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. **Ipallq.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 733, 1896 (Yakima name). **Linpellish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 200, map 1853. **N'pochele.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **N'pos-le.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **N'pochle.**—Gibbs, op. cit., 412. **San Poels.**—Shanks in Sen. Misc. Doc. 32, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 3, 1874. **Sanpoil.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, 702, 1902. **Sanpoils.**—

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Lakes (Senijextee)

000 the Apaches surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary, Fray Alonso Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted." Not to be confounded with the Senecu (see *Senecu del Sur*) below El Paso, in Chihuahua, which was settled about 1680 by fugitive Piro and Tigua from New Mexico, some of them being from the older Senecu. See also *Piros*; *Pueblos*. (F. W. H.)

Cenecu.—Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 310, 1869. **Renecuey.**—New Mex. Doc. quoted by Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 171, 1889 (identical?). **San Antonio de Senecu.**—Benavides, Memorial, 19, 1630. **Sant Antonio de Senecu.**—Blaeu, Atlas, XII, 61, 1667. **S. Antoine de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Map Am. Sept., 1700. **S. Antonio.**—D'Anville, Map N. A., Bolton's ed., 1752. **S. Antonio de Senacu.**—Crepy, Map Amér. Sept., 1783 (?). **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—Brion de la Tour, Map l'Amér., 1779. **S. Antonio de Senecú.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776. **S. Antonio de Senecu.**—De l'Isle, Carte Mexique et Floride, 1703. **Senacu.**—Davis, El Gringo, 123, 1857. **Sénu.**—Doc. of 17th cent. quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 251, 1892. **Seneca.**—Columbus Mem. Vol., 156, 1893 (misprint). **Senecu.**—Benavides, Memorial, 14, 1630. **St. Antonio.**—Shea, Cath. Miss., 80, 1855. **St Antony.**—Kitchin, Map N. A., 1787. **Zen-ecú.**—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 247, 1892 (Senecú, or). **Zenecu.**—Solis Miranda (1676) quoted by Bandelier, ibid., III, 131, 1890.

Senecu del Sur (Span.: 'Senecu of the South'). A pueblo on the S. E. bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles below El Paso, in Chihuahua, Mexico, inhabited by the last remnant of the Piro and Tigua who escaped from Senecu, N. Mex., during an Apache outbreak in 1675, or who were taken there from Isleta, Socorro, and Alamillo by Gov. Otermin on his retreat from Santa Fé during the Pueblo revolt of 1680. The mission of San Antonio was established there in 1682. The natives have practically lost their language and are almost completely "Mexicanized." (F. W. H.)

Cinecú.—Escudero, Not. Nuevo-Méx., 14, 1849. **Isenecu.**—Siguenza (1691-93) quoted by Buschmann, Neu-Mexico, 264, 1858. **Jenecu.**—Buschmann, ibid., 249. **San Antonio of Sinolu.**—Cruzate (1685) as quoted by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 337, 1869 ("supposed to be the same"). **San Antonio Senecu.**—Ward in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1867, 213, 1868. **Seneca.**—Morse, Hist. Am., map, 1798. **Senecu.**—Calhoun (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 215, 1850. **Senecú.**—Rivera, Diario, leg. 684, 1736. **Sinecu.**—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., I, 149, 1854. **Sinicú.**—Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 259, Apr. 1882 (Sinecú, or).

Senedo. According to Peyton (Hist. Augusta Co., 6, 1882), a tribe formerly on the N. fork of Shenandoah r., Va., and exterminated by the Southern Indians in 1732. The statement is of doubtful authenticity. (J. M.)

Senega. The "*Seneca* snakeroot" (*Polygala senega*), from which the Indians, and after them the whites, prepared a remedy for snake bites, etc.; from *Seneca*, the name of one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. The *siniga* of Cherokee is probably the same word. (A. F. C.)

Senestun (*Se-nĕs'-tûn*). A band or village of the Chastacosta on Rogue r., Oreg.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 234, 1890. 000

Senijextee. A Salish tribe formerly residing on both sides of Columbia r. from Kettle falls to the Canadian boundary; they also occupied the valley of Kettle r. Kootenay r. from its mouth to the first falls, and the region of the Arrow lakes, Brit. Col. In 1909 those in the United States numbered 342, on the Colville res., Wash. 101/161

Lake Indians.—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Savages of the Lake.**—De Smet, Letters, 37, 1843. **Sen-i-jex-tee.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Sinatcheggs.**—Ross, Fur Hunters, II, 172, 190, 1855. **Sinuitskistux.**—Wilson in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., 292, 1866. **S-na-a-chikst.**—Dawson in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 1891, sec. II, 6, 1892.

Senikave. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on the mainland opposite Sledge id., Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893. 000

Senisos (Span., probably referring either to *ceniza*, 'ashes,' or to *cenizo*, the white goose-foot, a plant). A former tribe in N. E. Mexico, probably Coahuiltecan, which was drawn from Nuevo Leon and in 1698 gathered into mission San Antonio Galindo Moctezuma, N. of Monclova.

Cenizos.—Revillagigedo, Carta, MS., quoted by Bancroft, Nat. Races, I, 611, 1886.

Senktl (*Senxʟ*). A Bellacoola village near the mouth of Bellacoola r., Brit. Col., "about 1 m. above Nuxa'lk·!."

Snxqtl.—Boas in 7th Rep. N. W. Tribes Can., 3, 1891. **Senxʟ.**—Boas in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, 49, 1900. **Snihtlimih.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Vocabs. Brit. Col., 122B, 1884 (perhaps refers to Snū't'ele, another town; *mih*='people of').

Sennenes. A Costanoan division or village in California.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 331, 1897.

Senobe. See *Sannup*.

Sentethltun (*Sĕn-tĕçl-tûn*). A former village of the Tututni on the s. side of Rogue r., Oreg. Schumacher (Bull. Geol. Surv., 31, 1877) placed it at the mouth of Rogue r., making its inhabitants a part of the Tçhemetunne.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folklore, III, 236, 1890.

Sepascoot. A former band called Munsee, but probably a part of the Wappinger, on the E. bank of Hudson r., at Rhinebeck, Westchester co., N. Y.—Schoolcraft in Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc., II, 103, 1844.

Sepawi. A pueblo formerly occupied by the Tewa in the valley of El Rito cr., on the heights above the Ojo Caliente of Joseph, and 5 m. from the Mexican settlement of El Rito, N. N. Mex. Bandelier (Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 61, 1890; IV, 51 et seq., 1892) regards its ruin as the largest in New Mexico.

Se-pä-ue.—Bandelier, op. cit., IV, 17, 1892. **Se-pä-ue.**—Ibid., 51. **Sepawi.**—Hewett in Bull. 32, B. A. E., 40, 1906.

Sepawn. See *Supawn*.

Seping. The Painted Eagle clan of the Tewa pueblo of San Juan, N. Mex.

Sepin-tdóa.—Hodge in Am. Anthr., IX, 350, 1896 (*tdóa*='people').

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish

Kalispel

000 more numerous, but the following are the chief ones of which there is definite information: Ahantchuyuk or Pudding River, Atfalati or Tualati, Calapooya, Chelamela, Chepenafa, Lakmiut, Santiam, Yamel, and Yonkalla.

The following are presumed to be Kalapooian tribes or bands, but have not been fully identified: Chemapho, Chemeketas, Chillychandize, Laptambif, Leeshtelosh, Peeyon, Shehees, Shookany, and Winnefelly. See *Calapooya*. (L. F.)

>**Calapooya.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 629, 1882. <**Chinooks.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., Cent. and So. Am., app., 474, 1878 (includes Calapooyas and Yamkally). =**Kalapooiah.**—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 225, 1841 (includes Kalapooiah and Yamkallie; thinks the Umpqua and Cathlascon languages are related); Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 599, 617, 1859 (follows Scouler). =**Kalapooian.**—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 81, 1891. =**Kalapuya.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 217, 564, 1846 (of Willamet valley above falls); Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 17, 77, 1848; Berghaus (1851), Physik. Atlas, map 17, 1852; Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853; Latham in Trans. Philol. Soc. Lond., 73, 1856; Buschmann, Spuren der aztek. Sprache, 617, 1859; Latham, Opuscula, 340, 1860; Gatschet in Mag. Am. Hist., 167, 1877; Gatschet in Beach, Ind. Miscel., 442, 1877. >**Yamkally.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 565, 630, 1882 (bears a certain relationship to Calapooya).

Kalashiauu (*Ka-la'-ci-au-u*). The Raccoon clan of the Chua (Snake) phratry of the Hopi.—Stephen in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 38, 1891.

Kalawashuk (*Ka-la-wa'-cŭk*). One of the Chumashan villages connected with the former Santa Inez mission, Santa Barbara co., Cal.—Henshaw, Santa Inez MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1884.

Kalawatset. A geographical group of tribes of different families in w. Oregon, embracing particularly the Coos, Kuitsh, and Siuslaw.

Kala-Walset.—Mannypenny in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 9, 1857. **Kalawatset.**—Milhau, MS. vocab. Coast Inds., B. A. E. **Kalawatshet.**—Gibbs, MS., B.A.E. **Killiwatsal.**—Framboise, quoted by Gairdner (1835) in Jour. Geog. Soc. Lond., XI, 255, 1841. **Killiwashat.**—Hale, Ethnol. and Philol., 221, 1846. **Killawat.**—Drake, Bk. Inds., viii, 1848. **Killewatsis.**—Armstrong, Oreg., 116, 1857. **Killiwashat.**—Latham (1853) in Proc. Philol. Soc. Lond., VI, 82, 1854. **Killiwatshat.**—Hamilton quoted by Gibbs, MS., B. A. E. **K'ẹla-qwas'ȷŭnnĕ.**—Dorsey, MS. Chasta Costa vocab., B. A. E., 1884 (Chastacosta name). **Kal-la-wat-sets.**—Drew in H. R. Ex. Doc. 93, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 127, 1856.

Kalbauvane. A former Delaware (?) village on the headwaters of the w. branch of Susquehanna r., Pa.—Pouchot map (1758) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., x, 694, 1858.

Kalbusht ('where the water rolls'). A former Alsea village on the s. side of Alsea r., Oreg.

Ḳál'-bûct'.—Dorsey in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, III, 230, 1890.

Kalekhta. A former Aleut village on Unalaska, Aleutian ids., Alaska, containing 14 persons about 1825.

Kahlechtenskoi.—Elliott, Cond. Aff. Alaska, 225, 1875. **Kalaktak.**—Coxe, Russian Discov., 167, 1787. **Kalechtinskoje.**—Holmberg, Ethnog. Skizz., map, 1855. **Kalekhtinskoe.**—Veniaminoff, Zapiski, II, 202, 1840.

Kalelk (*Ka'-lelk*). A former Modoc settlement on the N. shore of Tule or Rhett lake, s. w. Oregon.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. 1, xxxii, 1890. 000

Kali ('fishermen'). A Knaiakhotana clan living on Cook inlet, Alaska.—Richardson, Arct. Exped., I, 407, 1851.

Kalignak. A Nushagagmiut village on a tributary of Nushagak r., Alaska; pop. 91 in 1880.—Petroff, Rep. on Alaska, 47, 1880.

Kaliko. A Yuit Eskimo village on the Siberian coast E. of Iskagan bay.—Krause in Deutsche Geog. Blätt., v, 80, map, 1882.

Kalindaruk (*kalin* 'ocean', *ta* 'at', *ruk* 'houses.'—Kroeber). A village near the mouth of Salinas r., Cal. The name has been used, whether or not with justification, to designate the group of Indians inhabiting the villages on lower Pajaro r., and between it and the Salinas, near the coast. Indians from this area were taken both to San Carlos and to San Juan Bautista missions. Among the villages attributed to this region are Alcoz, Animpayamo, Kapanai, Kulul, Lukaiasta, Mustak, Nutnur, Paisin, Poitokwis, Tiubta, and Ymunakam.

Calendarus.—Engelhardt, Franciscans in Cal., 398, 1897. **Kalindaruk.**—A. L. Kroeber, inf'n, 1906 (proper form). **Kathlendarus.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Nov. 25, 1860. **Katlendarukas.**—Ibid., Apr. 20, 1860.

Kalispel (popularly known as Pend d'Oreilles, 'ear drops'). A Salish tribe around the lake and along the river of the same name in the extreme N. part of Idaho and N. E. Washington. Gibbs divided them into the Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake and the Slka-tkml-schi or Pend d'Oreilles of the Upper Lake, and according to Dr Dart the former numbered 520 in 1851, the latter 480 (Pac. R. R. Rep. I, 415, 1855). McVickar (Hist. Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842) made three divisions: Upper Pend d'Oreilles, Lower Pend d'Oreilles, and Micksucksealton. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 1,600 in 30 lodges in 1805. In 1905 there were 640 Upper Pend d'Oreilles and 197 Kalispel under the Flathead agency, Mont., and 98 Kalispel under the Colville agency, Wash. 101 101 161

The subdivisions, being seldom referred to, are disregarded in the synonymy.

Ah-min-de-see-may.—Anon. Crow MS. vocab., B. A. E. (Crow name). **Ak-min'-e-shu'-me.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol., 402, 1862 ('the tribe that uses canoes': Crow name). **Calespelins.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 695, 1857. **Calespelin.**—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Calespell.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Calespin.**—Lane (1849) in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, op. cit., 170. **Calispells.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 504, 1878. **Colespelin.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 701, 1857. **Colespells.**—H. R. Ex. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Coospellar.**—Drake, Bk. Inds., vii, 1848. **Cose-pellar.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Cose-pel-lar's Nation.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ear Rings.**—De Smet, Letters, 63, 1843. **Flathead Kootanie.**—Tolmie and Dawson, 101

1: Hodge, E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Spokane

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the Spirit Lake captive of 1857, was rescued by Grayfoot and Sounding Heavens, sons of Spirit Walker. (D. R.)

Spitotha. One of the 5 original divisions or bands of the Shawnee (W. H. Shawnee in Gulf States Hist. Mag., I, 415, 1903). Evidently distinct from Kispokotha, but probably the same as Mequachake, q. v.

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Spokan. A name applied to several small bodies of Salish on and near Spokane r., N. E. Wash. According to Gibbs the name was originally employed by the Skitswish to designate a band at the forks of the river, called also Smahoomenaish. By the whites it was extended to cover several nearly allied divisions, which Gibbs enumerates as follows: Sin-slik-hoo-ish, Sintootoolish, Sma-hoo-men-a-ish (Spokenish), Skai-schil-t'nish, Ske-chei-a-mouse, Schu-el-stish, Sin-poil-schne, Sin-shee-lish. The last two were claimed by the Okinagan also. All of them are now held to be separate divisions and not bands of one tribe. The population was estimated by Lewis and Clark in 1805 at 600 in ~~30~~ houses, and by Gibbs in 1853 at 450. In 1908 there were 301 "Lower Spokan" and 238 "Upper Spokan" under Colville agency, Wash., and 95 Spokan on Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho; total, 634. In 1909 the entire number of Spokan in Washington was 509, while those in Idaho numbered 104.

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Flat Heads.—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851 (so called because their heads were left in the natural state. (See *Flatheads.*) **Lar-li-e-lo.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. **Lartielo.**—Ibid., II, 475, 1814. **Lar-ti-e-to's Nation.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 119, 1905. **Ne-com-ap-oe-lox.**—Suckley in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 300, 1855. **Sălst qχástalt-lini.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for the Lower Spokan at Little Spokane Falls; ='people with bad heads'). **Sar-lis-lo.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855 (the Lar-ti-e-lo of Lewis and Clark). **Sin-ee-guo-men-ah.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870 (applied here to the Upper Spokan). **Sin-ha-ma-mish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 418, 1855. **Sin-hu.**—Morgan, Consang. and Affin., 290, 1871 ('people wearing red paint on their cheeks': own name). **Sinhumanish.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 632, 1853. **Sinkuman.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (Kutenai name). **Sinkumana.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pend d'Oreille [Kalispel] name). **Ska-moy-num-acks.**—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1849 (Kutenai name). **Sma-hoo-men-a-ish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855 (=Spokan proper). **Snχé-mina.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name for Upper Spokan). **Spogans.**—Meek in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 10, 1848. **Spokains.**—McVickar, Exped. Lewis and Clark, II, 386, note, 1842 (probably used for Spokan proper). **Spokan.**—Parker, Journal, 292, 1840. **Spokane.**—Ibid., 292. **Spo-keh-mish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 429, 1854. **Spokehnish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. **Spokein.**—Parker, op. cit., 285. **Spokens.**—Robertson, Oregon, 129, 1846. **Spo-kih-nish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 428, 1854. **Spokineish.**—Winans, ibid., 22, 1870. **Spokines.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Spokomish.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896. **Spuka'n.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Klamath and Modoc name). **Tsakaitsetlins.**—Domenech, Deserts, I, 444, 1860. **Tsakaitsitlin.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 205, 569, 1846. **Upper Spokanes.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870 (applies to Spokan proper). **Zingomenes.**—De Smet, Oregon Miss., 108, 1847.

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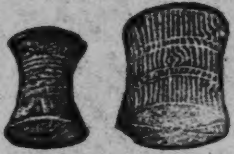
Spookow. A Chumashan village formerly on the beach N. of San Buenaventura mission, Ventura co., Cal.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, May 4, 1860.

Spools. Small prehistoric objects somewhat resembling spools, the purpose of which is unknown. They are nearly cylindrical, with incurved sides, perforated lengthwise at the center, and are made in most cases of sandstone, a few specimens being of baked clay. Their length varies from 1 to 2½ in. and their diameter rarely exceeds 2 in. The surface is always covered with incised lines arranged in what is apparently intended for a definite order or design, but no two are alike. They are not numerous, and, with the exception of a few from Ross co., Ohio, all are from counties bordering the Ohio r. between the Big Sandy and the Miami. Consult Fowke, Archæol. Hist. Ohio, 1902; Moorehead, Prehist. Impls., 1900; Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments, 1848; Thruston, Antiq. of Tenn., 1897. (G. F.)



SPOOL-SHAPED STONES; OHIO (FOWKE)

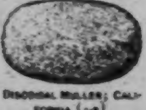
Spoon de Kaury. See *Dekaury, Choukeka.*

Spoons and Ladles. Utensils for carrying liquid food or water to the mouth or from one vessel to another were found among all tribes of the United States. They were made of a wide variety of materials, as stone, shell, bone, horn, antler, ivory, wood, gourd, bark, basketry, and pottery were employed. In size they exceeded European utensils of this class. Beverley (Hist. Va., 154, 1722) thus refers to them: "The spoons which they eat with, do generally hold half a pint; and they laugh at the English for using small ones, which they must be forced to carry so often to their mouths, that their arms are in danger of being tired, before their Belly."

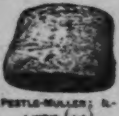
The animals supplying the most materials for spoons, dippers, and ladles were the mountain sheep and mountain goat. All the tribes living in the habitat of these animals utilized their horns for this purpose, and the manufactured products were distributed widely in trade among neighboring tribes. Specimens have been gathered among the Pueblos, Havasupai, Ute, Cheyenne, and Sioux, the Salishan and northern Algonquian tribes, and the N. W. Coast and Athapascan tribes. Among the southern Rocky Mountain Indians these utensils were rude, but the northern tribes made them works of art, softening the horn and bending and shaping it over forms by means of heat.

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Methow

000 discoidal and cylindrical pestle. Many of these hand-stones serve equally well for rubbing, rolling, and pounding. See *Mortars, Mullers, Notched plates, Pestles.*



DISCOIDAL MULLER; CALIFORNIA (1-3)



PESTLE-MULLER; ILLINOIS (1-4)

Consult Cushing in Millstone, IX, X, 1884–1885; Fewkes (1) in 17th Rep. B. A. E., 1898, (2) 22d Rep. B. A. E., 1903; Mindeleff in 8th Rep. B. A. E., 1891; James Stevenson in 2d Rep. B. A. E., 1883; M. C. Stevenson in 23d Rep. B. A. E., 1904. (W. H. H.)

Metate ruin. A prehistoric pueblo ruin in the Petrified Forest, across the wash from the "petrified bridge," near the Navaho-Apache co. boundary, Arizona; locally so called on account of the numerous stone milling troughs, or metates, set on edge in circular or linear form and scattered over the surface. The builders of the pueblo are unknown. The pottery, gray-brown and black in color, is coarse in texture and decorated with rude incision and by indented coiling.—Hough in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1901, 318, 1903.

Metates. A former Opata pueblo at the E. base of the Sierra de Teras, about 12 m. W. of Baseraca, E. Sonora, Mexico. Possibly identical with Teras, Guepacomatzi, or Toapara, which pueblos are mentioned in early documents as being in that vicinity.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 524 et seq., 1892.

Metea (prob. for *Metawă*, 'he sulks.'—W. J.). A Potawatomi chief, distinguished in his tribe as a warrior and an orator. When the Potawatomi were subsidized by the British at the beginning of the War of 1812 he was one of the leaders of the party that massacred the families of the garrison and citizens of Chicago as they were retreating to Detroit. He led the band that harassed the troops who marched in the fall of 1812 to the relief of Ft Wayne and was shot in the arm by Gen. W. H. Harrison. At a council held at Chicago in 1821 he impressed the whites by his eloquence and reasoning powers, and also when the treaty of the Wabash was concluded in 1826. He advocated the education of Indian youth and sent several from his tribe to the Choctaw academy in Kentucky. He died in a drunken debauch at Ft Wayne, in 1827, after having conducted difficult negotiations with dignity and skill in a conference with commissioners of the Government.—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, 59–64, 1858. See *Muskwawasepeotan.*

Meteahke. A Mandan band. 000

High Village.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 158, 1877. **Me-te-ah'-ke.**—Ibid.

Metewemesick ('place of black earth'). A former Nipmuc (?) settlement on Quinebaug r., near Sturbridge, Mass.—Roger Williams (1643) quoted by Tooker, Algonquian Series, VIII, 33, 1901.

Methow (*Met'-how*). A Salishan tribe of E. Washington, formerly living about Methow r. and Chelan lake, now chiefly gathered on the Colville res. Their number is not officially reported. 101 161

Battle-le-mule-emauch.—Ross, Adventures, 290, 1847. **Lahtoha.**—Van Valkenburgh in Ind. Aff. Rep., 235, 1865 (perhaps a misprint for Methows). **Meat-who.**—Ross, op. cit. **Meshons.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. **Met-cow-we.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, IV, 321, 1905. **Metcowwee.**—Lewis and Clark, Exped., II, 252, 1814. **Meteowwee.**—Ibid., II, 318, 1817. **Methau.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 258, 1877. **Methews.**—H. R. Doc. 102, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 1, 1874. **Methoms.**—Shanks, et al. (1873), ibid., 4. **Methow.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 302, 1877. **Mitaui.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pl. lxxxviii, 1896. **Mithouies.**—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. 101

Methy. The burbot (*Lota maculosa*), the *loche* of the Canadian French, a fish common in the waters of N. W. Canada. The word is taken from the name of this fish in the Wood Cree dialect of Algonquian, the Cree proper term being *mihyey*, according to Lacombe. L. Methy in Athabasca is named from this fish; also a lake in Labrador. (A. F. C.) 000

Meti. A former rancheria of gentile (probably Diegueño) Indians near San Diego, s. Cal.—Ortega (1775) quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., I, 253, 1884.

Métis ('mixed,' from French *métis*, a derivative of Latin *miscere*, 'to mix'), or *metif*. A term used by the French-speaking population of the N. W. to designate persons of mixed white and Indian blood. Among the Spanish-speaking population of the S. W. the word *mestizo*, of the same derivation, is used, but is applied more especially to those of half-white and half-Indian blood. The term *mustee*, a corruption of *mestizo*, was formerly in use in the Gulf states. In the W. the term "half-breed" is loosely applied to all persons of mixed white and Indian blood, without regard to the proportion of each. See *Mixed-bloods.* (J. M.)

Maitifs.—Brevel *fide* Sibley (1805) in Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., I, 730, 1832. **Mestigos.**—Williams, Vt., I, 494, 1809 (misprint). **Mestizo.**—Correct Spanish form; feminine *mestiza*. **Métis.**—Correct French form. **Mustees.**—Report of 1741 in Carroll, Hist. Coll. S. C., II, 353, 1836. **Mustees.**—Bermuda Royal Gazette, July 13, 1875, *fide* Jour. Anthrop. Inst., V, 491, 1876 (used in Bermuda for descendants of Indian slaves brought from the U. S.). **Wissakodewinini.**—Baraga, Otchipwe-Eng. Dict., 421, 1880 (Chippewa name: 'half-burnt wood man'; from *wissakode*, 'burnt trees', referring to their mixed light and dark complexion; pl. *Wissakodewininiwog*. He gives *aiabitawisid* as the literal word for 'half-breed').

Metlakatla. A Tsimshian town 15 m. s. of Port Simpson, Brit. Col. Anciently

1: Hodge E-5 (no date)1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Wenatchi

000 guage in any native American language, excepting for a few words of recent introduction which have had no effect whatever on the general structure or vocabulary.

Consult Catlin, N. Am. Inds., for Mandan theory; Bowen, Am. Discovered by the Welsh, 1876; Burder, Welsh Inds., 1797; Durrett in Filson Club Pub., no. 23, 1908; Lewis in Trans. Oneida Hist. Soc., 1894; Mooney, Growth of a Myth, in Am. Anthr., Oct. 1891, and numerous authorities noted in Winsor, Narr. Crit. Hist. Am., I, notes 109-111, 1889.

The early stories of a tribe of "White Indians" (q. v.), or "White, Bearded Indians," somewhere in the unknown interior, refer sometimes to this mythic Welsh tribe, but more often appear to arise from misinterpreted Indian accounts of other distant European colonies or visitations, or of some tribe of complexion lighter than usual. See *Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, Popular Fallacies.* (J. M.)

Madawgwys.—Bowen, Am. Discov. by the Welsh, 93, 1876 (also Madogian and Madogiaint; so called by various authors). **Madocian Inds.**—Ibid. 63 (term used with reference to the Indians of Prince Madoc). **Madogians.**—Janson, Stranger in Am., 270, 1807. **Madogiant.**—Bowen, op. cit., 93. **[illegible].**—Ker quoted by Drake, Bk. Inds., bk. I, 33, 1848. **Welsh.**—Drake, ibid., xii. **Welsh Bearded Indians.**—Bowen, op. cit., 129. **Welsh Indiesv.**—Croghan (1759) in Rupp, West. Pa., 146, 1846 (misprint).

Welunungsi (*We-lun-ung-si*, 'little turtle'). A subclan of the Delawares.—Morgan, Anc. Soc., 172, 1877.

Welwashkeni (*Welwashχē'ni*, 'place of the large spring'). A former Modoc settlement on the s. E. side of Tule lake, at Miller's farm, N. E. Cal.—Gatschet in Cont. N. A. Ethnol., II, pt. I, xxxii, 1890.

Wenameac. See *Winamac.*

101 **Wenatchi** (Yakima: *winātshi*, 'river issuing from a canyon,' referring to Wenatchee r.). A Salish division, probably a band of the Pisquows, formerly on Wenatchee r., a tributary of the Columbia in Washington. In 1850 there were said to have been 50 on Yakima res., but 66 were enumerated in the Report on Indian Affairs for 1910 as under the Colville agency. It is uncertain whether these bodies belonged to one original band.

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Lower Chehalis.—Common name. **Waneelchie.**—Ford in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 341, 1858. **Waratcha.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1861. **Waratka.**—Ibid., 1864, 499, 1865. **Waratkaas.**—Ibid. 1863, 512, 1864. **Wenatcha.**—Lansdale, ibid., 1859, 412, 1860. **Wenatchi.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 704, 1901. **Wenatshapam.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951. **Wenatshapan.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1856, 266, 1857. **Wenatshepum.**—Ibid., 110, 1874. **Winā'tshipŭm.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (given as a synonym of Pisquows). **Wynoochee.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 428, 1855. **Wy-noot-che.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1870.

000 **Wendigo.** See *Windigo.*

Wendjimadub ('whence he sits'; that is, supposing he was sitting in one spot, he moves from it and sits in another). A Chippewa chief and orator, with a strain of French blood, born at La Pointe, Wis., about 1838. He married a Mississippi Chippewa, and since 1868 has lived at White Earth, where he is at the head of a band of about 40. Wendjimadub is noted for his independence. When, about 1878, a half-breed trader induced all the other chiefs to join him in opposing a worthy Indian agent, Lewis Stowe, in order that an agent might be appointed who would further his schemes, Wendjimadub was the only one who had the courage to stand up openly in the council before prominent Americans, and take the agent's part, declaring his innocence and showing why the warfare was waged against him. Although uneducated, Wendjimadub is by far the best speaker among the Chippewa. He served in a Minnesota regiment throughout the Civil War. He farms to some extent, but is in sufficiently affluent circumstances to live without working. He has been converted to Christianity. (J. A. G.)

Wenimesset (*wenomiesit*, 'at the grapevine.'—Gerard). A Nipmuc village in 1676, at the present New Braintree, Worcester co., Mass.

Wenimesset.—Rowlandson quoted by Drake, Trag. Wild., 25, 1841. **Wenimisset.**—Kinnicutt, Ind. Names Worcester Co., 56, 1905. **Wissimisett.**—Ibid.

Wenona. A small snake (*Charina bottæ*) found in California and Mexico. From *winona* (q. v.) in the Santee Sioux language, signifying 'first-born child' [if a daughter]. The word is also a place name. (A. F. C.)

Wenrohronon (*Awĕñro'roñ'noⁿ'*, probably from a combination of the noun *awĕñ'ro'*, the Huron form of the common Iroquoian vocable denoting 'scum,' 'moss,' 'lather,' with the verb stem *-o'*, 'to float,' 'to be immersed or contained in liquid or in the earth,' 'to be in solution,' 'to be contained in,' with the tribal appellative suffix *-roñnoⁿ'*. *Awĕñ'ro'* (*ouenro* in the Jesuit Relations), the base of the term, signifies, as a geographic name, 'where scum floats on the water'; hence *Awenrohronon* means 'the people or tribe of the place of floating scum.' The suggested meaning of the name would seem to indicate that the Wenrohronon may have lived in the vicinity of the famous oil spring of the town of Cuba, Allegany co., N. Y., described as a filthy, stagnant pool, about 20 ft in diameter, without an outlet. A yellowish-brown oil collects on its surface, and this was the source of the famous "Seneca oil," formerly a popular local remedy for various ailments. The spring was so highly regarded by the Seneca that they always reserved it in their land-sale treaties). One of the tribes which, according to the Jesuit Relation for 1639, had been associated with the Neutral Nation and which had

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, B[illegible] Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, most of the information is first hand. 101 166 173 361

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nakukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snakukt'ci'ptənuxʷ, located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August. 361 221

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn. 221 361 177

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150. [161]

2. napi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snpi·'luxʷ. 361 This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle´t^{kū}, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local [illegible]ations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nūqalé´t^{kū} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa´in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nūqalé´t^{kū} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] 161 The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4] [1/A]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

1/A [For footnote see p. 74 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 74 (A)

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located
near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[23]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161 ●
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and
the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[24] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1842. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[23] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[24] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg. 161 131

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except that of the NekEtEmē'ux̣ tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows: 167 131 101

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

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[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

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621 Divisions, Bands, Villages.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional
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621 seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

Villages of St. Joe River division

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	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakᴇsᴇn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tcłti'ctacᴇsᴇn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsᴇlá'wᴇs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcal'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *ntcá'mtsᴇn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

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621 There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nłpo'sᴇntsᴇn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

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Coeur d'Alêne River Division

	Location
1. *tcla'tcalx*	On Coeur d'Alêne Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alêne River.
2. *gwa'lit* (probably "black pines").	Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. *alqwa'rit*	At Harrison.
4. *ne'atsx̣a'x̣stᴇm*	On Coeur d'Alêne River a little above the preceding
5. *nëst'a'qwast*	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. *gogole'tëlps* ("black pines," *Pinus contorta*).	A little above No. 5.
7. *sma'qᴇqᴇn*	At Medimont.
8. *hinsä'lut*	On Coeur d'Alêne River, a little above No. 7
9. *sᴇncä'lᴇmänis*	A little above No. 8.
10. *nalstqä'lx̣wᴇn*	A little above No. 9.
11. *sk'wai'o'*	At old mission.

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River Division

	Location
1. *ni'a'q'ᴇn*	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alêne Lake
2. *tclä'tcᴇllicᴇmᴇn*	Halfway down Coeur d'Alêne Lake, on the east side.
3. *nic'ᴇmqa'lnqwa* (probably "head").	At Coeur d'Alêne City.
4. *smᴇlsle'na*	Near No. 3, on the same side.
5. *tp'ö'ᴇnë'lpᴇm*	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. *ncä'rᴇpt*	A little below No. 4.
7. *stcalkwe'i*	A little below No. 6
8. *q'ämi'len* ("throat," "gorge").	At Post Falls.
9. *hinsaq'e'lpᴇns*	About 1 mile above the Spokane bridge.
10. *ne'ᴇtsa'calqs*	A little below No. 9.
11. *nisctsakwolsa'ko* (?)	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. *nesx̣wa'x̣we*	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. *nesli'x̣um*	A little below No. 12.
14. *tcanokwä'kᴇn* (?)	A little below No. 13.
15. *mu'lc* (probably means "cottonwood").	At Green Acres.
16. *tcatenwa'x̣elpᴇm*	A short distance below Green Acres, and about 20 miles above Spokane City.

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alêne [illegible] Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alêne and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

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Population.—The Coeur d'Alêne claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages,

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and
164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
157 what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
577 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here. 101

I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below. 361

1. *Ti'kʷt* ("lake" or "large lake").	Arrow Lakes.
2. *Ntaẋi'ʷtkʷ* ("straight or smooth water").	Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.
3. *Ssene'tkʷ* ("swift, rapid, or rough water").	Columbia River below Marcus.
4. *Nts'lltẋẋi'tkʷ* ("ts'lltẋẋ[41] or ts'll-tẋẋ water," "water of the stallt people [?]").	Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.
5. *Ntsa'kulaui'lsʷ* ("portage or carrying place for canoes").[42]	Bonnington Falls and neighboring parts of Kootenai River.
6. *Skalsi'ulkʷ*[43]	Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general.
7. *Sloke'n*	General name for the Slocan River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.
8. *Nkoli'latkʷ*	Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).
9. *Stlaẋa'tkʷ* or *Stlẋẋai'tkʷ*	Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokan.

POPULATION.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had 161

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[41] Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. 202, said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

[42] The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

[43] Compare st'ulke, etc. (name for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in skal, skeics (see No. 19, p. 210), etc.; Calispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of skal st'ulk as "water above" (from skalt "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

161 the densest population. The Okanagon are said to have been a large tribe, probably outnumbering the Colville. Their population may have been from 2,500 to 3,000. The Sanpoil were the smallest tribe of the four, and may have numbered about 1,500. This would give an estimated population of from 8,500 to 9,000 for the Okanagon group; but probably their real number at one time was greater, possibly 10,000 or more. The late population of the tribes, taken from the returns of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs for 1903 and from the American Report of the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs), 1905, was as follows:

Okanagon:			
Upper Nicola or Spahamin band	192		
Okanagon or Nkamaplix band	239		
Penticton band	147		
Osoyoos or Nkamip band	65		
Similkameen, Lower and Upper bands (Chuchuwayha, Ashnola, and Shennosquankin)	181		
Total under Okanagon and Kamloops Agencies, British Columbia		824	
Okinagan (north half)	548		
Okinagan (south half)	144		
Total on Colville Reservation, Washington		692	
Total of Okanagon tribe			1,516
Sanpoil:			
Sanpoil		350	
Nespelim		41	
Total Sanpoil on Colville Reservation, Washington			391
Colville on the Colville Reservation, Washington			330
Lake on the Colville Reservation, Washington		305	
Arrow Lake band under the Kutenai Agency, British Columbia (on a small reserve near Burton City)		26	
Mouth of Kootenai band, etc. (not on reserves)		11	
			342
Total population of the Okanagon group [44]			2,579

According to all accounts, the decrease in the population of these tribes has been much greater, and began at an earlier date, than among 164 the Shuswap and Thompson. About 1800 the Colville and Lake were decimated by smallpox, which reached the Sanpoil, but spared 161 the Okanagon. About 1832 all the tribes were decimated by an epidemic, probably smallpox. The Okanagon suffered almost as severely as the others. It appears that the Shuswap and Thompson

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[44] It seems that there are a few Okanagon, and possibly also Colville, not on reservations, who are not included in the Canadian and American Indian returns. The 11 people at the mouth of the Kootenai, here enumerated, are not included in the Canadian report. I counted 11 people living here in 1908 and 1909, the remnants of the old band of this place. Since then I hear that some of them have died, and others, owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure of white settlement at this point, have followed the example of other members of their band (previous to 1908), and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation. See for later statistics, p. 315.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

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Migrations and Movements of Tribes.[45]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[46] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[47] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

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[45] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[46] See p. 198; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 263; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 5. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[47] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265 et seq.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south
619 along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not
131 go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but
I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called
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The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan,
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[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

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The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tună'x̣e* and the greater part of the *Sxmtĕ'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sxmtĕ'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwĭ'* ('little

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of a mile. It[1] was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. xaimi·'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'luxʷ. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwi'ɫ ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'lau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to skłəmtcə'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'xʷ, home of the ski'xʷ. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwi'ɫ (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. məsməsa'ləmxʷ, home of the sməsməsa'ləmxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'xʷ (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. skłəm'tcə'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'lau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

SANPOIL VILLAGES

8. nłxxo'i'tqʷ ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ. About half way between skłə'mtcə'n (7) and na'a'qʷ (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

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[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [nspi'lam -- Analyst]

9. wal'walá'skᵊn ("solid rocks"), home of the swal'walá'skᵊnxʷ, situated a half 162
mile up the river from nlxxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was 221
also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by
spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and 361
shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are 592
washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here.
Population, 20 to 30 people.[11]

10. t'sakt'si'kskᵊn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wal'walá'skᵊn (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

    It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. xaxsula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sxaxsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kalpuspu'stan ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kalpuspu'stanaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mlkʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kalpuspu'stan (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each [226] year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

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of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due to the extremes of temperature at this location.

Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'sxənən ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qədtsəltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qətəpkumu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qəqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tləm ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A).

G. sk̓ərwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. ənhuq̓á'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at nχoχoγu's (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved to npui·'luxʷ (15) with the approach of summer.

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17. nχoχoγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstʷ. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16).

18. snukε'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukε'iltkʷ. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snukε'iltkʷ travelled to npui·'luxʷ (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snukε'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[13]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[13]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxʷ. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'luxʷ (15).

snəqaie'tkʷ VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[13] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

COLVILLE VILLAGES

162/361 25. ntcali·′′am ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia at this point), home of the sntcali′′x·. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.

26. nqua′si′am ("big eddy"), home of the snqua′si′x·. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.

27. qaqala′pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqaqala′piax·. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.

28. nilami′n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami′nax·. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qaqala′pia (27).

29. ntcumu′tastum, home of the sntcumu′tast·, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami′n (28), near Kettle Falls.

30. qduma′′ax· ("level land"), home of the sqduma′′ax·. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu′tastum (29).

31. smtcumu′lau, home of the smtcumu′laux·, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

221/361 From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the residents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying prefix and suffix. [551] Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came.

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui·′lux· and proceeds northward up the river.

1. snluxu′la′x· ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi′kast ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. aqla·′iyuk ("place where a·′iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi′kast (2).
4. snqlos′pəte·′n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 162 361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 619 131 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwē'stegne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

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101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle´tkû, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqalē´t^{kû} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa´in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqalē´t^{kû} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 • 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1A]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] The following is a 161 table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4][1A]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[1A] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 74 (A)

756 791 Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

757 Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mëREmën. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

164 753 The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928

Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[21]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164] ●
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[22] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[21] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[22] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of 167
the Columbia,[37] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied 131
by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[38] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of [164] ●
the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[39] regarding

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[37] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[38] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[39] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had 159
then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French 115
Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunä'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunä'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

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Villages of St. Joe River division

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	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakɛcɛn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tɛlti'ciacɛcɛn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsɛld'wɛs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcat'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *ntcd'mtsɛn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ts'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

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There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sɛntsɛn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alène

Coeur d'Alêne River Division

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	Location
1. *tcle'tcalxʷ*	On Coeur d'Alêne Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alêne River.
2. *gwa'lit* (probably "black pines").	Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. *alqwa'rit*	At Harrison.
4. *ne'aiapa'xstEm*	On Coeur d'Alêne River a little above the preceding
5. *nłst'a'qwast*	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. *qoqole'tšlps* ("black pines," *Pinus contorta*).	A little above No. 5.
7. *sma'qEqEn*	At Medimont.
8. *hinsa'lut*	On Coeur d'Alêne River, a little above No. 7
9. *sEncä'lEmänis*	A little above No. 8.
10. *nalsiqä'lxwEn*	A little above No. 9.
11. *sk'wat'o'*	At old mission.

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River Division

	Location
1. *nł'a'q'En*	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alêne Lake
2. *tcłlä'icElłicEmEn*	Halfway down Coeur d'Alêne Lake, on the east side.
3. *nic'Emqa'inqwa* (probably "head").	At Coeur d'Alêne City.
4. *smElElc'na*	Near No. 3, on the same side.
5. *tp'ö'Enł'lpEm*	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. *ncä'rEpł*	A little below No. 4.
7. *stcatkwe'i*	A little below No. 6
8. *q'ämi'len* ("throat," "gorge").	At Post Falls.
9. *hinsaq'e'lpEns*	About 1 mile above the Spokane bridge.
10. *ne'Ewa'calqs*	A little below No. 9.
11. *nlsetsakwolsa'ko* (?)	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. *nesxwa'xwe*	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. *nesli'xum*	A little below No. 12.
14. *tcanokwä'kEn* (?)	A little below No. 13.
15. *mu'lc* (probably means "cottonwood").	At Green Acres.
16. *tcatenwa'xelpEm*	A short distance below Green Acres, and about 20 miles above Spokane City.

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alêne on Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alêne and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

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POPULATION.—The Coeur d'Alêne claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages,

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox
twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and
164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps
were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States
Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as
494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91
Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan.
Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods
among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long
ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from
the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been
introduced from this source.

141 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
157 what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few
577 being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily
built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large
heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious
and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much
attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early
times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sand-
stone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals.
Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

161 the densest population. The Okanagon are said to have been a large tribe, probably outnumbering the Colville. Their population may have been from 2,500 to 3,000. The Sanpoil were the smallest tribe of the four, and may have numbered about 1,500. This would give an estimated population of from 8,500 to 9,000 for the Okanagon group; but probably their real number at one time was greater, possibly 10,000 or more. The late population of the tribes, taken from the returns of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs for 1903 and from the American Report of the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs), 1905, was as follows:

Okanagon:			
Upper Nicola or Spahamin band	192		
Okanagon or Nkamaplix band	239		
Penticton band	147		
Osoyoos or Nkamip band	65		
Similkameen, Lower and Upper bands (Chuchuwayha, Ashnola, and Shennosquankin)	181		
Total under Okanagon and Kamloops Agencies, British Columbia		824	
Okinagan (north half)	548		
Okinagan (south half)	144		
Total on Colville Reservation, Washington		692	
Total of Okanagon tribe			1, 516
Sanpoil:			
Sanpoil		350	
Nespelim		41	
Total Sanpoil on Colville Reservation, Washington			391
Colville on the Colville Reservation, Washington			330
Lake on the Colville Reservation, Washington		305	
Arrow Lake band under the Kutenai Agency, British Columbia (on a small reserve near Burton City)		26	
Mouth of Kootenai band, etc. (not on reserves)		11	
			342
Total population of the Okanagon group [a]			2, 579

According to all accounts, the decrease in the population of these tribes has been much greater, and began at an earlier date, than among
● 164 the Shuswap and Thompson. About 1800 the Colville and Lake were decimated by smallpox, which reached the Sanpoil, but spared
161 the Okanagon. About 1832 all the tribes were decimated by an epidemic, probably smallpox. The Okanagon suffered almost as severely as the others. It appears that the Shuswap and Thompson

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[a] It seems that there are a few Okanagon, and possibly also Colville, not on reservations, who are not included in the Canadian and American Indian returns. The 11 people at the mouth of the Kootenai, here enumerated, are not included in the Canadian report. I counted 11 people living here in 1908 and 1909, the remnants of the old band of this place. Since then I hear that some of them have died, and others, owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure of white settlement at this point, have followed the example of other members of their band (previous to 1908), and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation. See for later statistics, p. 315.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

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MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.[65]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[66] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[67] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is— 161

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[65] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[66] See p. 199; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 285; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[67] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 283 et seq.

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	-----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	-----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	-----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	96	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	-----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	-557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3, 358	3, 229	3, 179	3, 409	3, 300	-----

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population 161
of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish- 164
Tunā'xe and the greater part of the *Sxmtē'use* are said to have been
killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by small- 721
pox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sxmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out.
Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Small- 164
pox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime 173
about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

164 173 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispē'lɛm*, eastern Washington. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies." About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

166 174 Migrations and Movements of Tribes.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, and *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings.
Such men were not criticized by the people.
554 In later days, anyone can wear such a headdress,
but the chief's is always the most
622 ornate. The woman skū'mält has no special
dress, but she is better dressed than any
other woman of the band, and always wears a
[304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of
wealth.

"The royal insignia of an Indian king
622 or chief is simple, and is always known in
the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in
this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin,
fantastically painted with rude figures of
different colours — the head and tail decorated
with the higua,"[1] bears' claws, and the
teeth of different animals — suspended from
a pole in a conspicuous place near the
chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people,
the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving
conspicuously from the pole; but as they began
to associate and get accustomed to us,
they became less particular in exhibiting
the ensigns of royalty.""[1]

292 The Kartar chief, on special occasions,
wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the
622 seams and carries a fan made of the wing of
a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a
fringed shirt also, painted and worn for
power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt
at any time without objections from the
chief.

276 The new chief of the Kartar band is
always given the tribal pipe which belonged
to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one
622 made of stone. The chief passes it around
in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe
in a special frirged buckskin bag, sewed with
hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine
quills. This stone pipe is called sinaī'ōstn.
The chief of the neighboring Nespelem
tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaī'ostn.
This formal smoking of the pipe at
special gatherings is characteristic of the
Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before
death, he may appoint his oldest son to take
his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he
appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes
a chief may be displeased with his
children, considering them disobedient, and
name instead one of his own brothers or a
near male relative to take the office. When
the old people's council meets, they announce
the chief's wish to everyone. These forms
[165] of appointment seldom occur since most men
die a violent death.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 96 (B)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is—

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	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	....
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	....
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	....
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	....
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	.557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	....

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the *Flathead* Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunā'χe* and the greater part of the *Sεmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sεmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little

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731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
[757] occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

174 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

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them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

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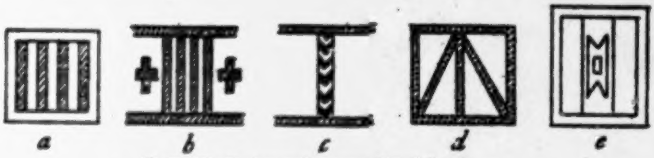

FIGURE 22.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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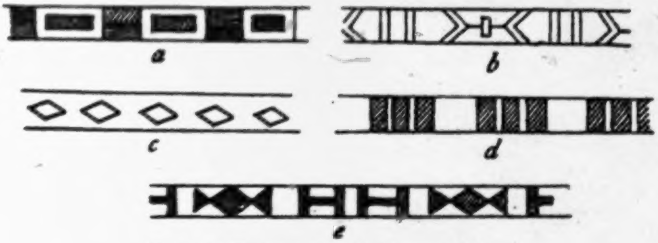

FIGURE 23.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

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sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, B 101
Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 166
but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, 173
most of the information is first hand.

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At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptʌn ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptʌnuxʷ, located at the 361
site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This 221
was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population 221
was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing 361
during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, 177
occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from [161]
100 to 150.

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'luxʷ. 361
This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

48. carI'pa.
49. lŭ'plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI'kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules."
51. ci'lŏx̣wist. 361
52. ənlâx̣ŭlâx̣swa'tk$^{\breve{u}}$, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lA'x.
54. snx̣EncI'na$^{\breve{u}x}$.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 ● 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox 164 twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred [144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 157 577 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 412 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

[302] 292 [illegible] 776

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

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WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

[777] [166]

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

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and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief [216] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. [152] He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

262 224 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur
d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained
among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class
with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not
611 621 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands
in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a
band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several
small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger
than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band.
Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division
consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined,
and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by
natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance,
the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute
separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories
were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous
166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser
~~577~~ number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of
people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time.
621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might
temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore
had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed
as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the
band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in
the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the
territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some
people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or
three different bands, because they were descended from people of
all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's
village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[281] *a*, pp. 289-302.

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes 166
with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in 594
another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered
with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit 621
that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the
horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, 177
and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although
parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during 221
the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date. 164 161

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.[45]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[46] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south. 166 174 361

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[47] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

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[45] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[46] See p. 199; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 265; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[47] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265 et seq.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwi'x̣* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwi'x̣* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwi'x̣* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[illegible] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwi'x̣*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[illegible] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'tәmī'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwi'x̣* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwi'x̣* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[illegible] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwi'x̣* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

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[illegible] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. [illegible].

offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. 166
Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose 174
home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the
Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably 361
came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—The Lake tribe had most 177
intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'χ*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'χ* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai 000
and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war 648
parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. 727
However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the [181]
Rockies were the *Sᴇmtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going
and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them
several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant
of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Mis-
soula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked
again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the small-
pox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of
the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled
among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had com- 648
bined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great [224]
measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had [178]
evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern [166]
part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the ●
bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*). [361]
About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them
stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles
country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and [224]
at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the
latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and
Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally
east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of
the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated
most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country
after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps
in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend
d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally
camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both
Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had
begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties
occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with 648
them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the 224
mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and
about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles.
Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne
arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these
forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia,
and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west.
At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes
Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

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A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatẽ'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-*Tuna'xe* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-*Tuna'xe* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

● 166 174 167 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward [481] toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 582 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tună'χe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sχmie'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tună'χe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tună'χe*. The Salish-*Tună'χe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sχmiĕ'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167 ●
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located
near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[28]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[29] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[28] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[29] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutᴇme'xʷ, Ṇekᴇtᴇme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qô'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nă'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 204–205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

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least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

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I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except that of the Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

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[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there. 167 131 101

[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanuḳt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds 167 197 101 114 in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 167 197 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tɛnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached 131
its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large 721
war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[29] At this

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[29] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[19] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[20]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[21]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kɛtux or Stia'kɛtux. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[22] The Columbia Salish claim, farther that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

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[19] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[20] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[21] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[22] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

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..on or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

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The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛɛ), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake.

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The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

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[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

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parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and 167
occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane 131
seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of 115
the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[28] During my con- 167
versations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at 131
Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweē'tca, or Kwoiē'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers.

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[28] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[87] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[88] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others. 167 ● 131

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language. [164]

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[89] regarding

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[87] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[88] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[89] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tună'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tună'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well 159 115

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Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood 167 or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia 131 valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. 159 He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east 115 of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the ʻA′mpɐkwa, on the southern 167 parts of the upper Umpqua River.

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde orig- 131 inally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their head- 101 quarters were at Pa′sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɐtɐmɐ′ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar.

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the [72] upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam.

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai′xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. 159 He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his 115 mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement.

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place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them. 167 131 101 [721]

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls.[40a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison. 551 167 131 101

[40a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas. 114

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Salish**
Columbia
Wenatchi

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tᴇxaidek or Tᴇxai'nᴇk (chief)	Toẋei'.nᴇk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsᴇlᴇxkai'nᴇm	Tsᴇlē.xkai'nᴇm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cᴇlᴇkqai'n	Sᴇlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sᴇmkᴇn	Zu'sᴇmkᴇn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sᴇmkᴇn (rattling head).
5. Yă'xolᴇk	Ză'xᴇlᴇk or Za'xiăuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siă'nᴇmkᴇn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nᴇmkᴇn or Zanᴇmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkᴇni'tsa (the youngest)	Mẹx.kaini'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wᴇtskᴇla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwī'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekᴇtᴇmē'uẋ; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake. 167 ● 131 177

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

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[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -I'nᴇk, -qai'n, -kᴇn, and -itsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tsᴇl, sᴇl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where
the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the 167
Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to 131
the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia 177
valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and
middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding
the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon,
then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the
Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[*] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows: 648

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A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatl'ues* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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[*] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the *Kutenai-Tuna'xe* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old *Kutenai-Tuna'xe* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

166 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead
174 as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he
had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of
167 tribes in the Spokan and Paloōs countries, but he had forgotten
them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what
they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward
[487] toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—In olden times the Flathead
582 had most intercourse with Salish-*Tună'χe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sæmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tună'χe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tună'χe*. The Salish-*Tună'χe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sæmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

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The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lәχtәm) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tәm, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan snәq̓aie'tkʷ Lakes snәkā'lt Colville	nsi'lәχtәm	Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	nәiya'kutәm
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi sîske'tәmixʷ	nә'χwa'mux'tәm	Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtәm

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Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

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Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the snәq̓aie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[3] Cf., page 26.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. 252 That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day 788 that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once. 796

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. [521] Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listener: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū´ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai´wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

226 796 171

While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coastal tribes).

226 796 825

The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast.

226 796 784 825

Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish.

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

P.17(A) [7] Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony, 1

STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251 417 The arbors (kōōka'os) might be built anew or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251 415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

● 171 The account of Teit differs essentially:

251 "The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251 415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

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[19] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 234.

p. 31 (A)

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot."^ The ceremony was called cqEpö'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skŭm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SŭipEqē n after a dream."^ His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

● 171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

^ [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now. 231 [435]

No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introducti[illegible]nd played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent. 177 231 472

The horse is called sinǩ'tsaska´xa, or inkūwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikūwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon. 177 231 171

177 231 171 For the northern bands we have the following information. In the days when Andrew Tillson's father was in his prime, that is, about 1850, they got horses in the Blackfoot country by fighting. (His father died, an old man, at the time Andrew was born, eight or ten years, probably more, before the Nez Percé war of 1877.) They had no horses before his father was born. Margaret Sersepkin, a Northern Okanagon now about ninety-two, said that as long as she could remember her father had horses. This would set the date about 1840-50. (These may have been obtained from a Hudson Bay Company post, for even when she was a baby, he hunted for furs to trade with the company.) She accompanied her husband Sersepkin to the Blackfoot country with a train of thirty horses when seventeen or eighteen, i.e., about 1856. Andrew also mentioned seeing his first horse at Kettle Falls about 1874. At that time they (customarily ?) went to the Wallawalla district by canoe to get horses from Indians and whites. He also rode there at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). This may mean only that horses came into general use in the eighteen-seventies. Andrew further stated that when he was fifteen, i.e., about 1880-85, Sersepkin and Kâwī´sâlâqin began raising horses in numbers on the Okanogan River.

177 231 On the lower Okanogan, Old Harry said he first saw horses when he was about ten, not before, that is, about 1850. (He was

p.34 (A)

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
342 grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
342 space directly under the open ridge. Protec-
tion from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pil-
513 lowing the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were
raised two feet from the ground and were six
[753] feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

In summer the mat lodge was dismantled
342 and the mats rolled up and stored in trees
for use the following winter, or some of them
were carried along for use on summer shel-
ters.

● 171 The Colville were said to have had mat
342 lodges precisely like those of the Southern
Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

poles were tied together near the top, one 171 ●
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622

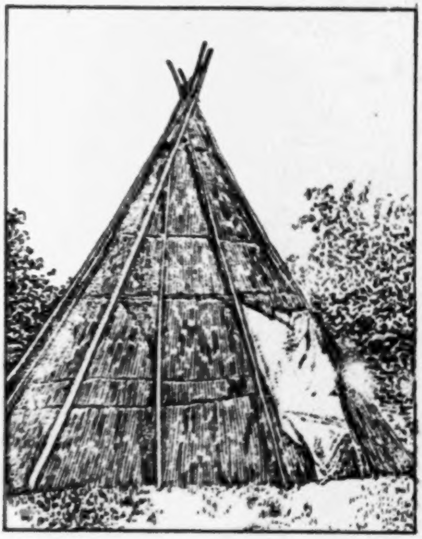

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531]
which covered the chief's lodge were decorated
on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man [791]
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our
area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular
pit about a foot deep was dug, and
three or four poles (both numbers were regularly
used) sharpened and tied together at
the top were set up inside the excavation.
Other poles of smaller diameter were then
tucked in among the foundation poles, the
butt ends of all poles resting against the

1/1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 39 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

4 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 69. 1/1

side of the pit. Two or three rows of trans- 342
verse branches were tied on, completely encircling the frame, as in the mat lodge.
Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered 342
with several rows of round-tule mats, the
tules vertical, each row overlapping the one 285
below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top row of mats was of single thickness, each row below having one more layer of mats than the row above. The mats were not always rectangular, as those of the long lodge, but curved, a condition accomplished by laying all the large ends of the tules along the same border of the mat and not alternating them with small ends. After the mats were in place, slender poles were laid against the mats and heavier poles on these to keep the mats from blowing about. An opening was left at the top for the escape of smoke, flanked by two ears supported at the top by poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method of construction of these was not obtained, except for the information that they were made of tule mats. Presumably they consisted simply of two tule mats fastened to the top of the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis with cloth covering show such ears (Figure 5). There were storage spaces at the entrance, said to be like those of the long lodge. Details are lacking beyond a description of vertical poles inside the entrance tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The door was like that of the long lodge: a mat of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with the tules horizontal so that it could be rolled up and tied. One side was raised for entering. The door faced south, for protection from the weather. Poles were laid against the mats on the outside to keep them from blowing in the wind.

In winter cedar bark was set up within 342
the margin of the pit outside the poles and covered with grass and earth, or earth was piled up a foot or more over the outside mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat affixed outside of this.

The size of the tipi varied according 342
to the number of occupants. Only one or two
families lived in a tipi: a larger number 592
would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the tipi and the number of rows and layers of mats varied accordingly. There was only one fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis were reported, although Curtis[1] says they were as often elliptical as circular among the interior Salish.

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen 171
by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried
(i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the 177
soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to 342
the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated that the first skin tipis, possibly copied from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty years ago.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 39(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 39(B)

ladders slanted. These were notched logs, or rather, provided with small holes for the feet. Beside each ladder-log were two slim poles for hand-rails. The single fire was at the center of the house. At night the hatch was closed to keep snow out and the warmth in. So warm were they that no blankets were needed. 342

Underground lodges on the Similkamean River, again, were reported to have been round. Big Joe had seen an underground lodge in Inkamip (Northern Okanagon) territory. This had a notched log ladder and a little door at the ground level for the use of old people. The Colville were also said to have had underground lodges.

An obscure description of an earth lodge near Oroville in Northern Okanagon territory was obtained from David Isaac. This resembled an earth-covered tipi with a round hole at the top and set into a circular excavation. The pit was about twelve feet in diameter and eleven feet deep. It would seem that four main poles were set obliquely at as many points of the periphery of the bottom of the pit, to meet a round frame at the center of the roof. A vertical prop supported each of these four at its midpoint. Other poles were laid on this framework to form a cone (?). The roof was covered with successive layers of bark, grass and dirt. The excavation outside of the conical roof was completely filled with dirt. A notched log protruding through the smoke hole in the roof gave access. 171 342

Andrew Tillson once saw an earth-covered lodge among the Lillooet in the Nikola Valley, but he could give only fragmentary information. It projected four or five feet above the ground, the decking consisting of poles covered with six or more layers of peeled bark, bark side in, over which earth was thrown. These poles were preferably of cedar, otherwise of fir or tamarack. They were supported by four large posts set up in deep holes at the corners of a square. A circular pit was then dug. Smaller posts, mortised into their tops, reinforced the four main posts. These apparently leaned inward. Crossbeams rested on these, mortised in and held by the weight above, so that no fastenings were necessary. Other horizontal poles were set in notches in the leaning side poles. The entrance was about ten (?) feet square, exactly at the center (openings were always at the center) and was never closed. Whatever snow fell through was easily removed. The ladder set in the hatchway was a single log, sloping and notched on its upper face. It was set about a foot into the ground and rested against the rafter poles, which were notched to receive it. It protruded above the opening about five feet for convenience in grasping. The "front" of the house apparently faced west, since women were allowed to approach only from the east because game was kept "at the back:" but this information does not explain the direction in which the ladder sloped. At its foot was the fireplace, on the bare

171 342 ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

342 The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

342 484 Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

343 [841] The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

er animal were sewn on top or front as a 292
decoration. It was stated that if an old 778
man with strong power saw such a cap worn by
a young man who lacked the privilege, he
would ask his power to kill the pretender. [754]

A child might have a head covering of a 291
single groundhog skin wrapped around the
head and tied at the back by two buckskin
strings which were permanently sewn to the
skin.

[292
778]

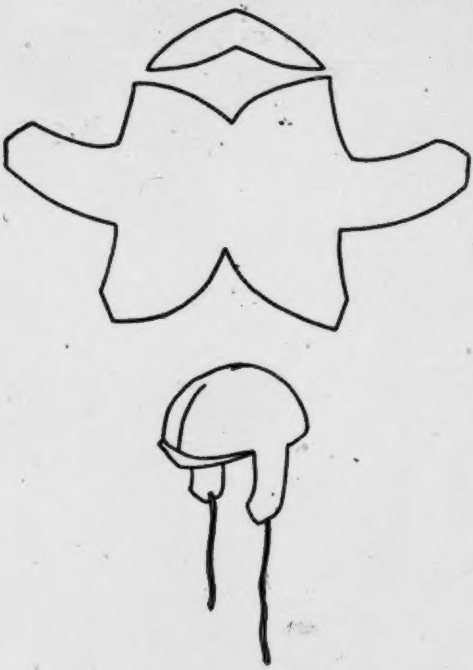

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) 301
was worn around the head by both men and women
to hold the hair in place. Most men wore
a fur band, which was sometimes decorated
with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine
quills. These bird heads were probably the
owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the [778]
owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to
this head band, he could wear it the year
around.

Feather bonnets were said to have been 171 ●
introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasĸu′sm 292
(?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim
laid their introduction to the Nez Percé

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and 292 others had them, they were not formerly used by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of 292 the typical Plains type. The head band was occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of 531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong net was used, with meshes one inch apart. The feathers, of which there were one or two dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

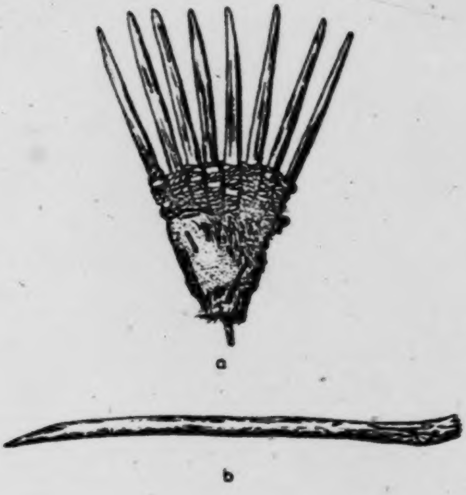

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which might reach even to the ground. The lower end of each quill was cut down to a strip, which was passed through the fabric or skin of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were often decorated with tassels of horse hair or down. No other ornaments were attached. [622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16] and by them only on special public occasions or when travelling.

293 211 554 622 Before the introduction of the Plains bonnet, feathers were worn with the following significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers flat on the head. One feather indicated a single matter of business, two feathers indicated two matters of business. Scouts wore one or two feathers upright, depending on the prestige and standing of the individual. Three feathers indicated a chief. Such standardization seems highly dubious. The [778] wearing of feathers was also connected with power, in that an individual without the proper power could not wear feathers without suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48 (A)

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 515 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tslapU'stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings 304
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. 852
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears.

302

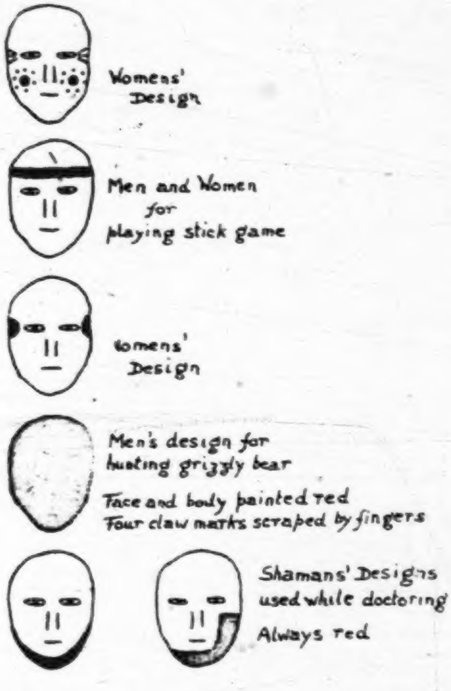
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of 171
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the needle was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

304 check. There was no sex difference. A shaman capable of drawing blood from wounds might [791] tattoo a line of dots from each corner of his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not clear whether the designs had any connection with the power animal or other significance. [681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a person because he was a murderer or thief, as Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin; this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent in- ● 171 troduction than the first. It was said to have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce 854 now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

P. 50(A)

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 181 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEke·e'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

411
713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

411
463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

● 171
501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task. [441]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

1/^[For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

22 Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 71. 1/^

501 used along the shore, especially on lakes. Paddlers usually knelt on grass in the bottom of the canoe. The steersman at the stern paddled mostly on one side, but the others paddled on both sides, shifting after every two or three strokes, according to Curtis."[1] Since the gunwale of the canoe was only a few inches above the surface the canoe often shipped water. This was emptied by tilting the canoe to one side and scooping out the water with the paddle.

• 171 501 Among the Northern Okanagon spruce bark canoes were abundant, some families owning two. (David Isaac stated that dugout canoes were unknown until after the advent of the whites.) Their maximum length was fourteen feet, the maximum load four persons, but usually three. Both ends were rounded (David said sharp) and "turned down" for strength (i.e., the bark turned down inside ?). This canoe was made of a single piece of inner bark of the spruce, with ribs of bluewood, about six inches apart, whittled flat on the side next the bark shell and sewed with cedar root. A central longitudinal bar was put on the bottom over the ribs. The gunwale was reinforced by a rim of bluewood fastened with pitch and sewed to the inside of the shell. A single piece was used for each side if long enough; otherwise lengths were fitted together. In sewing on the various pieces, an awl of bluewood, fire hardened, was used. The outside of the canoe was coated from time to time with pine pitch spread with a firebrand. A coat lasted about ten days if the canoe was used frequently. A single strip of wild cherry root, which turned yellow, was sewed around the canoe (gunwale ?) for decoration. There were no thwarts. Men knelt in the bottom, using a paddle four feet long, its blade thickened down the middle, and without a cross-grip to the handle. Paddles were neither painted nor carved. About three days were required by two men to complete a bark canoe. (David said the last of these was made sixty or seventy years ago.)

The Lakes (Senajaxtee) were said to use white fir bark for canoes.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

Salmon Spears

227 One and two-pronged spears with detachable heads, and one, two, three and four-pronged spears with non-detachable heads were used for spearing salmon. The commonest was the two-pronged type with detachable heads. Shafts were of fir, from sixteen to twenty feet long, shaped to a uniform thickness. Fir was chosen because it was not only naturally straight, but would not warp nor become heavy when wet. The forward end was beveled to receive two foreshafts about eighteen inches long, of any kind of wood such as service berry, bound to the shaft

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 56 (A), category 116.-- Analyst]

over the rim from the inside, and pierces 285
(from the outside) the stitch that has been
skipped. The elements of the foundation bun- 415
dle are cut off one by one at the rim so
that the foundation coil tapers to an end
and the edge of the basket is even.

Imbrication was the only mode of decor- 171
ation. This was done with a kind of grass
called slEkē´stIa, which was picked in the 415
Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This
was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. Ac- 285
cording to Boas[28] the home of imbrication 531
seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade
region, the Okanagon having received the
trait about the time of the coming of the
whites.

Cooking baskets were always set into 252
the ground for stone boiling. They were not
washed out but scraped with the fingers,
which were promptly licked.

Twined bags with round bottoms resem- 285
bled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29]* These
were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine 415
bark (qētsIasEnI´m), or with tule warps and
willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag
was described as follows. The bottom was
first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when

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[28] Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

*[For footnote, see p. 63 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 63 (A)

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet high. Such buckets were used for fetching
415 water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the like were used for storing berries, etc., and
251 were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

● 171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Flageolets were used principally in
534 courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of
[832] elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

804 The common word for thumb was ctǫ́'nlgst.

296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

● 171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

p. 70 (A)

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle´tkû, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqalé´t^{kû} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa´in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqalé´t^{kû} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

484 439

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar.

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

321 439

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shellr after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange.

171 ● 439 [186]

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade.

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

[764]

The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box.

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, 535
the summer drum dance (stĭa'lĕm) has
been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming 171 ●
from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen.
The Sinkaietk have never had a secular
form of dance; their only dances being 796
those in connection with power, which are
danced only during the winter period, and the 439
Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum 439
dance they collect many horses, blankets and
food. Then they send a messenger, carrying 431
tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite
another tribe to be guests. The messenger 527
always arrives at the guest camp in the evening,
presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and
women. If he covers his penis with his hand, [834]
the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accompanied 527
by drumming and dancing. The guests
settle themselves in camp, then they lead 439
their trade horses out all equipped and saddled.
The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

● 171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsIû′ûˣ) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmI′ˣû) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called Wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (Stuwī′x̣), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SûqwEtI′kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 78(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum. [1]
14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket. [1]
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Karter. [1]

Northeast Salish NE12

Northern Okanagon

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592 place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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592 Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (*circa* 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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601 Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

p. 88 (B)

601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

● [171] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

601 768 587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

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[43] Spier, Kinship Systems, 75.
[44] Spier, idem., 74.

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

> "On all state occasions, of peace or war; the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating approbation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[1]

● 171 554 556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 98(A), Category 116.-- Analyst]

171 727 David Isaac says that in a raid, some Northern Okanagon people kill captive children; others adopt them. He has heard of children being roasted to tantalize the enemy. He recounts the capture of a woman in recent times.

668 796 After the whites came a man put red flannel on his moccasins and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went up and avenged him. While there they captured a nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back. She married a Douglas Lake man."[1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

[p.100 is blank]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

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[1] Ross, Alexander, __Adventures__, 325. Teit remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson. "Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do not seem, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented" (__Thompson Indians__, 290).

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 106(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 106 (c)

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took 583
place occasionally with all the surrounding
peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez [621]
Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and
Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon 582
speaking people was not classed in the same
way. This occured very commonly. David
Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no
means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1]

[1] [For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's par- 583
ents. Returning with the girl, he carried 585
presents from her parents. Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern.

Information from the Inkamip band of 171 ●
Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a
man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts 585
to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders.

Commonly the group was notified of the 171
marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents
of either bride or groom. The girl's father 585
announced to the guests that his daughter
was married. There were no ceremonies, no 574
gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[17] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting.

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[17] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

171 Then there was a feast; according to Ross a rather formal affair.

585 574 "When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. On arranging the purchase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" (David Isaac).

171 585 There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Suszen, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and Nez Percé. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkaietk only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi.

584 585 The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maldcI'nûm and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?"

585 At the meeting the people sit in a big

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

The Dream dance complex, at least so
171 far as it incorporates elements derived in
recent decades indirectly from Christianity,
177 seems to have taken a less consistent form
than that of the indigenous cult.

169 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

769 The following account of such an experience
dates from the days of Suszen's great-
grandfather. Suszen, who related this and
539 couched it partly in the first person, is
responsible for the infusion of Christian
787 theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly
in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

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[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. --Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. [1]

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He as-
signed various parts of the construction to
159 groups of men, and appointed a policeman to
stand over them and keep order. Someone had
an argument with this overseer and killed
him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

Another dreamer of about this time was
787 sÜIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
band."[1a] A few years before the priests came
792 into the region, sÜIpEqēn dreamed that they
would arrive and that the Indians would re-
177 ceive money from the Government. At that
time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use
159 the sign of the cross, to sing religious
songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in
the resurrection of the dead, and to leave
their children unburied for three days after
death. SÜIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming
of the whites, since they had already been
seen in the district, but he told the Indi-
ans that the people who were coming to teach
them were white men, and warned them not to
let the priests baptize them, since the
priests were "only after money." That is
why the mission found it so difficult to
make converts here. He introduced a form of
prayer which was incorporated specifically
in the first fruit rites."[1a] SÜIpEqēn, like
qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at
Riverside about a year after he moved away
from Kartaro and his band never had another
chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream
dance must have occurred among the Northern
Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who,
after the whites had arrived, decorated his
792 moccasins with red flannel and went among
the tribes leading a religious revival and
seducing young girls. He was shot at Cari-
boo. His followers from Douglas Lake went
north and avenged him. They captured a girl
at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a
wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream
dance complex may not have taken form among
the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It
796 involved three main conceptions: falling
stars (see below), earthquakes, and other
strange happenings in nature portended the
destruction of the world; certain prophets,
having communicated with God in their dreams
or having gone to the land of the dead and
returned, predicted doomsday when they would
rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1a] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

The form of the hand game in modern vogue among the Southern Okanagon is practically identical with that found on the Northwest Coast, particularly among the Kwakiutl and the Klallam,*[1] except for differences in the gestures used by guessers to indicate the position of the unmarked bones. It is probable that there are also local differences in the signs used by Southern Okanagon. 525 171

A hand-game of somewhat different form is described by Alexander Ross as played on the lower Okanogan River in the early nineteenth century. In this game six players at most played on a side; only one pole for drumming was laid between the teams, and only two bones were used, each party taking one of them. Other features of the game agree with the modern form. The name given by Ross, "tsil-all-a-come," is evidently the ts!le'lEqEm of this account. At the period described by Ross, the gamblers played with arms and bodies naked, but with wrists and hands muffled "with bits of fur or wrapping," to conceal the holders' movements in shifting the bones. Similar wrappings to cover the hands were used by the Thompson Indians.*[2] 525 184

DICE GAME

The dice game (makamaka or mikamikami'n', possibly a Chinook jergon term) was played at any season, but perhaps more often in the winter because there was then more leisure. It was played by two men or two women. Occasionally a man and a woman were opponents. 525

One informant said that beaver-tooth dice of the usual coast type were used; however, straight dice of shaped bone with incised, painted markings seem to have been the common type. The dice were from four to seven inches long, flat and tapering at the ends. Counters for scoring were used, a certain number to each player. The score was taken from the combinations turned up by the dice when they were thrown on a blanket. Methods of scoring given by informants did not entirely agree; it was not determined whether this was due to the informants' faulty information or to local variations.

Two forms of the game were recorded:

1. The first form was explained by Chilowhist Jim. Ten counters (thick sticks of wood six inches in length) were used. These were placed in a pile between the two players. The four bone dice were blank on one side. On the other side (the face), two dice were marked longitudinally by three round incised dots, two by five transverse lines. (The decoration varied.) One of the dotted bones was wrapped around the middle with a thread (in early times with a sinew); this was called the "man." The other three dice were called "women." The incised faces

*[For footnotes, see p. 187(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 187(B)

525 of all were made more distinct and effective by filling them with colored paint.[5]

In beginning the game, the first player held the dice in his right fist and threw them forward on the blanket (or ground, if no blanket was used), passing his hand forward and opening the fingers so that the dice slid forward longitudinally. There were six combinations into which the dice might fall to score for the thrower:

Combination	Score	Name of Throw
All dice face up	4	hŏ'lŭ
All dice blank	4	rŭ'xĭkĭn
"Man" face up; 3 "women" blank	5	lĭka'lc
"Man" blank; 3 "women" face up	5	lĭka'lc
2 dotted dice face up; striped. blank	4	hŏ'lŭ
2 dotted dice blank; striped, face up	4	xŏĭ'tcŭ

If any one of these combinations were thrown, the player took the proper number of counters from the pile, and threw again. If he threw any other combination, he gave the dice over to his opponent. When all counters were gone from the center pile, each player took his winnings from the opponent's pile. The player gaining all the counters won the game. However, the play could be continued up to any score. For example, if a player had eight counters, his opponent two, and he threw a combination scoring five, he credited himself with the ten counting a game, placed seven counters in the center and kept three toward the second game. In a game played for high stakes, a good horse might be bet for fifty counters to be won.

525
171 This form of the dice game, in which one of the four dice is specially marked, and one pair identical, is the same as that described for the Thompson by Teit, who says that it was similarly played by the Northern Okanagon, although in these tribes it was strictly a woman's game.[6] These games, in turn, strongly resemble the women's dice game reported by Culin for the Blackfoot, where one pair of the bone dice was marked with zigzag lines, and one of the four was wound around with thread and named "the chief." Culin also reports this version for the Twana-Skokomish and Songish, and Gunther finds it so played by the Klallam as a woman's game.[7]

525 2. A woman's dice game described by a woman informant is evidently the simple beaver-tooth game of West Coast women but played with four bone dice of the shape and size described above, instead of with beaver-teeth. Michel described it as primarily a woman's game, sometimes played by men, and with the use of beaver-teeth. All dice are blank on one side. The faces of two of

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[5] Specimens in the Washington State Museum, no. 2-290 a-d.
[6] Teit, quoted by Culin, Games, 157; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 290.
[7] Culin, Games, 56, 157, 158; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 276.

531 green, and the stems were cured. These retained their green color to a considerable degree. Later in the season the dry grass was collected. The stems were all sorted, the whitest ones being separated from the yellow ones.

171/531 DESIGNS ON FLAT WALLETS.—On woven wallets of the Nez Percé type made by the Coeur d'Alêne the designs are said to have been of exactly the same kind as are to be seen on wallets of the Nez Percé

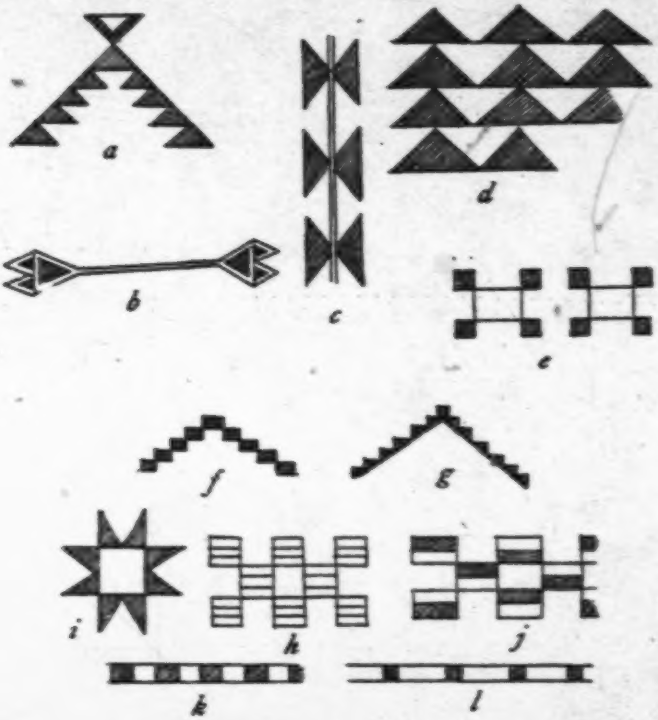

FIGURE 4.—Designs from woven wallets

(fig. 4)[88] and neighboring Salishan tribes. Some designs had names and others had none. All the designs were geometric, and each side of a wallet generally bore a different set of designs. So much alike were all the wallets of neighboring tribes, that a bag made by the Coeur d'Alêne could rarely be told from one made by the Nez Percé or some other tribe. I saw a few wallets among the Coeur d'Alêne, but obtained very few explanations of any of the designs on them.

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[88] b, fig. 6.

301 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of
321 animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and
wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other
325 animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws,
generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially
warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were
abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces
of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones.
237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by
321 some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium
shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped
thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes
dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long)
ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of
these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends,
the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the
red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or
crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were
also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo
hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the
[170] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes.
They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color
and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter
often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string
into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small,
square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear
ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the
[304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there
were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mᴇtsᴇmᴇtsē'ᴇlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.)
were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear
with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and
301 ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair.
Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair
321 or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by
women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men;
and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or
beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered
skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In
later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth
took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short
pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it. 177

II. MANUFACTURES

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171
32

Work in Stone, Bone, etc.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers[5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been

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[1] a, pp. 183-184.

[2] See Thompson, a, p. 183, fig. 123.

[3] i, figs. 23, 25, 26.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, b, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 222 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. 32 Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. ●171 A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for 531 smearing over paint. 439 It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. 386 Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

[314]

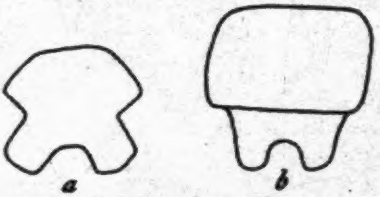

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. 412 Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the 415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. [illegible].

[10] See Thompson, a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible], c.

7: Teit
171

NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

[For data on cultures neighboring the Kalispel and Spokan, especially the Flathead and the Kutenai, see category 116, passim.]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 619 131 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwé'stsɛne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 *Population.*—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none [177] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend 162 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the • 171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmiē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'χe* were 161 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems 162 possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars +171 with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Mémoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. xi, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1850, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, B 101
Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 166
but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, 173
most of the information is first hand. 361

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptənuxʷ, located at the 361
site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This 221
was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population 221
was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing 361
during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, 177
occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150. [161]

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'luxʷ. 361
This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaxwa'iakənstək): 342 the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house. These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally; no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342 has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173 replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom, Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young, but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342 former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (xo'tsi·′) consisted of a circular pit with a flat or conical roof. [322] The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope. Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354] this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultramontana* Wats., (skukuwi'lpᵘ), which were present in abundance, and which could 261
be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise.

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indi- 173
rectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall
of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early 261
part of the nineteenth century.[3] The second was a severe earthquake which came 731
in November, 1873.[4] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows:

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called 159
> it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches
> deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the 173
> whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except 261
> in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many
> people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And 731
> the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more.
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[3] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[4] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

178 177 439 484 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

177 492 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

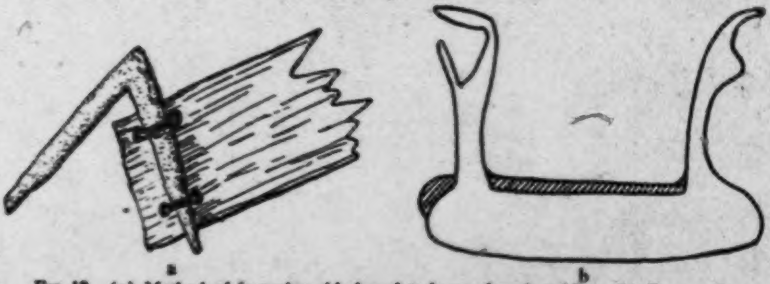

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

161

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4] ½	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

● 173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.

[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

½ [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 74 (A)

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsIû'û^{x}) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmI'^{xû}) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

● 173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (StuwI'x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SûqwEtI'kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[For content of footnote, see p. 78 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96 f.

12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.

13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum.

14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket.

15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Karter.

kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared 721
for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEm). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were 727
never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal 701
such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to 624
wounds and directed the tactics of all his
men. Such an individual is supposed to be [787]
able to dream of an approaching enemy attack
so it is always desirable to winter with him. 791
He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp 721
on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago,
a summer camp. They had a trench there to 729
defend it. In July they would be camping up
there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, 173
below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight.[20] [1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116.--Analyst.]

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
to skûnqwûnlép to camp with them. One of the
• 73 Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot,
but he turned into a wolf. His name was
Ixwaski'nt. That night when they want to
sleep, Ixwaski'nt went over to the Spokan
camp and killed all but one. He told him,
"I will leave you, so you can go back and
tell the other people." This time, none of
the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed,
because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski'nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
with war power may sing all night and tell
791 what he had dreamed and what to do to win
the fight. There may be power contests in
advance of a fight between two warriors or
between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some
feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however,
and that a man whose wife is menstruating is
not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
war dance, neither before nor after battle.
[727] The only strongly formalized pattern in connection
with war seems to be that of sending
one or two enemy warriors back to their own
people, as messengers, to carry the news of
their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk.
Equally important in their war tales is the
firm belief that in times of great danger it
is possible to assume the shape of one's power
animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best
fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems
in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women
are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

726 duce of the hunts or fishing which they are forced to miss.

712 722 Cecile Brooks, an informant who probably knows more about the Konkonelp and Kartar bands than about the others, says that in the past when at attack was made on the Sinkaietk the men got ready to fight, and the women and children retired to a pit behind a rock barricade. One was built at every village, she affirms, and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

The village where Okanogan, Washington, now stands, is said to have been fortified by piles of rocks behind which trenches were dug; that is, on the camp side. The women stayed hidden in the trenches during battle. Barricades of logs were never built. This refuge was described by Suszen as on the tableland overlooking the present town. Here were trenches for defense and food stored in underground cellars. They would flee up this hill, passing up the steep sides by ladders which were pulled up after them.

562 722 The women do not pray and sing at this time, but they think of their power. If the enemy comes close, a woman with much power may take a bow and arrows from the dead of either side and fight with the men. She shouts while fighting, but does not sing, and comes back to the pit at intervals to rest. In desperate situations even menstruating women help in battle. After the fray, a woman may keep the bow and arrows obtained on the battlefield for her own use, but this is the only way in which a woman can obtain weapons.

726 Mary Carden, now an old woman so crippled with rheumatism that there are days when she can scarcely walk, gave a vivid description of the tactics of the Tukoratum warriors. She stood erect, and with gesticulation and posture enacted each phrase of her description. "In battle some would run down along the river under the bluff and jump out at the enemy. Others would hide behind bushes at a distance with their bows and arrows. The fast runners jumped right into the fray in hand to hand combat. As they fought they would whoop and jump up and down and wave their war clubs. They sang their power songs, and made lots of noise to frighten the enemy."

● 173 726 The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor. Versions of the following episode were received from two different informants.

A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the Kc-konelp and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and

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children were killed, except one girl who had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two."[22]

In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa´kálatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

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The Nez Percé are traditional enemies of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Percé have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk."

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22 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
23 Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
24 Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

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p. 81 (A).

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There was an old woman gathering wood. She looked up and saw a man standing right there. He was a Nez Percé come to spy on the Konkonelp. He stood there and the old woman was afraid to run for fear he would kill her. So she made believe that she did not see him and went on gathering her wood.

Then she went back to the village and told the people, "I saw our enemy. I guess they have come to see what you are doing." And they told her, "Oh, we don't believe you." And they did not believe her. She said, "Yes, I saw him. He had mud all over his head and all over his clothes. He was the same color as the ground, and I could hardly see him."

She had three grandchildren, two girls and one boy. She told them, "We will get ready to leave here." It was about evening. So they left and went far off and sat down. They did not go to sleep. They just sat there.

About morning, all at once the people in the village all went to sleep. The enemy came there and killed everyone. All the women, men, boys and girls; they were asleep when they were killed. The Nez Percé took all the little children, stuck a stick through their throats and strung them up on a pole. They took some food and blankets and left."[1]

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The following tales are of battles participated in by neighboring tribes.

One time the Shuswap came down toward Osoyoos.

Two Northern Okanagon boys and their mother had gone from Oroville to Osoyoos on a ridge and camped there to keep away from the mosquitoes. One of the boys was sick and could hardly move. He was paralyzed; sick for a long time.

In the night the old lady got up to urinate and saw people lying all around watching her. She got up, raised her dress, and scratched herself as if she did not see them. She thought that if she acted afraid they would kill her, and she wanted to warn her son.

She told her boy that the Shuswap had surrounded them. So the boy got ready to fight. As soon as morning came, he jumped out of the tipi and started to shoot the Shuswap and they started to shoot at him.

The sick brother did his best and started to walk away to escape. His mother walked behind him. He tried to climb a hill, but fell back. His warrior brother turned around and started to fight again. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 81 (A), category 116. --Analyst]

622 765 Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion.

623 On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided, the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. [584]

622 The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly.

173 622 These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for woman officials were eliminated before the latter.

CIyá′qwEkEn was chief (yIlamí′xUm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmána′Us, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kUx̣kUx̣tá′skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

p. 97 (A)

Sī´nt^{kû}, a contemporary of cīyá´qwEkEn and his cousin, was a chieftainess (skû´mált) of the Tukoratum band. She was followed by klaītsiapī´tsa, a cousin. The latter was not formally appointed at sī´nt^{kû}'s death, but she had much wisdom so the people called her skû´mált and went to her for advice. She died a few years after the death of kûxkûxtá-skEt.

Txwīsta´skEt was chief of the Konkonelp band and a contemporary of cīyá´qwEkEn. He married two Konkonelp women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by his son, nōxtá-skEt, who married a Nespelem woman. Kûmkûmī-Epō´sEmEn, a younger brother, succeeded nōx-ta´skEt, and married a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, EntáktcEnī^{xû}, who also married a Nespelem woman. The latter's son, EntáktcEnī^{xû}, is Johnnie Frank who now lives at Nespelem. Johnnie Frank has been appointed chief by the Government as well as by the people.

Sqwal·īpa´ls was chieftainess of the Konkonelp band, contemporaneously with txwīsta´skEt. She was succeeded by her niece, tcûtcûwē´l·ks, who was the last chieftainess of this band.

Xwīstásûmxa´ī'kEn (Walking Grizzly) was chief of the Kartar band and a contemporary of cīyá´qwEkEn. He married two Kartar sisters and a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, xwīstásûmxa´ī'kEn, whose mother was one of the Kartar women. He married two Kartar women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by a son, sûwīpûka´īn, who married a Kartar woman, a Nespelem woman, and a Similkameen woman. He was a contemporary of Chief Moses of the Moses Columbia band, and died in 1872. Sûwīpûka´īn was succeeded by a brother's son, sōyī´mēt'kEn, who married a Konkonelp woman. Suszen Timentwa, the present chief of the Kartar band, was appointed by the Government with the people's sanction. His grandmother was a sister of sōyī´mēt'kEn's father. He is now living at Malott on an allotment.

Mary says that the entire Methow tribe was under the rule of one chief only, who usually lived at ci´lōxwist, on the Okanogan River. Sqálō'ska´sket was a contemporary of cīyá´qwEkEn. He married a Chilowhist woman, a Tukoratum woman, and a lalaē´lá·x woman. He is the only chief whom Mary knows about who depended on his spirit power in managing his people, rather than on "good common sense."

Of the Chelan tribe, kanī´mt·kû was chieftainess during the days of cīyá´qwEkEn, and was a distant cousin of the Chelan chief who was her contemporary. She was followed by an unappointed skû´mált woman. "There were government laws by this time and chiefs were not necessary."

p.97(B) Mēlá´īnEm was chief of the Sīnkaqaī'ī'ūs during the days of Cīyá'qwEkEn.^{57}*

*[For footnote, see p.97(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

year after the death, when things are given away at a large gathering and feast. 768

Cecile's account of this was as follows. About a year later a second feast was held by the dead man's people. This was a feast held so the people would pray for the dead. The man giving the feast selected a man to pass around the gifts (baskets, dishes, tools, etc.) after they all cried. They cried for the particular dead person for whom the rite was held, but they also thought about their own dead. After this the chief rose and spoke to those about to receive gifts: "No matter if these things are not good, when you take them don't throw them away, because the dead want you to pray for them." This is apparently the paying ceremony described by Teit. 765

If this pattern did exist among the Sinkaietk in the old days it was about the only formal recognition of deceased members of the community by the survivors, except the occasional immediate reuse of a name, or inheritance of a power. Even persons who had played unusually important roles during their lives would probably be remembered only by the immediate descendants of their contemporaries, for there was no pattern for the careful retelling of historical tales, or even such purely mechanical formalizations of history as genealogies. 173 765

p.129 (B)

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4: Teit
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Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

For oral historical traditions relating to the Columbia and Wenatchi, see entire source.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit 122
them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and
information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed
to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored
shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this
subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I
obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from
Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on [115]
the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not
visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to
make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the
like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered
a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained
from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation.

TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Co- 101
lumbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third
tribe, the .nkutᴇme′xʷ or Nekᴇtᴇmē′ux̣ of The Dalles country. However, the
affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1]

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the
tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their
homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last
century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People,
names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were consid-
ered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais,
Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred 173
there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point 101
was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a sha-
man) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside,
attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticu-
lations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known
as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island
People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their
country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites
were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia
Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were some-
times called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

differentiated. The name Wenatchi is, with little doubt, of Yakima origin, probably from Wina't.ca (river issuing from a conyon), referring to Wenatchee River;[3] or from Klickitat awena'tchᴇla (coming out or source), said to be with reference to the position of the tribe above or beyond the Yakima and at the sources of the streams;[4] but the term may have some connection with Wenatchee River. Pisquows (and variations) was also a common name for the Wenatchi, and is derived from their own name.

The Middle Columbia Salish (or at least the Moses-Columbia) call themselves .tskowă'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx, which word seems to have some connection with "main valley," probably with reference to the Columbia valley. My notes do not make it clear whether the term embraces all the Columbia people or simply the Moses-Columbia, most of whom originally lived on the river, near Priest's Rapids. It appears that the Wenatchi and people on the west side of the river are not included in the term. The Columbia also use the name .nkeĕus or .s.nkeiĕus for themselves in a general sense, and the Moses-Columbia recognize it as applied to them by all the other Salish tribes. They say, however, that the term is properly and originally the name of a band or division of their people who once inhabited the Umatilla valley. A few of the Moses-Columbia include the Wenatchi under the names Columbia and .nkeĕ'us, because they speak the same language and are supposed to be of the same origin; but most Columbia, as well as all other Salish, class the Wenatchi as a distinct tribe. The Wenatchi call themselves .s.npeskwa'uẓuẓ, and are so called by the Moses-Columbia. The name appears to be used in a general sense for all the people speaking the language of the Middle Columbia Salish west of Columbia River. It also seems to be in a special sense the name for the people of Wenatchee River and district, who were the leading division of the tribe.

NAMES GIVEN BY NEIGHBORING TRIBES

The Columbia and Wenatchi are called by the following names by the neighboring Indian tribes:

By Salish Tribes	Columbia	Wenatchi
Thompson	s.nkaiă'us, Nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkeiĕ'usᴇmux	.s.npᴇskwă'ustᴇmux
Okanagon	.s.nkeiĕ'us, .s.nqai.ă'us	.npiskwă'u.six
Sanpoil	.s.nkaă'usᴇmᴇx	.s.npᴇskwă'uzᴇx
Colville, Lake	.s.nqeĕ'us	
Spokane, Kalispel	.s.nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkaiĕ'use	.s.npᴇskwĕ'us
Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead	.s.nkaiă'use	.s.npᴇskwă'use
Cœur d'Alêne	.s.nkeie'usᴇms	.npᴇsqwe'us

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[3] See *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 932.
[4] See p. 91, note 7.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutEme'xᵘ, NekEtEme'ux) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Xa'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Xă'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skoppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 2[illegible]), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarreling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 197
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173 ●
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[28]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[29] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1842. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[28] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[29] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish 439
people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, 487
where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country.

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the
Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded 439
with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a 487
tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by 173 ●
Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

221 803 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 Game and Hunting.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and [223] snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

173 224 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lᴇxᵘ*,[d] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i'ʼt* was applied to them. 123 224

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcᴇnalxw*[e] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[183] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411 set in rocky places and fastened to stout logs, as a considerable volume of water flowed through them. Men walked into them and clubbed the salmon. It seems they were used only on Spokane River. Weirs were commonly employed in conjunction with traps, and there were also simple weirs for stopping fish, thus facilitating spearing. 226

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ätse'tcᴇn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[183] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

Nets.—Long nets were set in lakes, and ordinary bag nets were used for catching whitefish (*Coregonus*) and other fish from rocks and platforms on the banks of streams. Very large bag nets with long handles were used for catching a "sucker" which appears on the surface of lakes in calm, warm weather. The nets were dropped through the masses of fish from canoes. They were also scooped up with small bag nets into the canoes.[183] Bag nets were also set as traps, as among the Shuswap,[184] and the fish were driven into them. 173 / 226 Bag nets were not used by the Coeur d'Alêne for fishing salmon, nor were they used in salmon fishing by the Spokan; but it is said that the Nez Percé used bag nets a great deal in capturing salmon in the rivers. It seems that all salmon were trapped, speared, or gaffed by the Coeur d'Alêne and also by most of the Spokan. It is said that the latter, in a few places on tributaries of the Spokane River, used large-mesh nets spread across the stream. These may, however, have been intended in large measure as weirs for stopping the fish rather than for catching them. The Coeur d'Alêne had no salmon in their own country, but salmon came close to the borders of their territory along Spokane River. Some Coeur d'Alêne bought what dried salmon they required from the Spokan; but large numbers of the tribe went to Spokane Falls and other parts of Spokane River where they fished salmon for themselves with the Spokan tribe. As the two tribes were usually friendly, this opportunity was generally available. It is said that no salmon could pass the falls, and therefore there were no salmon in the Coeur d'Alêne country. A long time ago (before the introduction of the horse, according to some also later) some of the Coeur d'Alêne were in the habit of trapping salmon in the mountains to the southeast, on streams which were northern feeders of the Clearwater. This was near the confines of the Nez Percé country. Long ago they also fished salmon at several points on the main Clearwater.[185] Although the Nez Percé claimed these places to be within their territory, they never themselves went there to fish. Long ago, some Coeur d'Alêne also fished salmon on the Graywater, and beyond Smeda, up to the mountains as far as the salmon went. No landlocked salmon frequented any water in the Coeur d'Alêne country; but trout of several kinds, whitefish, and several other kinds of fish were abundant. It seems that sturgeon also occurred.

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[183] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 526.

[184] *e*, fig. 242.

[185] My informant said "the main Snake River," but seemed to mean Clearwater River

the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[189] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[190] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwaxt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

Dogs.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

Horses.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[189] Thompson, *a*, fig. 242; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 91.

[190] *a*, fig. 241.

[191] *a*, fig. 243.

[192] *a*, fig. 227.

411/721 two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.[207] Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.[208] Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.[209]

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.[210]

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.[211]

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.[212] Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whalebone were obtained in trade.

173/411/721 It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

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[207] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

[208] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 299.

[209] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

[210] See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

[211] *a*, fig. 81.

[212] *a*, fig. 251.

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the [302] hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as 292 well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power ~~777~~ to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or 776 scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars 173/728 with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeúr d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. [777] Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. [166] Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes, 173 728 and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief [216] went to a salmon-fishing [166] place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. [152] He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

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was the last war with the Spokan. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

Wars with the Kalispel.—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alêne was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.[217]—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alêne territory. The Coeur d'Alêne never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutɛna'lqʷ* entered the Coeur d'Alêne country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alêne were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alêne. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not

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[217] The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

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173/728 kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the [115] great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[218] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead [551] returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutxna'lq*[*], who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na* and *Citᴇmu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alêne at Coeur d'Alêne City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alêne, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alêne City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I can not make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alêne encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutᴇna'lqʷ* looked up when he heard the twang of the bowstring, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alêne fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcine'na* was killed. Chief *Citᴇmu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alêne divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made a great speech, and said that the peace pipe must be filled and smoked. One Flathead said, "No. How can we smoke the peace pipe? The Coeur d'Alêne broke it. There is no peace pipe. How can it be smoked?" The Coeur d'Alêne said they were willing to smoke, as they could make an honorable peace now, for Flathead blood had been spilled as well as Coeur d'Alêne blood. Any peace arranged before would have been one-sided and dishonorable. Many speeches were made, and the conference lasted a number of days. At last everything was arranged amicably, and the pipe was smoked by all the chiefs of these tribes. They agreed that there should be an everlasting peace between them; that none would fight the others and that all would be friends and allies. This pledge has never since been broken.

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[218] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[*] A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

Wars with the Kutenai.—Coeur d'Alêne parties sometimes went to the Lower Kutenai country and attacked the people there, but the Kutenai never retaliated by invading the Coeur d'Alêne country. Probably the last fight between them happened as follows: At the time when guns were first introduced among the Coeur d'Alêne, two brothers had a gun between them. One day they quarreled about the gun, each wanting to hunt with it. At last one brother said to the other, "Well, you may have the gun as your sole property. I will go and get a gun in war." At that time the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead had a great many guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne had hardly any. The brother arrayed himself for war, and, taking a canoe, went down the river to the lake, where he saw a number of people ashore. He hailed them and told them he was going to fight the Kutenai. Many men said they would join him. At last the party numbered about 100 men, and they held a war dance. They crossed the lake and portaged their canoes on their heads, taking turns carrying them. Afterwards they cached their canoes and went on foot until they reached Pend d'Oreille Lake. Here they made new canoes and crossed the lake. There were many loons on the lake, and they made a great noise when they saw the canoes. Someone said, "Stop those birds from crying!" One man who was a shaman tried and failed. Then another tried and succeeded. When they arrived at the head of the lake they cached their canoes and proceeded on foot. At last they reached a place on the Kootenay River where there was a large camp of Lower Kutenai. The party counseled as to whether they should attack the camp by daylight or wait until early morning. They decided to wait. At daybreak they rushed the camp and surprised the Kutenai, who were unable to put up a fight and fled. Some jumped into the river and swam away; others hid in the water, holding on to bushes, which concealed them; and some reached their canoes and crossed the river. Many Kutenai were killed; and the Coeur d'Alêne captured all the valuables in camp,

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including several guns. In the camp was a buffalo-skin tent, which was thought to be empty, as no one had attempted to escape from it. It was occupied, however, by a sick man who had a gun. A Coeur d'Alêne went to look in, and the Kutenai shot him in the thigh, wounding him badly. The brother who had started the war party then killed the sick man and took possession of his gun.

Wars with the Nez Percé.—The Coeur d'Alêne probably had more wars with the Nez Percé than with any of the Salish tribes, and each invaded the other's territory. These wars, however, were not frequent. Once during a war with the Nez Percé a band of Coeur d'Alêne was camped on Hangmans Creek, at a place about 3 miles west of De Smet, gathering camas. Some Nez Percé had been killed some time before in a fight, and the Nez Percé had declared that they would exterminate the Coeur d'Alêne. As it was war time, the band at Hangmans Creek had partially fortified their camp and were constantly on the alert. A large war party of Nez Percé went there and surrounded them. They assaulted the camp, but were repulsed. The parties fought for two days, many Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne being killed. The headman of the Coeur d'Alêne said to his friends, "The Nez Percé far outnumber us. We can not hold out against their numbers, and probably to-morrow the last of us will be killed. To save ourselves I will try a ruse." He was a strong, athletic man. At midnight he left the camp and ran in the dark swiftly from place to place in front of the Nez Percé lines, giving the war cry "Wa-a-a!" in a loud voice. At the same time the people in the Coeur d'Alêne camp began to shout and to make a great noise. They also called out challenges and insults to the Nez Percé. The chief standing in front of the Nez Percé, but unseen because of the darkness, spoke loudly to them in their own language, saying, "Nez Percé, we do not want to be always bad friends. We will give you a chance to go home; and if you don't go, then at daybreak we shall slaughter you. All the Coeur d'Alêne warriors from St. Joseph's, Coeur d'Alêne City, and other places are now here, and we shall give you battle at daybreak." The Nez Percé held a consultation. They believed that the man had spoken the truth, for there appeared to be great joy and shouting in the Coeur d'Alêne camp. They left that night, and the Coeur d'Alêne escaped.

Wars with the Blackfoot and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.—The Plains tribes had no fixed boundaries. They had their homes in certain places; but they traveled hundreds of miles, looking for buffalo, and changing their headquarters from time to time. The Coeur d'Alêne never visited the real homes of any of these tribes, as they were far to the east; but they often met them when they were buffalo hunting in the intermediate country, and they knew the general direction of what was considered to be

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the country of each tribe. The Flathead knew much more than the Coeur d'Alène regarding the countries from which these tribes came. As all these eastern tribes were encroaching on the western tribes and on one another, there was almost constant warfare between them and the western Indians, as well as among themselves. On the other hand, the western Indians were allies, and did not fight among themselves. The western part of the plains, stretching from the Flathead main camps to the Yellowstone and easterly for a very long distance, was at one time practically an intertribal hunting and battle ground. No one lived there permanently; but all the tribes hunted and fought in it, and tried to claim hunting rights by force of arms. Nearly all parties who traveled or hunted in this region were perforce large, for small parties were liable to be cut off and exterminated at any time. Long ago most of this western strip of the plains country belonged to Flathead and Shoshoni tribes, who hunted there, usually in small parties. The Blackfoot and Crow invaded the country in large numbers, and for a time drove out the Flathead and Shoshoni. Many of the bands of these tribes who formerly lived east of the mountains were practically wiped out, and others retreated to the west and south. The Shoshoni especially were severely handled, and for many years no Shoshoni were seen on the northwestern plains north of the Yellowstone. The Flathead were also much reduced in numbers during these wars, which had lasted many years. Therefore they made peace with all the western tribes, and invited them to join them as partners in buffalo hunting in their former territory. After this the Coeur d'Alène and other western Salish tribes began to go in ever-increasing numbers to join the Flathead in hunting and war. Many Kutenai and Nez Percé also went annually. All these tribes made their rendezvous in the Flathead country, and moved from there eastward, northward, and southward for buffalo hunting in three or more large parties, keeping more or less in touch with one another during their travels. Being equal in numbers, and superior in horses and weapons to most parties of the Plains Indians, they had little difficulty in holding their own. These conditions continued until the buffalo became nearly extinct. The Coeur d'Alène generally went with the Spokan, and both often with the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Sometimes part of them went with the Flathead, and at other times with the Nez Percé. Most fighting occurred with the Blackfoot, who were considered the worst enemies of the Salish tribes, but also with the Crow, and in later days with the Sioux. The Snake, Bannock, and Ute were almost always friendly with the Salish tribes, and were aligned with them against the eastern tribes. Only one short war between the Salish and Shoshoni is remembered. This was with a tribe of Snake inhabiting the Yellowstone country. The final fight in this war was between them and a large force of combined Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, who, after a fierce battle, captured nearly all the horses, baggage, and buffalo meat of the Shoshoni. So much of the buffalo meat was taken that it could not be transported, and most of it was left there. The Snake who escaped were nearly all on foot. After this some other Snake acted as intermediaries, and peace was made. No Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes, or Shoshoni, ever came to the Coeur d'Alêne country. The Blackfoot and Crow knew little about taking horses and transports through mountains. They were used to traveling with travois in a flat country. When their war parties went into the Rocky Mountains in search of Snake or Flathead, they were always afoot, and as a rule met with little success. Once, long ago, a large party of Blackfoot invaded the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead countries. A battle was fought which lasted two days, and the Blackfoot were driven off. A number of men were killed on both sides. About this time or a little later a party of Blackfoot and another Plains tribe, possibly the Gros Ventres, attacked the Pend d'Oreilles and were driven off with considerable loss. Either this fight or another one occurred at *sniyelemen* (now Mission in the Pend d'Oreilles country). At a still later date a large war party of Crow attacked and defeated the Shoshoni, and, following this up, attacked the Flathead, who, however, routed them and drove them south. Once, at a time when the Salish tribes had many horses but very few guns, and the Blackfoot a good many guns but not many horses, a large party of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, with a few Sanpoil and Columbia, were traveling in a flat country along a large river, possibly the Yellowstone, on their way to hunt buffalo. At the same time a war party of 32 Blackfoot were returning from an unsuccessful raid against the Crow or Shoshoni. They camped on a hill not far from the river, and were tired, for all were on foot. That night one of the party dreamed, and woke up the others before daybreak. He told them, "You must not go down to the river. I dreamed that down there the ground was red with blood, and it was your blood. I saw the sunrise that will come in a short time, and it was very red. In its glow I saw many people, and then I saw your blood on the river." They laughed at him, and all of them went down to the river except the man who had dreamed and his brother. They went farther up the hill, and sat down to watch. It was just daybreak when the 30 left and went to the river at a place where a creek came in. There was a flat near the stream strewn with bowlders and bearing a little timber. The plateau ended in a bluff above this place, and the Flathead and others were in the habit of driving buffalo over this bluff whenever they had the opportunity. The Blackfoot party had just reached the river when the two men on the hill saw many people approaching on horseback. This was the Salish party, and they soon noticed the Blackfoot in the hole and surrounded them. The Blackfoot threw up a breastwork of rocks and trees, and a battle ensued. The Salish shot bullets and arrows at the Blackfoot until there was no further response. Then they rushed to the breastwork, and found that the Blackfoot were all *hors de combat*. They drew out all the bodies one after the other, and examined their wounds. One very large man was shot only on the tip of the shoulder, and still he appeared to be dead. They watched him; and when he showed signs of reviving, they killed him with a knife. Some wounded men had crawled under the rocks and into underground passages which had been made there at a former time, probably for concealment. These places were searched and the bodies pulled out. One wounded man almost escaped. A Flathead searcher pursued him, and killed him after a hand-to-hand struggle. They counted 30 bodies. After scalping them and taking all their best clothes and weapons, they left the bodies lying where they were. Among the weapons was a number of guns (perhaps 10 or more), which were considered a great prize at that time. The bones of these Blackfoot remained at this spot for several years afterwards, scattered among the rocks by wolves, and mixed with old buffalo bones. The two Blackfoot brothers who had been watching made good their escape during the fight, unobserved by the Salish, and reached their own country.

Wars with the whites.—The Coeur d'Alêne were on the whole always friendly to the whites. They never made any aggressions against the fur traders and first white settlers. During the Cayuse wars (1845–1850) and the Yakima wars (1855–56) they were neutral. Owing to some dissatisfaction over the treaty made with Governor Stevens, which they claimed the whites had not kept, and probably for some other causes, the Coeur d'Alêne joined the Spokan in the war of the latter (1858). In this war it seems they never attacked any of the traders and settlers, but only the soldiers who invaded their country. In May, 1858, a large force of Coeur d'Alêne, led by their head chief, Saltis, participated with the Spokan and a few Colville and other Salish, in the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's command of 200 dragoons and 30 Nez Percé scouts near Steptoe Butte. It seems that there were no Yakima and Paloos in this battle, as claimed by some authorities. The Indians pursued the remnants of the column to the Snake River. In September of the same year the Coeur d'Alêne were also engaged in two attacks on Colonel Wright's force of about 1,000 men; and they took part in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains, in which the Indians were defeated. In the latter engagement they fought all day, and a few days afterwards again engaged Colonel Wright on his way to Coeur d'Alêne Mission. When the soldiers reached there the Coeur d'Alêne submitted and

their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve.

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Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hinwa'xᴇne* (full name *Hinwaxᴇniw'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Cilĭltcsq'wa'ĭlixʷ* [f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxᴇne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxᴇne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret,*[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Cilĭltcsq'wa'ĭlixʷ*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxᴇne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Cilĭltcsq'wa'ĭlixʷ*" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxᴇne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxᴇne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Cilĭltcsq'wa'ĭlixʷ* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxᴇne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Cilĭltcsq'wa'ĭlixʷ* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

173/628 turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *Cītltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxᴇne'* and lived with him. As all the males of *Cītltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxᴇne'* and his helpers.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 Dice and Guessing Games.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.[219] The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.[220] Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks[221] was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

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[219] a, p. 272, and fig. 256.

[220] See Thompson, a, p. 276, and fig. 264.

[221] a, pp. 272, 273.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcīlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 177
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-
carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not 201

173 177 201 remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took [191] much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

SIGNS

201 1. *Bear.*—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

202/484 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

567 SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short. [302]

173/567 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173 They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They 567 reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177 After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567 value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not easily be kept captive.

PERSONAL NAMES.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551 among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams. These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776] guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551 were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551 not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwaxanc'*

592 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 584 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[287]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The [837] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 173 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cɛlcɛltcō'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[287] a, pp. 326-327.

places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent. 224

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting. [231]

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting. 221

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century: 173 ●

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox̣* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox̣* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place 224

where they were going to drive, the hunting chief took off his cap, made of the skin of a ewe's head, and, waving it toward the cliffs where the sheep were, prayed to them as follows: "Please, sheep, go your usual way, and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" He then sent many men around to sit at the heads of two gulches on top of the mountain and shoot the sheep with arrows as they came up. The men picked were the best shots, and included most of the strangers. He then directed the drivers, a great many men and all the women, mostly Similkameen people, how to proceed and where to go. Most of them, in driving and following the sheep, had to pass a place where they had to jump over a cliff about 3 or 4 meters in height, alighting on a bank of snow. All the men jumped, but some of the women were afraid, turned back and went around by a longer route. The drivers saw and started great numbers of sheep, but they failed to get them to take the top of the mountain. Instead the sheep congregated on a steep, inaccessible cliff below the top, out of range from above or below, and stayed there. The people shouted at them lustily, but they remained there, knowing that it was a secure place. The great drive came to a standstill, and the hunting chief could see no way to get the sheep out.

Among the drivers was an Upper Thompson woman, the grandmother of the narrator of the story, who was married to a Similkameen man. She lived in Similkameen and was known to be resourceful and to have shamanistic powers. The mountain sheep was one of her guardian spirits, and on this occasion she was wearing a cap made of the headskin of an old ewe with horns attached, similar to that worn by the hunting chief. The leading Similkameen people held a consultation. They said, "All our friends will laugh at us if we can not get sheep for them." The Thompson woman said, "Yes; they certainly will." The chief then said to her, "Well, you may know something. I will give the leadership of this hunt to you; you shall be hunting chief." She answered, "Very well, but one thing you must promise." Then, pointing to the dog close to her side (a rather small and vicious-looking animal, that all the people hated), she said, "You must promise never again to abuse my dog. I will drive the sheep alone with my dog, and you may sit down and watch me." She approached the sheep, pointing first at them, then at the four points of the compass, but no one could hear what she said. Presently she gave a sharp call, and the sheep ran into a bunch, which she now pointed out to the dog. She said to it, "Friend, go and drive your friends so that they will all go up where the people want them." The dog rushed off and drove the sheep fiercely. When any of them scattered, he rounded them up again.

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. 173 ●
The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog 224
drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily 251
buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to 224
the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When 482
the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it
could often be kept frozen. [231]

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts 224
of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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[7] a, p. 245 fig. 227

224 toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson[8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

222 The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

●173 The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among 224 the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

226 FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed[11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and

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[8] 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. [9] 4, p. [illegible]. [10] See 4, pp. [illegible]. [11] See 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. [12] 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

Carrying.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads. 482 231

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by ~~the~~ Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common [illegible] used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant. 481

Horses.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the 231 492 [173]

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[2] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

[3] a, p. 257, fig. 241.

[4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

● 173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid
231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was
very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long
492 sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the
horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking
sticks) as they went along.

492 **Horse Equipment.**—The Indians soon learned to make saddles
and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from
the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the
plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from
place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and
packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were
178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great
impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even
492 intermarriage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and
transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long
distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 **Trading and Trade Routes.**—Before the arrival of the horse,
484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in
part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive
waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported
on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable
articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after
horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them.
It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering
through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the
other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading
trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to
distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips
developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest
487 trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was
in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville.
Both were important trading points before as well as after the
introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via
Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was
easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head
of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry
their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap
Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central
point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona,
and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems
to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went
overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen
River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again. 726

Wars with the whites.—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokan and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Tcelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

FEUDS.—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon: 578

Chief Nicolas,[10] who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,[11] who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *Kᴇsaskai'-* 578 173

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[10] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 287 (4.9).

[11] According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*.

578 173 *lᴇx* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same, way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] 526 Cat's cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 256.

[2] a, pp. 272, 273.

[3] a, p. 274.

[4] a, pp. 274, 275.

[5] a, pp. 277, 278.

[6] See p. 123.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers. 622

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained. 554 622

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance. 623 203

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line. 622

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pᴇlkamū'lōx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation. 173● 622

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* (*Pilᴇkᴇmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sᴇnxomi'nux* or *sᴇnxomī'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

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2.1. *Pxlkamū'lāx*, a chief in the same tribe. He was born presumably between 1705 and 1710. For some reason he left his own tribe and lived chiefly among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and Shuswap. He had other children besides the four sons here mentioned. Since they were not prominent their names have been forgotten. He died at an advanced age at *Sāli'lxʷ* "heaped-up stone house," an ancient Okanagon stronghold near the junction of the Similkameen and Okanagon Rivers. It is said that when he was young he went several times on buffalo hunting expeditions to the plains. During his lifetime there was a period of severe warfare in the Okanagon region. The Indians believe that at this time the *Stuwi'x* were driven out of the lower Similkameen region. He married first a Spokan woman (2.1 *a*); second, a Shuswap woman at Kamloops (2.1 *b*); third, a Sanpoil woman (2.1 *c*); fourth, an Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief at *Sālilxʷ* (2.1 *d*).

3.1. A son of 2.1 and 2.1*a*, whose name is not remembered, married a Spokan woman. The order of the four children of 3.1 is uncertain. According to some the daughter was the eldest; according to others, the youngest child. The three sons all married and left descendants among the Spokan. He became chief of the *Sxnxomĕ'ntc* and was the ancestor of several Lower and Upper Spokan, including *Nhwisłpo'* (Walking-Outside) and his brother *Koti'lxko'* (Big-Star) or *Nkeaskwĕi'loq*, commonly known as Oliver Lot, late chief of the Lower Spokan on the Spokane Reservation.

3.2. *Kwoli'la*, chief of the Kamloops Band of the Shuswap; married a Kamloops woman (3.2 *a*). He was known also as *Tŏkĕ'n* (possibly a corruption of Duncan as he was called by the traders). He had more children than those mentioned here. His half-niece (4.8) was adopted by him. (See under 3.4.)

It is said that the Kamloops chief preceding *Kwoli'la* was *Talxxa'n* who was killed on a war expedition in which the Sekanai were driven out of the upper North Thompson and Yellowhead districts. He was also engaged in wars with the Cree and is said to have been wounded in a fight with them.[3] The Kamloops chieftaincy did not descend in *Kwoli'la's* family. His successor was *Kwi'mtxxxn* (a name also used by the Thompson), who was not related to *Kwoli'la*. His successor was Jean Baptiste Lolo, commonly known as St. Paul. About 1864 he was succeeded by Louis *Xlexxle'xkxn*, not a relative of St. Paul, who held the chieftaincy until his death in 1915 at the age of 87 years. The present chief is a young man, Elie La Rue, chosen by Chief Louis before his death, and confirmed by election by the tribe. Some informants say that *Kwoli'la* was succeeded by *Txlākā'n* or *Slākān* (male grizzly bear), whence the Indian surname Logan.

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[3] 4, pp. [illegible]; and Franz Boas, Report on Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Asso. Adv. of Science, 1890, pp. 86, 87 (reprint).

Baptiste Logan, a chief at the head of Okanagon Lake, lately deposed by the agent, is a grandson of this man. The same informant claims that a chief named *Patsa* preceded Louis as chief.

3.3. *Sixwī'lxᴇkᴇn*, chief of the Sanpoil. He married a Sanpoil woman. He had more children than those mentioned here. It is said that most of the later Sanpoil and Nespelim chiefs are his descendants.

3.4. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx*, head chief of the Okanagon. He married first, an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks* (3.4*a*), at the head of Okanagon Lake; and second, a *Stuwī'x* woman from Similkameen, perhaps partly of Thompson descent. The order of birth of his children is uncertain.

Pᴇlkamū'lōx became a noted chief and was known far and wide. During his early life he was much engaged in war. These wars commenced in his father's time or before and continued for many years—many Okanagon as well as people of other tribes being killed. *Salī'lxʷ* where he made his headquarters was considered the chief seat of the Okanagon tribe (or at least of the northern division). The old name of the place is said to have been *Okanā'qen*. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* built a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally known as *Salī'lxʷ*, "heaped-up (stone) house," with reference to the fortifications of stone. It is said there was also a cave near there, the approach to which was defended with breastworks of stones. In case of necessity the people took refuge in it, and from there no party could approach, except under cover of night, without being observed. This place is said to have been impregnable and war parties of Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, and others who assaulted it were easily beaten off. *Kwolī'la* (3.2), the Kamloops chief, had heard of the many attacks by enemy war parties on *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* and determined to go and see him. His people tried to dissuade him, telling him it was very dangerous for any one to visit him, for his people had been attacked so often that they trusted no one and attacked all strangers on sight who approached their place. Seeing that *Kwolī'la* was determined to go, the Shuswap and the people of *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, who at that time were a mixture of Shuswap and Okanagon, offered to accompany him in an armed body, but he refused their offer, saying he would go alone. As he was leaving, his people told him, "*Pᴇlkamū'lōx's* people will kill you before they know who you are, and even if they know, they may kill you." *Kwolī'la* answered, "I am *Pᴇlkamū'lōx's* brother, and will go and see him alone." Arriving on the open ground before *Pᴇlkamū'lōx's* house, the people ran out to meet him in battle array. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* recognized him and was glad to see him. He took him to his house and kept him as his guest for a long time. *Kwolī'la* advised *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* to forsake *Salī'lxʷ* and go

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north with him. He told him, "*Salī'lxʷ* is a bad place to live in. You will always have trouble as long as you stay there." *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* was persuaded. It was early summer, and he and his people traveled north with the *Kwolī'la* to *Komkᴇna'tko*, "headwaters," now called Fish Lake, in the Nicola country. This place was at that time in Shuswap territory, for the Shuswap claimed the country south of Kamloops around the head of the Nicola River. Stump Lake, Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, and Chaperon Lake were all in Shuswap country. This country at that time was full of elk and deer, and there were also many sheep, bear, and other game. Prairie chicken, grouse of all kinds, and water fowl were plentiful, and the lakes teemed with fish. Here at Fish Lake *Kwolī'la* made a lasting agreement with *Pᴇlkamū'lôx*, giving him the perpetual use over all the Shuswap territory of the upper Nicola Valley, south, east, and west of Chaperon Lake, comprising Douglas Lake and Fish Lake. The *Stuwī'x̣ᴇmuxʷ* and *Ntlakyā'pāmux* held the country west and south around Nicola Lake and Minnie Lake to the Similkameen. *Kwolī'la* said, "You will have the country for yourself and your people as your own. I will live as your neighbor at *Tox̣ox̣oi'tcᴇn* (Chaperon Lake) and will retain all the country from there north. You will make Fish Lake your headquarters in the summer and I will summer at Chaperon Lake so that we may be close neighbors part of each year. You will give me your daughter, *Kokoimālks* (4.8), to be my foster child and she will always live with me, but your son (4.9) you will keep with yourself." *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* had only two children at this time, both of them very young. After this *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* and most of his people spent their summers in their new country with headquarters around Fish Lake and Douglas Lake, and in the wintertime lived at *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*. Henceforth *Salī'lxʷ* was deserted of permanent inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon. Those people who did not go with *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* moved north to different parts of the Okanagon Lake country and especially to the head of the lake around *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*. The latter place became an important Okanagon center. Not many years after this, owing to its fine grazing, many of the people of the old *Salī'lxʷ* band, and others of the *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks* band, who were now much mixed with them, began to winter around Douglas Lake and Fish Lake, forming as it were a new band. However, even up to the present day they look upon themselves as merely an offshoot of the *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks* and Okanagon people and as really one with them. Each year when *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* left for his winter quarters at *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, *Kwolī'la* at the same time left to winter at Kamloops. Being head chief of the Okanagon, *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighboring tribes, visiting the *Stuwī'x̣*, Upper Thompson,

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Shuswap of Kamloops, and it is said, the Wenatchi, Columbia, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel. He went a number of times buffalo hunting to the plains, by way of the Flathead country, and was therefore well acquainted with chiefs and people of all the tribes to the south and east as far as the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, Yakima, Kutenai, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot. On his last trip to the plains his party met near Helena, Mont., the first white men they had seen (viz, Legace and MacDonald, explorers and trappers of the Northwest Co.). On the return trip these men accompanied the party as far west as the Columbia River, where they wintered with the Colville chief. After this *Pɛlkamū'lōx* traveled around in his own country and within the borders of the neighboring tribes, telling of the wonderful men he had seen on his recent trip. *Kwolī'la* invited him to Kamloops to tell of the event. He accompanied the Shuswap to their salmon-fishing and trading rendezvous at Pavilion and Fountain, on Fraser River. Here he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in an altercation with a Lillooet chief. When dying he charged *Kwolī'la* with the guardianship of his son, *Hwistesmexe'qɛn* (4.9), and asked him to see that he avenged his death. (For full particulars of this part of the history of *Pɛlkamū'lōx*, see Dawson, "The Shuswap People," pp. 26, 27; and Wade, "The Thompson Country," pp. 13-15.)

4.1. Ali', married Donald McLean (4.1*a*), in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. post at Kamloops; born 1801, killed in the Chilcotin war 1864. (See Father A. G. Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, pp. 264-270, 279, 307-313.) He had a second wife who was half Shuswap. With her he had three sons, Alan, Charles, and Archibald, who along with Alexander Hare (whose mother was Lower Thompson from Boston Bar), were hanged in 1881 for the murder of whites in the Kamloops district. By a third wife, partly Carrier, he had several children, John and others.

4.2. *Skwa'lkwɛl*
4.3. *Tcɛmā'wia* } Left descendants among the Spokan.
4.4. *Nɛkeeskwa'*

4.5. *Tak.lɛ'eqɛt* (rain cloud, or descending cloud?), married a Shuswap woman (4.5*a*); died at Kamloops, very old. He had other children besides those noted here.

4.6. *Tahwū'lkɛnɛm*, married.

4.7. *Yenamusī'tsa*, "surrounded robe." He had other children besides the one recorded here.

4.8. *Kokoimālks* or *Koimā'lks*, married. She was adopted by *Kwolī'la* (3.2).

4.9. Nicolas *Hwistesmetxɛ'qɛn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear" born 1780-1785, died about 1865. This name is said to be of Spokan origin and was inherited. The name Nicolas was given to him by the traders.

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The Indians pronounced it, *Nkwala'*. He married 15 wives (according to other informants 17) from the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Shuswap, *Stuwi'x*, Thompson, and perhaps others. His children who grew up numbered about 50 and many of their descendants are now living on the Colville, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alêne Reservations as well as in southern British Columbia among the Okanagon, Shuswap, and Thompson. One of his daughters, Mary *Sukomē'lks* (5.7), married one of the Peones (Pion [4]) in the Colville or Spokane country. One of his sons, *Kᴇsᴇkа'lux* (*Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*) (5.8), "Bad Man," was well known. I did not try to get a list of Chief Nicolas's wives and children as the head chieftainship did not descend to them, but instead to his adopted son and nephew *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* (5.10), the son of his sister *Sapxᴇnā'lks* (4.11). Charles *Tcere'pqᴇn*, a Spokan from the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation and a descendant of Chief Nicolas, visited his friends at Kamloops, Nicola, and Spences Bridge in 1912.

This man became even a more famous chief than his father and the Nicola Valley, Nicola River, and Nicola Lake are named after him. The fur traders called the region of the upper Nicola, "Nicolas's country," and the river which flowed through it "Nicolas's River." Later the lake and valley were given the names from the river. Nicolas was given his name Nicolas by the French Canadian traders who conducted the temporary trading post at the head of Okanagon Lake. When a young man, Nicolas was placed in charge of this post by the trader, who had to leave for a winter. On his return the trader found everthing at the post in good order and many valuable skins collected by Nicolas. In reward he gave the latter a present of 10 guns with plenty of ammunition. About this time the Kamloops chief, *Kwolī'la*, visited him and reminded him of his duty to avenge the death of his father. Nicolas at once prepared himself for the warpath and sent invitations to the neighboring tribes to join him in his war expedition against the Lillooet. It is said about 500 warriors of the Okanagon, Upper Thompson, *Stuwi'x*, and Shuswap assisted Nicolas in this expedition, which swept through most of the Lillooet country. They killed about 300 or 400 Lillooet and took many young women and children captive. On this expedition some of the Lower Lillooet are said to have seen the first horse and heard the first gun—a number of the war party being armed with guns and some of them being mounted on horses. Most of the Lillooet, however, had seen horses on Fraser River long before this date and some of the upper division may have owned horses. Guns, however, were still unknown among them at this time. Both before and after this war expedition the hundreds of warriors made several elk drives in the upper Nicola country on a grand scale, driving great numbers of these animals into inclosures and over cliffs, thus hastening the extermination of elk in that country. (For fuller particulars of this war expedition see McKay in Dawson, "The Shuswap people," pp. 27, 28; Wade, "The Thompson country," pp. 16–19; Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," p. 246.)

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[4] The Peones are descended from a French Canadian [illegible] (?) who was in the service of the Northwest Co. Peone Prairie in the Spokan country, is named after one of them.

Chief Nicolas, it is said, was quite as widely known as his father and made several trips to the plains buffalo hunting. According to some, on one of these trips he had a fight with the Blackfoot in which the latter were defeated. He was also the chief who came down to Nicola Lake and buried the Thompson and *Stuwi'x* victims of the Shuswap raid at Guichon. (For a mention of this see Smith, "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," p. 432.) An interesting account of Chief Nicolas's scheme to outwit Tod (who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops) and take the trading post (about 1846) is mentioned in Bancroft's History of British Columbia and a fuller account is given by Wade. ("The Thompson Country," pp. 63–66.) The fur traders recognized Nicolas as the most powerful and influential chief in the interior of British Columbia. He was noted for his sagacity, prudence, honesty, and fair dealing, and was rather a peacemaker than a fighting man. He was greatly respected by the Indians and his word was law among his own people and even among the neighboring tribes. He overshadowed all the other chiefs of his time in power and influence. Like other head chiefs, he usually had a bodyguard of young warriors who did his bidding and accompanied him on all important trips and visits to neighboring chiefs. During his lifetime the Okanagon and neighboring tribes became acquainted with the white man; first with the fur traders in the very early years of the last century, and then about 50 years later (about 1856–1864) with the first gold miners and settlers. On the advent of the latter, Nicolas used his great influence for their protection and in preventing the Indians making war on them. During the Fraser River trouble between the Thompson and whites (1858–59) he advocated peace although preparing for war, and had the affair not been settled when it was, he might have joined the Thompson against the miners. Although repeatedly asked to join in the Spokan war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen. He was an ally of the latter and wore the medals the Queen and King had presented to him. Having his territory controlled by the Queen, he expected to be dealt fairly with, for the Queen and her subjects, the fur traders, had always been fair with the Indians. He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicolas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicolas's death, recognized a different head chief. According to some his name was *Tōnā'sqɛt*. He was not of chief's descent and, it is said, secured his reputation through war and horse raiding. Chief Nicolas was also noted as a very wealthy man. He had numbers of fine robes and other wealth, large bands of horses, and before 1858 or 1860, had a good many cattle, the first of which he had obtained some years before from Indians and whites or half-breeds in the Colville and Spokan countries. He also cultivated some patches of corn, potatoes, and probably tobacco before 1860. He obtained the seed from traders at Kamloops or from traders and others in the south. Nicolas died at Grand Prairie about 1865, in the fall of the year. His body was taken to Kamloops by a great cortege of Indians and temporarily buried near the Hudson Bay fort. During the winter a large number of Indians remained with the body, and either the traders or the Indians or both kept a guard of honor over it in military style during the winter. In the spring it was exhumed and carried on horses to *Nkama'pɛlɛks*, where it was finally buried. Chief Nicolas generally (or at least very often) wintered at *Nkama'pɛlɛks*, as his father *Pɛlkamū'lōx* had done, and he considered this place his real winter quarters.

An Okanagon informant gave me the following names as those of leading chiefs in various tribes about 1850, or in the latter days of Chief Nicolas. Adam, at Shuswap Lake, leading chief of the "real Shuswap"; William, at Williams Lake, and *Ło'xsɛm*, at Soda Creek, leading chiefs of the Northern or Fraser River at Shuswap; *Cɛxpē'ntlɛm*, at Lytton, head chief of the Thompson; *Pā'lak*, at Spuzzum, leading chief of the Lower Thompson; *Kirkwa'* or *Kɛsawī'lɛx*, "become bad," at Fort Shepherd, leading chief of the Lake; *Yēlɛmɛxstū'lɛx*, at Kettle Falls, leading chief of the Colville. Gregor *Yokumtīkɛn* was chief of the Nkamip band of the Okanagon when they talked with Commissioner Sproat.

One informant told me the following about *Tōnā'sqɛt*.

"*Tōnā'sqɛt* was not a chief nor descended from any chiefs. He first became prominent in the following manner. In 1858 some of the Okanagon were fighting the whites who came overland with pack trains and horses via the Okanagon route to the newly discovered gold diggings in British Columbia. Many of the white parties were killed. Horses were also stampeded and stolen from them. Most of the fighting took place near the British Columbia line. In all there were never more than 70 or 80 Okanagon fighting and most of them had no guns. *Tōnā'sqɛt* was one of their number. Once they fought a large party of whites and stopped them from passing through. They had to retreat and change their direction. Then a still larger party of whites came on the scene. The Indians set fires in the grass on the flanks of the party, and another large fire ahead of them which spread into the trees. They separated and fired shots from behind the fires. The white party came to a halt and made ready for an attack. There were probably less than 20 Indians at this time while the whites must have numbered about 150. *Tōnā'sqxt* made himself leader of the Indians. He left half of his men here and there at the sides and front to shoot off their guns while he with the others rode down on the camp of the whites. The latter thought the Indians were going to attack them and prepared to shoot. *Tōnā'sqxt*, who was ahead, held his gun above his head and called out, "Don't shoot, we are friends." He said to the whites, "I have great numbers of my warriors all around, to the sides, and in front and behind you. They are waiting behind these fires. At my call they will come out and overwhelm you, but I do not want to do this. I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through my country." The whites believed him; they wrote down his name and gave him many presents. He and his following then allowed them to pass on, gave them directions, and did not molest them any further. After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better, and always gave him presents. In this way *Tōnā'sqxt* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief, but he was really no chief, although later the American Okanagon recognized him as such to some extent. *Tōnā'sqxt* himself, after Nicolas's death, claimed to be head chief of the Okanagon who lived on the American side of the line.

4.10. *Sukomē'lks*, married a Hudson Bay Co. employee in the Okanagon or Colville country. According to some informants she was a daughter, not a sister, of Chief Nicolas (4.9). There may have been two individuals of the same name. She had more children than those here recorded.

4.11. *Sapχxna'lks*, married *Xalxkskwai'lōχ* of *Tutxkskū'lōχ* (4.11 *a*), a little below Keremeous, Similkameen. She was the favorite sister of Chief Nicolas. She died giving birth to her first child, who became Chief *Tsxlaxī'tsa* (5.10). Her husband was almost pure Okanagon.

5.1. Donald McLean, married Julienne (5.1 *a*), daughter of Chief Jean Paul, of Kamloops. Donald McLean was famous as fiddler and Government scout. He was living at Kamloops, 1916, aged over 80 years. He had more children than enumerated here.

5.2. Duncan McLean.

5.3. Alexander McLean, living near Kamloops, 1916. He had more children living than enumerated here.

5.4. A daughter, married Donald(?) Manson, Lac La Hache, a Hudson Bay employee or son of a Hudson Bay employee, of Scotch descent.

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5.5. Nx̣o'mqᴇn, "Painted Head," married a Shuswap woman (5.5 *a*.) He died at Kamloops, 1913, as an old man. He had more children besides Julia (6.8).

5.6. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn*, "Tied Arms." He died among the Sanpoil about 1900, a very old man. He had more children besides *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn* (6.9).

5.7 Mary *Sukomī'lks*. See 4.9.

5.8. *Kᴇsᴇska'lux̣* (*Kesaskai'lex̣*). See 4.9.

5.9. Julie. Married William Peone (5.9 *a*) in the Spokan country.

5.10. *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa*, adopted by Chief Nicolas (4.9). He had 12 wives. Best known among them were (1st) an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks* (5.10 *a*); (2d) *Panā'lks*, "Folded Dress," from *Nkamtcī'nᴇmuxʷ* (Spences Bridge) (5.10 *b*); (3d) Marie *Mᴇmī'x̣tsa*, "Hanging-loose Robe," a Kamloops (5.10 *c*); (4th) Sophie, from Spences Bridge, a younger sister of *Panā'lks* (5.10 *d*); (5th) *Tikumtī'nᴇk*, "Smooth Bow," an Okanagon mixed with Colville (5.10 *e*); (6th) *Seisi'tko*, or *Sisi'ntko*, "Two Waters," of *Ka'lᴇmix* (Guichon), Nicola Valley (5.10 *f*); (7th) a woman whose name is not remembered (5.10 *g*); (8th) *Kanī'sta*, of *Ka'lᴇmīx*, Nicola Valley (5.10 *h*).

Tsᴇlaxī'tsa was the most prominent chief in the interior of British Columbia in his day, and was noted as an all-round good man. He was the recognized head chief of the Okanagon tribe on the Canadian side of the line and the only chief of the Okanagon in the Nicola country. He was the chief who carried on the negotiations with Government Commissioner Sproat regarding the tribal territory and hunting and fishing rights of the Okanagon, and the laying off of reservations for the people at Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, Quilchena, Guichon, and around the head of Okanagon Lake (*Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, etc.). Like his uncle, Chief Nicolas, he had great faith in the Queen and the Queen's laws, and expected his people to be dealt with by the Government in the fairest manner regarding all the rights that they claimed in the territories inherited from their forefathers. About 1875 and 1876, when there was great dissatisfaction among the interior Salishan tribes in British Columbia because of white settlement on their lands and the failure of the Government to make treaties and proper agreements with them regarding their land and hunting rights, etc., *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* calmed the other chiefs and repressed the people, telling them the Queen would eventually see to it that the Indians would be dealt with fairly. He was friendly to the settlers and did not try to run them off. He simply asked them questions and let them understand that they were trespassing on land still possessed by the Indians. About this time an alliance was formed by most of the Shuswap and Okanagon chiefs for the purpose of a combined attack upon all white settlers, and there only remained the word of Chief *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* to set the country aflame. He stood out against all the others and advocated a peaceful policy. Through his efforts a

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serious Indian war was avoided. The Indians were appeased shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mr. Sproat and the apparent desire of the Government to acknowledge the rights of the Indians. However, considerable dissatisfaction remained among many. *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* was considered a wealthy chief and a good speaker. He died about 1884, after having chosen his son Alexander *Xwistesmexe'qᴇn* to succeed him as head chief of the tribe. After his death two of his other sons became local chiefs of subbands, and another a church chief (so called). *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* survived most of his wives.

6.1. John McLean.

6.2. Rosie McLean.

6.3. Alick McLean, about 1885. In wild excitement, he ran into the Indian village at Kamloops and shot some Indians. When he did the same a second time he was shot by the Indians.

6.4. Charles McLean, lately of Edmonton, Alberta.

6.5. Duncan McLean.

6.6. Alfred McLean.

6.7. John McLean.

6.8. Julie, living 1916 at Kamloops.

6.9. *Ratcā'xᴇn*, living 1911 among the Sanpoil on the Colville Reservation.

6.10. *Nkeaskwai'lᴇx*.

6.11. A daughter, who married an Okanagon man and has a family.

6.12. *Elᴇmᴇlpōsᴇman* or *Iamᴇlpō'sᴇmᴇn* (good heart); married *Xaikwa'tko* (— water) (6.12 *a*) and *Sixwē'ltsa* (6.12 *b*), both Thompson from Nicola. He had several children living in 1915. He inherited his father's medals, two of which had belonged to Chief Nicolas, one of them a King George III medal. Shortly after his father's death he became chief of the band at *Kalᴇmēx* or Guichon. This band was originally *Stuwī'x* and later Thompson and *Stuwī'x*, and not at all in the territory of the Okanagon. Owing to the slaughter of most members of the original band by the Shuswap (see Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region), followed by the settlement of many people of Okanagon origin at the place, the Okanagon element outweighed the Thompson and *Stuwī'x*, and the Douglas Lake chiefs assumed control. *Iamᴇlpo'sᴇmᴇn* died about 1901 and his half brother *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* (6.16) became chief of the band as well as of that of Douglas Lake.

6.13. George, married, but without issue.

6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*, married an Okanagon man and had a family living in 1915.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas (Nicola), *Xwistesmexe'qᴇn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear," and *Sᴇkᴇlepkī'qᴇn*, "Little Coyote Head"; married *Swaxᴇpī'nᴇk*, "Surviving Bow," of the upper Thompson (6.15 *a*),

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who died in 1914. He was hereditary chief of the Okanagon. All his children died young. His adopted son, Tommy Alexander, lives at Fish Lake.

6.16 John Celestin (*Salista'*), *Tsxlaχī'tsa*, "Standing Robe," married a woman from the Upper Thompson, partly of *Stuwī'χ* descent (6.16 *a*). In 1915 he had an only married daughter who lived with her parents. He was chosen by his father to succeed him as head chief of the Okanagon, which title he held by hereditary right and gift. He lives at *Nkama'pxləks* and at Fish Lake, as his fathers before him. He was living in 1916, aged about 74 or 75. Like his father and grand uncle, he is a shrewd man. After his father's death he became church chief by appointment by the priests. After the death of his half brothers, *Iamxlpō'sxmxn* (6.12) and Basil (6.19), he became chief of the Douglas Lake and Guichon bands. He is said to be the wealthiest chief in British Columbia. He made one trip to Europe, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. He has been several times in Okanagon representing his tribe.

6.17. Saul, died a number of years ago.

6.18. François, died a number of years ago.

6.19. Basil. Became chief of the Douglas Lake band after his father's death, as his half brother Chief Alexander, the head chief, did not wish to act as a band chief. He was shot and killed, in a brawl among Indians on the Granite Creek Trail, by Charles *Sxpsxpəpā'χxn*, "Striped (?) Arms," of *Nsĕ'skxt*, Nicola division of the Upper Thompson, about 1885. He was succeeded as chief by his half brother, John *Tsxlaχī'tsa*.

6.20. Narcisse, died a number of years ago.

6.21. Michel, married Therèse (6.21 *a*), of the Upper Thompson, mixed with the Colville. She is a younger sister of the shaman Baptiste *Ululamĕ'llst*, "Iron Stone," who lived at Potato Gardens, on Nicola River, 16 miles from Spences Bridge. The family were half Upper Thompson and half Colville mixed with Okanagon.

6.22. *Kopkopĕ'llst*, married *Tsalutā'llks* (6.22 *a*), of Douglas Lake, a daughter of *Tsexī'nxk*, "Standing Bow," a sister to *Kaxpĕ'tsa*, "sticking out bottom of robe," of the Spences Bridge band. This family is half Upper Thompson and half Okanagon in blood.

6.23. *Sapxxnā'llks*, married Napoleon, of the Nicola Thompson. He died a number of years ago.

6.24. A woman whose name is not remembered. She was shot and killed by her husband, who shortly afterwards was shot and killed by her (?) relatives.

7.1. James Michel, married Maggie, a Thompson woman from Lytton. She was reared on the Colville Reservation in Washington, being fostered by a sister of his mother, who was married there. He received some education in the American schools and when he grew to manhood came back to his native place, where he received a share

in the reservation at Guichon. He died near 1903 aged about 40 years. He had no children. After his death his wife went to the Quilchena Creek Reserve, Upper Thompson tribe, where she was living, 1916.

INDIVIDUALS IN OKANAGON GENEALOGY

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1675. See p. 263.
2.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1705. See p. 264.
2.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
2.1*b*. A Shuswap woman, Kamloops. See p. 264.
2.1*c*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 264.
2.1*d*. An Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief of *Salī'lxu*. See p. 264.
3.1. Man, name unknown. See p. 264.
3.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
3.2. *Kwolī'la*. Shuswap chief, Kamloops. See pp. 264, 265, 268.
3.2*a*. A Kamloops woman. See p. 264.
3.3. *Siwī'lᴇxkᴇn*. Sanpoil chief. See p. 265.
3.3*a*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 265.
3.4. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 265.
3.4*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*. See p. 265.
3.4*b*. A *Stuwī'x* woman, perhaps partly Thompson. See p. 265.
4.1. *Ālī'*. See p. 267.
4.1*a*. Donald McLean. A Scotchman. See p. 267.
4.2. *Skwa'lkwᴇl*. See p. 267.
4.3. *Tcᴇmā'wia*. See p. 267.
4.4. *Nᴇkeeskwa'*. See p. 267.
4.5. *Tak:lē'sqᴇt*. See p. 267.
4.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 267.
4.6. *Tahwū'lkᴇnᴇm*. See p. 267.
4.7. *Yenamusī'tsa*. See p. 267.
4.8. *Kokoimā'lks* or *Koimā'lks*. See pp. 264, 266, 267.
4.9. Nicolas *Xwistᴇsmᴇxe'qᴇn*. Born about 1780. See pp. 266, 267–270, 271, 272.
4.10. *Sukomē'lks*. See p. 271.
4.10*a*. An employee of the Hudson Bay Company. See p. 271.
4.11. *Sapxᴇna'lks*. See pp. 268, 271.
4.11*a*. *Xalᴇkskwai'lōx*. See p. 271.
5.1. Donald McLean. See p. 271.
5.1*a*. Julienne, daughter of Chief Jean Paul, Kamloops. See p. 271.
5.2. Duncan McLean. See p. 271.
5.3. Alexander McLean. See p. 271.
5.4. A daughter, married Donald Manson, of Scotch descent. See p. 271.
5.5. *Nxo'mqᴇn*. See p. 272.
5.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 272.
5.6. *Ratcā'xᴇn*. See p. 272.

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5.7. Mary *Sukomī'lks.* See pp. 268, 272.
5.8. *Kᴇsᴇska'lux̣ (Kesaskai'lex̣).* See pp. 259, 260, 268, 272.
5.9. Julie. See p. 272.
5.9*a*. William Peone. See p. 272.
5.10. *Tsᴇlax̣ī'tsa.* See pp. 268, 271–273.
5.10*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamā'pᴇlᴇks.* See p. 272.
5.10*b*. *Panā'llks,* a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.
5.10*c*. *Marie Mᴇmī'x̣tsa,* a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.
5.10*d*. Sophie, younger sister of 5.10*b*. See p. 272.
5.10*e*. *Tikumī'nᴇk,* an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.
5.10*f*. *Seisi'tko, Sisi'ntko,* a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
5.10*g*. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.
5.10*h*. *Kanī'tsa,* a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
6.1. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.
6.3. Alick McLean. See p. 273.
6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.
6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.
6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.
6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.
6.9. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn.* Colville. See pp. 272, 273.
6.10. *Nkesaskai'lᴇx.* See p. 273.
6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.
6.12. *Elᴇmᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn (Jamᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn).* Guichon. See pp. 273, 274.
6.13. George. See p. 273.
6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa.* See p. 273.
6.15. Alexander Nicolas *Xwistesmex̣e'qᴇn.* Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.
6.15*a*. *Swax̣ᴇpī'nᴇk.* Upper Thompson. See p. 273.
6.16. John Celestin. *Tsᴇlax̣ī'tsa.* See pp. 273, 274.
6.16*a*. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.17. Saul. See p. 274.
6.18. François. See p. 274.
6.19. Basil. See p. 274.
6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.
6.21. Michel. See p. 274.
6.21*a*. Therèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.22. *Kopkopēlst.* See p. 274.
6.22*a*. *Tsalutā'llks.* Douglas Lake. See p. 274.
6.23. *Sapx̣ᴇnā'llks.* See p. 274.
6.23*a*. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.
6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.
7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.
7.2. Maggie, a Lytton woman. See p. 274.

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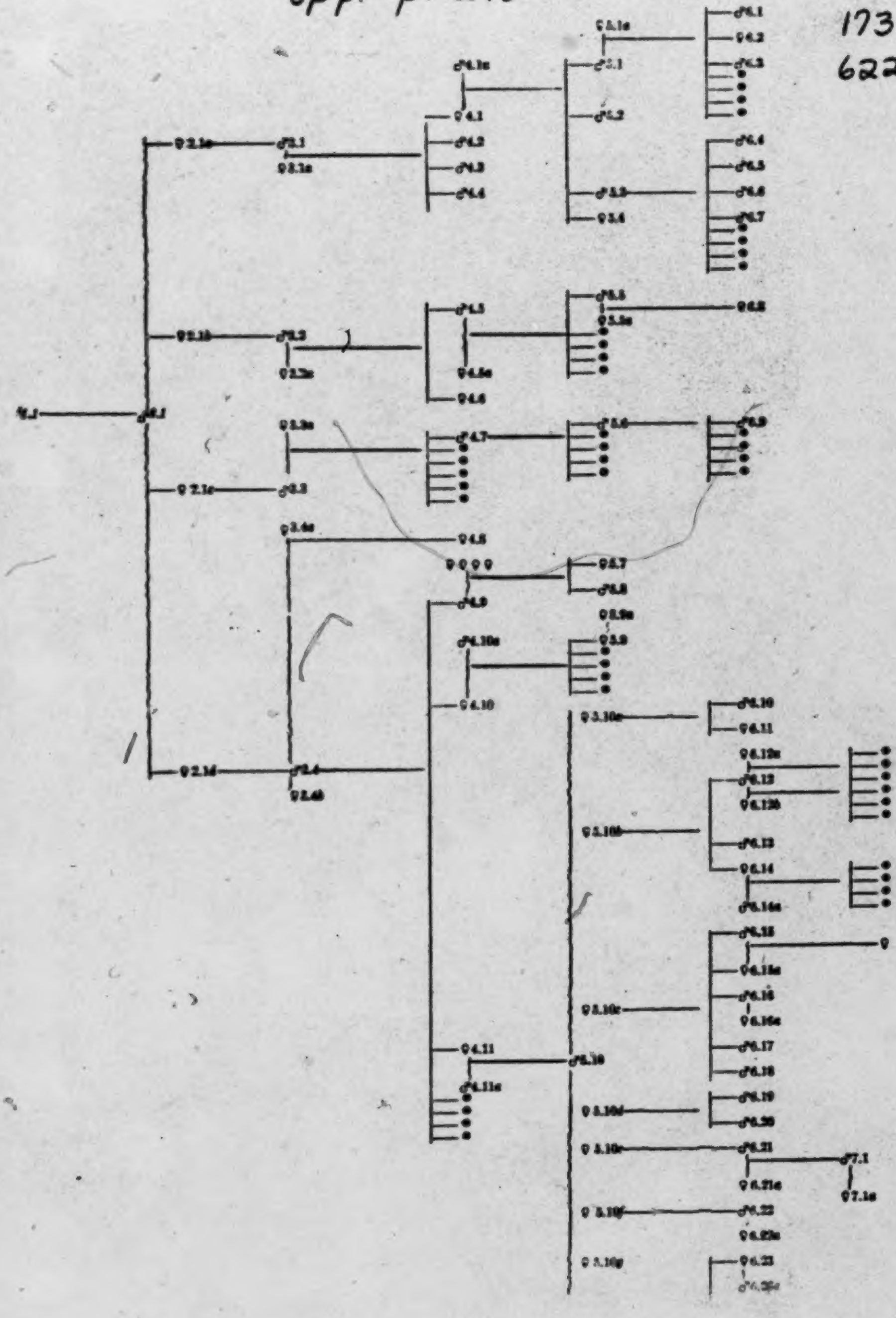
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♂6.23a

head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is— 161 162 171*

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	----

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunā'xe* and the greater part of the *Sɛmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sɛmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little

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165 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-
in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispē'lᴇm*, eastern Washing-
731 ton. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead
● 173 suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It
*[171] spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Col-
ville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in
some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long
lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people
died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."

165 About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The
731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan
[757] tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water,
and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee,
from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry
and warm. After this very few died.

174 Migrations and Movements of Tribes.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and *Sᴇmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'xe*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting. 000

I obtained the following information from Revais and others concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Smitĕ'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tună'χe* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tună'χe* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tună'χe*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

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The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the

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231 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called • 173 other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 *171 482 Transportation and Horse Equipment.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 *171 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflèches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflèches and secured by the same rope. [171] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type [1] similar to those of the Thompson, [531] Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] I, p. 12, fig. 8.

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1/A]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[2] 161 The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4] [1/A]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

• 174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

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Migrations and Movements of Tribes.[e]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[f] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[g] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

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[e] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. [illegible]-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[f] See p. [illegible]; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. [illegible]; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[g] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. [illegible] et seq.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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174
361

valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwi'x* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwi'x* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwi'x* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[48] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwi'x*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[49] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'tɛmi'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwi'x* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwi'x* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[50] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwi'x* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

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[48] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265, 266.

[49] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 406, 407.

[50] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 264.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. 166
Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose 174 ●
home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the
Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably 361
came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was
closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as
the Flathead language.

Intercourse and Intermarriage.—The Lake tribe had most intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. 177
They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'x*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'x* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

165 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-
731 in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispe'lɛm*, eastern Washing-
173 ton. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead
suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It
*[171] spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."

165 About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The
731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
[757] occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

• 174 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'χe*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows: 648 174 166 167

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatē'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-*Tuna'xe* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-*Tuna'xe* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

166 174 167 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

[487] There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 582 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. The Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɛmtĕ'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau,
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually 101
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others.
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach- 648
ments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them 131
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reser- 175
vation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Depart- 122
ment of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the 114
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native mes- 117
sianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been in- 121
cluded here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit 122
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more sum-
marily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount 127
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encourage-
ment and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identify- 132
ing botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcrip-* 194
tion of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

5. pu·'pəstan ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller. 221
6. tmxo·'yám ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller. 361
7. nxwi'i'pəm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.
8. sə'á'á'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.
9. átcxmlki'pástəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.
10. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cash creek. Hunting base.
11. nxət'ltcəni'tkʷ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cash creek. Hunting camp.
12. sntxulu'stən ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cash creek. Served as a hunting base.
13. nlu·'piəm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stən (12), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.
14. slákumu'ləmxʷ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piəm (13). Hunting base and root gathering camp.
15. nxlekafci'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.
16. mə'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.
17. hxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above hxluxxu'm (17) may or may not have been used as camp sites. Burke was not certain.

18. aqiqəpuxwi'lpʷ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.
19. tqwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.
20. ,kli'i'puš ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

POPULATION

It is exceedingly difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of individuals constituting the Sanpoil prior to the nineteenth century. In 1782 began a series of epidemics which greatly depleted the population throughout the area. Smallpox made the most serious inroads, but measles and influenza caused considerable losses as well. 175

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population. It was followed by epidemics of the same disease in 1846 and 1852-53, introduced in both cases by the white people.[14] In one of these instances, probably the latter, a party of Sanpoil traders had travelled to Portland and there contracted the disease. Despite their illness they attempted to return home. Only one of their number survived the journey; it was through this individual

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[14] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations of America*, pages 13-14.

175 that the Sanpoil were exposed. Although all of his family fled to the mountains when they learned of his illness, it was too late to check the spread of the disease and soon it had been carried throughout the Sanpoil and neighboring groups. When one member of a family contracted smallpox it often resulted in the extermination of the entire household, due to failure to isolate the afflicted person.

A scourge of measles took a heavy toll in 1847[14] but its effects were not as devastating as any one of the smallpox epidemics.

The old men of the group emphasize the degrading effect that liquor has had upon the constitution of the native and attribute many fatalities indirectly to its excessive use, through a breakdown in the ability to withstand disease. Any dependable information as to the actual part that liquor has played in increasing the death rate is difficult to obtain; further study might reveal sufficient data to justify an evaluation. The presence of venereal diseases in the group is indicated by the knowledge of treatments for them.[15]

All factors such as these must be considered in making any estimate of the aboriginal population. Mooney's calculation that in the year 1780 the Sanpoil (with which he includes the Nespelem) numbered 800.[16]

We may arrive at an approximation of the population for the period *circa* 1860 by adding the estimates given for each village by native informants. In these calculations it will, of course, be necessary to keep separate the figures for those villages occupied only in summer and those only in winter.

VILLAGES	SUMMER POPULATION	WINTER POPULATION
1. nakukt'ci'ptm[17]	100–150	....
2. nspi·'lәm	200	200
3. x̣aimi·'sәxun	100	....
4. salqua'xuwi'ł	60–70[19]	150[19]
5. ski'xʷ	....	40–50
6. mәsmәsa'lәmxʷ	....	40–50
7. skiәm'tcı'n	40–60	....
8. nlәxo'i'tqʷ	....	20–30
9. wәlwәlá'skәn	....	20–30
10. t'sәkt'si'lkәkәn	....	10–15
11. na'a'qʷ	40–50	40–50
12. x̣әx̣sula'uxʷ	....	20
13. kәlpuspu'stәn	....	40–50
14. sa'a·'mlkʷ	100	100
15. npui·'luxʷ	400	75–100
16. xula'lst	50	300
17. nx̣ox̣oyu's	50	....
18. smukɛ'ilt	80	80
19. xwat'sa'm'	....	25–30
20. npe'xs'tian	....	25–30
21. tkukua'lkuxun	....	150
Totals	1220–1310	1335–1435

In comparing the totals (summer, 1220-1310; winter 1335-1435), obtained in the preceding calculations, certain facts must be borne in mind. First, a portion of those occupying the summer village nəlukt'ci'ptən belonged to the snədjaie'tkʷ group and returned to their own village, ka·γta·', at the close of the fishing season; therefore they do not appear in the total for the winter habitats. Also, there is undoubtedly some duplication in the summer estimates for the two villages, nspi·'lam and xaimi·'saxun. Although many of the inhabitants of the former settlement remained there throughout the year a certain number removed to the latter place for the summer months. In fact, xaimi·'saxun was given as a summer village of the snspi·'luxʷ.[29] These considerations would subtract perhaps 100 or 150 from the result of the compilation for summer settlements, thereby increasing the discrepancy.

On the other hand, the winter inhabitants of snukɛ'ilt and tkukua'lkuxun did not all remain in Sanpoil territory during the summer. Many of those belonging to the former village spent the summer on the Spokane river. The latter, a populous village, was near the great fishing center at Kettle Falls, resulting in a considerable proportion of the inhabitants removing to the falls (Colville territory) for the summer. Others went to the Spokane river fishing grounds. Moreover, the average number of persons occupying the temporary camps along the Sanpoil river during the summer must have been considerable, but since its fluctuating nature precluded the assignment of any significant estimate, no consideration of this factor was possible in compiling the totals.

The correction necessary in the light of these facts might add a hundred or perhaps two hundred to the summer total. In any event, it would doubtless cancel the figure it first seemed necessary to subtract, and perhaps even add to the original total of 1220-1310. Since the winter total stands at 1335-1435, the correspondence is reasonably close, the discrepancy being between 115 and 125. Inasmuch as these figures are calculated from independent estimates for each village the close agreement of the results representing the total group population for summer and winter, respectively, speaks well for the accuracy of both the individual estimates and the compiled totals.

For the period, then, immediately following the middle of the nineteenth century the population of the Sanpoil ranged around 1300 individuals according to native testimony. This figure may be somewhat high but it at least indicates that the group was considerably more populous that has heretofore been assumed. Mooney's estimate of 800 for the year 1780 is clearly much too low, for the subsequent years were fraught with the many devastating epidemics already mentioned, and the groups could hardly be expected to have held their own in the matter of numbers; it is scarcely possible that an increase occurred. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that 1600 or 1700 would more accurately represent

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[24] See page 222.

[25] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations*, page 15.

[26] The population of this village was mixed Nespelem and Kartaro; this figure represents the total.

[27] John Tom's estimate. See page 16.

[28] Covington's estimate. See page 16.

[29] See page 16.

the aboriginal population of the group; this figure would leave a fair margin for the decrease which undoubtedly took place during the years from 1780 to 1860 and yet not necessitate a too literal acceptance of the native estimates for the latter date.

Beginning with the year 1890 the various reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contain estimates of population as rendered by the agent in charge of the reservation. In these reports the Sanpoil and the Nespelem are listed separately. These figures follow:[32]

YEAR	SANPOIL	NESPELEM	TOTAL
1890	300	..	...
1891	...	59	...
1897	239	...	...
1905	324	41	365
1910	189	45	234

The report of the Census Bureau for the year 1910 listed the number of Sanpoil Indians as 240, of which 238 were in the state of Washington; the Nespelem as 46.[33] The Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 1913 contained the results of a survey for that year, which numbered the Sanpoil at 202, the Nespelem at 43, or 245 in all.

Little faith can be placed in the earlier estimates for several reasons. In the first place, all of the Indians had not yet come under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent and judgments were made only with regard to those who in some manner had come into contact with the agency. Secondly, little care was taken in the determination of group affiliations, with the result that the same individual was often listed in one report as belonging to a certain group and in another report was included with an entirely different group. Also, no agent was actually resident on the Colville reservation until 1913; previous to that time the affairs of the reservation were transacted from the agency on the Spokane reservation. Even in the case of the figures for 1910 the discrepancy between the commissioner's report and the census report discredits the value of either estimate.

It appears, nevertheless, that the population has been considerably more stable during the years covered by the reports than in the years immediately preceding. Between 1860 and 1890 the death rate was unquestionably very high. This was due, perhaps, to the introduction of diseases by the white traders and settlers, coupled with the refusal of the natives to receive medical assistance from the agency doctor.[34]

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[32] Quoted in U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Indian Population*, page 93.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Another factor may have been the inability to obtain medical attention at the moment needed in such cases where treatment would have been accepted. Even today there are but two full time doctors and one serving part time, to cover the 1800 or more square miles included in the reservation.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. 173 There were about 1,500 of them.[2] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. 726 The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

Wars with the whites.—With the exception of the Spokan and a few 175 Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massa- 726 cre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

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[2] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

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while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855-56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakɛn*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads; and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

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country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them. When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry[3] was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

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to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
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turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 175
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flat-
head, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a 726
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 173
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook 198
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 565
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the 575
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog

The leader carried the sni'i'kum; the other hunters carried the stakes. They then 224
started up the hill on one side of the valley where they intended to hunt, continued
around the head of the valley and came down the hill on the opposite side. 624
About every twenty feet along this route, except where a cliff was encountered, 789
the leader took one of the stakes, tied a sni'i'kum to it, and thrust it in the snow
or the ground, thus completely enclosing the valley except at the mouth. No one
but the leader could do this; the others only followed, carrying the stakes. At
the placing of each stake the leader called upon his guardian spirit (usually deer)
reminding it of the promises it had made to him, and beseeching it not to let any
deer pass the row of stakes.

Completion of this task occupied perhaps two days. The evening that the work was finished the leader called his followers together and announced that the hunt would start in the morning. He assured them that he had done all that was possible to make the hunt a success.

The hunters proceeded as usual to drive the deer they discovered to the head of the canyon. If the deer got past the hunters and started backwards, the women rushed out and prevented them from passing the mouth of the valley. If the deer, on the other hand, tried to escape over one of the hills they were confronted by the row of stakes and while yet many feet away, it is said, turned about and ran in the opposite direction. When the upper and narrow end of the "enclosure" was reached, it was a simple matter for the bowmen stationed there to shoot the deer, for they would not run beyond the stakes.

The efficacy of the "enclosure," however, depended entirely upon the power of the leader. If his power were not great enough the deer paid no heed to the stakes, and were lost. At one time a leader substituted a line of small fires for the stakes, but the innovation was a failure. The deer ran between them or jumped over them and fled to the woods beyond.

Deer taken by this method of hunting were handled in much the same manner as those killed by the more common procedure. When the sni'kum resulted in a large kill, which was usually the case, the deer were carried or dragged only part way down the canyon; then the camp was moved up to that point.

I was unable to learn how long this unique manner of hunting had been in 176
existence. Its inception antedated the memory of my oldest informants, but it 224
probably was not many generations old; the nature of the custom credits no assumption
of great age. Moreover, the Sanpoil were presumably the only people 624
acquainted with the custom. Although I do not have direct information from
their neighbors,[3] my Sanpoil informants claimed that none of the surrounding 789
peoples used any similar method in their hunting.

In this case I feel that we undoubtedly have an example of a clean cut innovation, completely formulated by its originator, and carried along by the momentum given it as a result of his eminence as a hunter and his power as a leader. There was nothing fundamentally new about the procedure; the details—the preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[4] 176 224 624 789

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[3] Other than the Lakes, who were ignorant of the practice.

There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned. 224

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulä'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

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[4] Cf. the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

131 197 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognised by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lxtcən) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcən, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan sınəqaie'tkʷ Lakes sınəkä'ľt Colville	nsi'lxtcən	Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'łxtcən
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi stake'təmixʷ	nx'ʷa'mux'tcən	Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npolz'nixtcən

105 177 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[2]

101 171 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the sınəqaie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[2] Cf., page 26.

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'hxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, Bob 101
Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1873 166
but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, 173
most of the information is first hand. 361

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nakukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snakukt'ci'ptənuxʷ, located at the 361
site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This 221
was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here
since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population 221
was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing 361
during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, 177
occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'huxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

The number of people living here during the summer varied from [161]
100 to 150.

2. nspi·'lam (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'huxʷ. 361
This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaxwa'iakənstak): 342 the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house. These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally; no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342 has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173 replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom, Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young, but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342 former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (xo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with [322] a flat or conical roof. The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope. Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354] this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

285 314 415 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sis'l'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He knew of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

328 477 524 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regarding the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[8] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 415 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot, always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[8] See page 162.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[276] [324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presumably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could
291 ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a tem-
291 porary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (taqua'sqəlastən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (ulalqwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

291 291 531 Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sqwa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'tskən) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (sknâlkwâ'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 281 291 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'â'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

177 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which
281 was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superim-
291 posed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed
together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'ă'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most
301 of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian
531 spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the
776 wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special
ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (łt'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone. 226 286

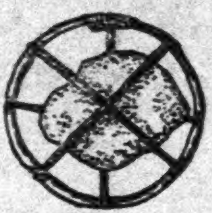

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. However, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch. 286 422

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory according to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 177 226 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[9] 226 624

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[9] See page 174-175.

224 264 825

It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and predatory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14]

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS AND BIRDS

177 224

Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home.

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The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path.

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the

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[13] See page 92.

[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This
281 made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of
251 willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and
[825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and
884 kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps
251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently,
415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes varying from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, pampana·'ks, means "folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16.

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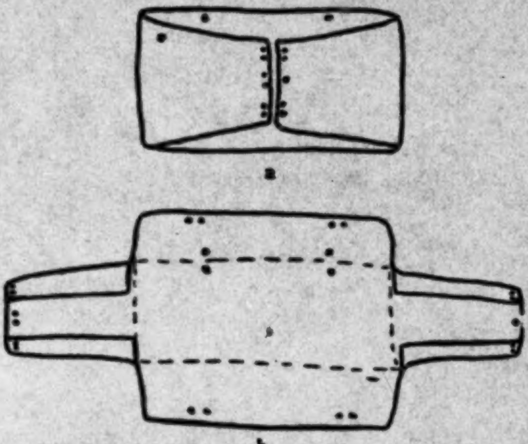

FIG. 16. Parfleche patterns: (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

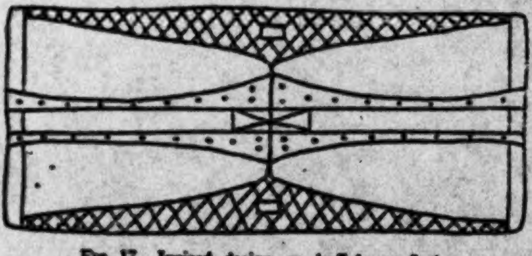

FIG. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[29] 177 281 415 531

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs. 251

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called smlauqu", "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement. 281

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

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[29] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration, passim.*

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri- 366
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snakā'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay 439
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 579
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

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484 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

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492 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

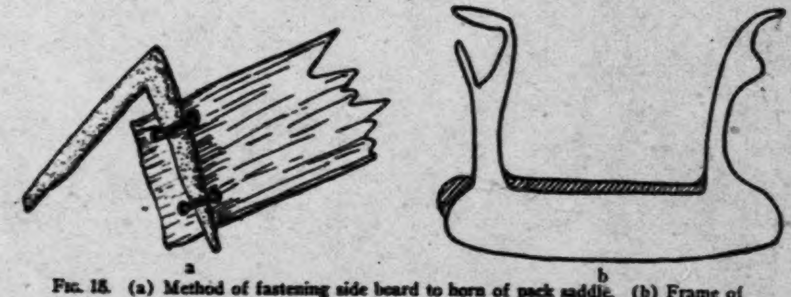

Fig. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

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Pack saddles (wusuwa'smkan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied
[231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

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Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

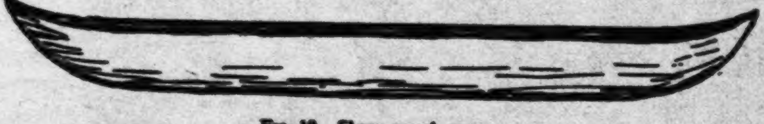

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

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Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'lam) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (samapui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilised for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 536 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably was—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lá'lnkʷ; also called slahal, lahal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-
162 300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations
361 and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain
177 some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now. 231 [435]

No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introduction and played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent. 177 231 412

The horse is called sink̓'tsaska´xa, or inkŭwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikŭwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon. 177 231 171

177 231 171 For the northern bands we have the following information. In the days when Andrew Tillson's father was in his prime, that is, about 1850, they got horses in the Blackfoot country by fighting. (His father died, an old man, at the time Andrew was born, eight or ten years, probably more, before the Nez Percé war of 1877.) They had no horses before his father was born. Margaret Sersepkin, a Northern Okanagon now about ninety-two, said that as long as she could remember her father had horses. This would set the date about 1840-50. (These may have been obtained from a Hudson Bay Company post, for even when she was a baby, he hunted for furs to trade with the company.) She accompanied her husband Sersepkin to the Blackfoot country with a train of thirty horses when seventeen or eighteen, i.e., about 1856. Andrew also mentioned seeing his first horse at Kettle Falls about 1874. At that time they (customarily ?) went to the Wallawalla district by canoe to get horses from Indians and whites. He also rode there at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). This may mean only that horses came into general use in the eighteen-seventies. Andrew further stated that when he was fifteen, i.e., about 1880-85, Sersepkin and Kâwi'sâlâqin began raising horses in numbers on the Okanogan River.

177 231 On the lower Okanogan, Old Harry said he first saw horses when he was about ten, not before, that is, about 1850. (He was

177 about ninety in 1930.) They were brought from the lower Columbia River by the Nez 231 Percé. His mother also got some from the northeast. Mary Carden mentioned travelling with horses when she was sixteen, about 1870, but her people had horses at least half a dozen years earlier.

In the central district, Lucy Joe was living near the present town of Okanogan about 1875 when her father brought the first horses of the district from "Portland." (She is now about seventy and was a big girl then.) She stated that they had no horses before the earthquake of 1872 (?).

231 Young coyotes, foxes, and wolves were caught and kept as pets for a short time, but they were apt to chew their ropes and escape. Young bear and deer were also kept.

Eagles were kept by many families. They were always captured as fledglings and reared in cages (?). Some men laid claim to eyries and prevented others going there. Eagles would eat only raw meat, and starved to death if given any other foods alone. They grew a new set of feathers every two months; only the long tail feathers were taken as a rule.

Magpies were easy to keep: their wings and tails were clipped. They stayed right in camp. Crows and geese were also taken as pets.

side of the pit. Two or three rows of transverse 342 branches were tied on, completely encircling the frame, as in the mat lodge. Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered with several rows of round-tule mats, the 342 tules vertical, each row overlapping the one 285 below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top row of mats was of single thickness, each row below having one more layer of mats than the row above. The mats were not always rectangular, as those of the long lodge, but curved, a condition accomplished by laying all the large ends of the tules along the same border of the mat and not alternating them with small ends. After the mats were in place, slender poles were laid against the mats and heavier poles on these to keep the mats from blowing about. An opening was left at the top for the escape of smoke, flanked by two ears supported at the top by poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method of construction of these was not obtained, except for the information that they were made of tule mats. Presumably they consisted simply of two tule mats fastened to the top of the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis with cloth covering show such ears (Figure 5). There were storage spaces at the entrance, said to be like those of the long lodge. Details are lacking beyond a description of vertical poles inside the entrance tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The door was like that of the long lodge: a mat of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with the tules horizontal so that it could be rolled up and tied. One side was raised for entering. The door faced south, for protection from the weather. Poles were laid against the mats on the outside to keep them from blowing in the wind.

In winter cedar bark was set up within 342 the margin of the pit outside the poles and covered with grass and earth, or earth was piled up a foot or more over the outside mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat affixed outside of this.

The size of the tipi varied according 342 to the number of occupants. Only one or two families lived in a tipi: a larger number 592 would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the tipi and the number of rows and layers of mats varied accordingly. There was only one fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis were reported, although Curtis'[1] says they were as often elliptical as circular among the interior Salish.

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen 171 by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried (i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the 177 soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to 342 the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated that the first skin tipis, possibly copied from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty years ago.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 39(A), category 116.--Analyst]

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances
congregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food
gathering. Trade in food is carried on entirely 462
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned
concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some
distance from their own territory to hunt, fish 484
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately
1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade
in Ellensburg. The group started from the
mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the
Columbia there and went across country. They
crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee
and went over the mountains to Ellensburg.
They had money and horses then, and went to
purchase a winter food supply, blankets and
yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's
people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville,
Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of
Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking
and to catch salmon which they dried there
for food. Trading took place at the mouth
of the npEsqwê´Qs creek which enters the
Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in
Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man,
a trading friend (sô´xqÛl)." If an
individual's trading friend was not present,
that person would have to return without
making any trade. This seldom happened, since
the trips would be made at times when many
Indians gathered from everywhere, and all
who were interested in trading would be
certain to be present. If a man's trading
friend died, friends would assist him in

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10 For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

p. 75(A)

Sinkaietk

[Northern Okanagon War Dance] Northeast Salish NE12 Northern Okanagon

The Sinkaietk take no scalps and have no war dance. Mary Carden stated that the Blackfoot, who were met when buffalo hunting, were the only people who scalped. S 726

The Northern Okanagon, however, have a dance preparatory to war and a scalp dance on their return. A warrior keeps scalps with his power emblem in a medicine bundle: they are kept for display. The scalps are decorated with feathers and porcupine quills strung on the hair. They do not take heads of the slain as trophies. N 726 778

For the preparatory war dance, warriors paint their bodies solid red without designs and wear a small breechcloth. All trophies from former skirmishes are brought out. Garments and ornaments from slain enemies are worn at this time. A war leader with an enemy scalp on a short stick starts the dance by stamping the lower end of the stick on the ground when the drum begins to beat. Then all the men, and as many women as choose, dance with the war leader. At intervals during the dancing and singing, each warrior describes his war power, states what his power has told him to do and how many times he has saved his people. At this time power songs are never sung; only war songs are used. Great warriors ask their people to test them for war. These men have so much power that arrows and bullets cannot penetrate them when their people shoot at them. The war dance continues until the last warrior has told his story. N 726 535 796

There is no dancing in camp while the men are away fighting, but when they return they hold a scalp dance. People from many neighboring villages come to dance with the returned warriors. At this time, the warriors one by one relate their deeds in the last fight. N [722] 727 535 796

David says that the Shuswap are the greatest enemy of the Northern Okanagon. Whereas the Shuswap come down to fight the Northern Okanagon every spring, taking advantage of the high water to float their bark canoes, the Northern Okanagon go to Shuswap country to fight every fall. This would indicate a degree of formalization. N 721

RELATIONS WITH THE WHITES

The Sinkaietk tribe was well disposed to the whites in their first contacts, according to the accounts of white men, as well as their own. Ross Cox found them friendly at the beginning of the last century. Wilkes,[28] in 1845, says, "The Okonagan tribe of Indians are supposed to number about two hundred, and are represented as quiet and S 177 181

* [For context of these footnotes, see p. 83(B), category 116.--Analyst]

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28 Wilkes. Narrative, IV, 434.

29 Lane, in Message from the President, 170.*

30 Shaw, Estimates for Indian Service, 113.*

31 Craig, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 171.*

peaceably disposed." In 1850, Lane[1/A] reports, "The Onkinegans inhabit the country north of Fort Colville; are well-armed, and number about 700. They are well disposed toward the whites." 177 181

The Sinkaietk deny that they ever participated in battle with the whites, but in the governmental reports concerning the difficulties in Yakima country in February, 1856 the Sinkaietk are mentioned. At this time, Major Haller took one hundred infantrymen to punish the murderer of a Mr. Bolon. The party was defeated by the Yakima and some ten persons were killed. 177 648

> "The result of the blunder on the part of the military was instantly heralded to all the tribes west [east] of the mountains, inviting them to join and exterminate the Americans. This message took like wildfire with all the Indians, and immediately after the following tribes decided to go to war: The Cayuses, Walla-Wallas, Umatillas, Des Chutes, Tigh, John Day's River, Pelouse, Isle-de-Pierre, O-kin-i-kaines [Sinkaietk]; and on the east [west] of the Cascade mountains, Nesqually, White River, Dewamish, and Washington Lake Indians....
>
> "The defeat of Major Haller by the Yakima caused these tribes to commence hostilities sooner than they intended."[30] [1/A]

In May, the Sinkaietk still took part in the general unrest, according to Craig, at the Lapwai agency (May 27, 1856).

> "... There is a cloud of Indians collected in the Spokane country, they say to rub out the few whites and Nez Percés that are here,
>
> "There is very little doubt that the Indians in the direction of the upper Columbia have joined the war party, as they have received their horses as pay for so doing. There are now Cayuses, Pelouses, Spokanes, Okin-o-Kanes [Sinkaietk], Coeur d'Alene, and Colville Indians, a part of each of which are now on this side of the Spokane prairie. They say they have made all the whites run out of their country and will now make all the friendly Indians do the same. They have sent to the Snakes, and a party has already joined them."[31] [1/A]

In the same year, Stevens reports,

> "The whole interior is ripe for war. One-half of the Nez Percés are about to join the war party. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Colvilles, and Oki[n]akanes [Sinkaietk] have accepted horses as the price of their service. They say to the friendly Nez Percés, join us in the war against the whites or we

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[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 83 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 648 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes have joined them."[32] 1/∧

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 622 619 648 The relations of Tonasket with the whites illustrates how the whites even in the early days affected Indian political regimes. In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the Kartar band.

These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 113 or 112 years ago.[33] 1/∧ Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselves and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."[34] 1/∧

1/∧ [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 84 (A)

177 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other
622 Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> 619 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man
> 648 who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four
361 autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of
619 their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation.
361 In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations
619 and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 84 (B)

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power unless
a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825]
as guardian spirit, that animal or some
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xŏtsĕxil, "giving power to the son," or sŏxtsExiltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped 787
him with the power emblem which he had cherished
for many years, and the child, wearing 857
or carrying this during his search, had a 778

p. 137 (B)

796 574 The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn.

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

796 778 Among the properties used in the dance,[1] the central and most conspicuous was the post called nIl'pōs or tĕkIkstĕn or yalpostn. Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was remove[illegible] to the woods and placed upright against [illegible] tree, where it was abandoned.

96 778 177 Mary Carden said that among her peop[illegible] the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient

[1] [i.e, the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

In more recent times, at any rate, the 778
post has been more or less replaced by short
sticks called cəl'acxIn, which were carried [177]
individually by the dancers. Mary Carden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow.

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.[1] People 796
never smoked them while actually dancing,
but shamans watching the ceremonies passed 276
them among themselves, each shaman enjoying
a few puffs. Only those who had taken a 791
leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit.

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[1] [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

nökënspâlsq'ë′lxwa 515
So I can kill deer,
Iati′sak'latsI′nEm 788
Deer.
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences. 515 783

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.* 1 776 177

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI′p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qölüncö′tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qölüncö′tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

1 [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 167 (B)

776 ianity, was called chwallEmEn(or sxwõlEmEn), "something thrown away or discarded," be-
177 cause he had been cast out of heaven by God. He therefore lived under the earth, where it was hot. Suszen's account of the attempted conversion of Chief Moses illustrates the foreign nature of this divinity. The Government had taken Moses' land away from him and had sent him to Nespelem. There the priest wanted to baptize him and teach him to pray, and a government officer told Moses that unless he was baptized he would go to hell, where the Devil would burn him. Moses denied this, objecting that if there were fire inside the earth the water in the white men's wells would boil. He was never baptized, "and never went to church because he didn't believe in the Devil."

774 The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost.

Of the first, the thinking element, we have only a scrap of evidence. It seems to have been identified with the heart (cpõõ′c or põõ′st); the phrase hacpõõ′s, "your heart," being used to express approval after a suggestion had been made. One sick from extreme grief was called "broken-hearted" (maõ′ts põ'õst), but this conception may not have been aboriginal.

The shadow of the individual or his reflection in water represented his soul, the cqaqKlaũh. This word meant shadow in the ordinary physical sense, but in the present connotation it signifies the vital principle. Though a corpse cast a shadow it had lost its cqaqKlaũh. Various precautions were taken to prevent the loss of this element. One should not sleep in the late afternoon lest the sun carry his shadow down with it and thus shorten his life, and if a child developed this habit he would die in his next illness. One incurred the same danger by allowing his shadow to fall in an open grave. If one walked close behind a person who was smoking, eating, or drinking, his reflection or shadow might fall on the smoke, food, or drink and be swallowed with it, especially if the consumer had strong power. The spirit of a child was particularly liable to be consumed by a shaman in this way and within a few days the child would succumb. Power plays a part here, since, if the father of the child were near him and had stronger power than that of the shaman, the latter would choke at the mouthful and might even die. This applies to any case where a person of strong power walked behind another who was eating, drinking, or smoking and whose power was weaker. If the former took pity on his victim, he could save him from choking by striking him on the back, bringing up the smoke, if he had been smoking, in a

774 little ball of blood. Sometimes the informants spoke of this situation as if the individual himself entered the other's mouth and choked him. It was dangerous for a person who was eating to be frightened by someone from behind.

The cqaqElaûh seems to have been closely connected with the sweat, spittle, hair, underwear, and other materials intimately in contact with the individual, for these, as well as the shadow, should not be allowed to fall into an open grave. One person could bewitch another by throwing such personal leavings into a graveyard and beseeching a buried corpse to keep them until the victim was as "poor" as the corpse itself. The victim lost his property, fell into consumption, and died.

The shadow soul was apparently not a widespread belief, for neither David nor Chilowhist Jim knew anything about it.

The breath (slExEntcôt) was sometimes mentioned as if it were also a vital element, similar to the cqaqElaûh. If one slept facing west in the afternoon, said Johnnie, the sun might take his breath down with it.[9] Animals and birds probably lacked such a soul: though a chicken's breath was called by the same term as a man's, "it was not the same." The primary connotation of the word tlal, "dead," was "can't breathe any more." David said that the priests told the Indians that their "breath" went to another world where God judged it.

Whether the "breath" or the "shadow" was regarded as the vital principle, a general belief prevailed that a dying person would expire either at twilight (sInsöxötcIn) or at dawn (sInpaktcIn). This weighs slightly in favor of the shadow soul.

774
● 177 The soul most commonly referred to in relation to life after death, to soul theft, and to dreams, was called sInaxpē´ös or sInkakIū´s. SInaxpē´ös was derived from the Okanagon naxpēösnt, which meant "to lay something over itself, to fold over once," and was said to have been more or less coined by the white priests. SInkakIū´s, a Spokan word adopted by the Okanagon under Christian direction, meant "something between two folds." Neither of these words was in use among the Okanagon before white contact. The soul concept itself may have been imposed upon the Indians by the Catholic fathers, who were ignorant of the indigenous types of soul, or found them unsuitable for Catholic doctrine. Since the Dream dance faith, however, had emphasized an element in man which could dream and survive death, it probably led to the development of the primitive cqaqElaûh (shadow soul) idea into a more active soul. Lucy Joe said, "You have a shadow when you walk, and there is another little shadow, the sInkakIū´s." Later the

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[9] For the belief regarding sleeping in moonlight, see elsewhere.

priests may have seized this concept and 774
given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the
idea of the sĭnkakĭŭ′s to a prophetic dream 777
by Chief SuĕpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests.

The relation of sĭnkakĭŭ′s to power is 774
still more perplexing. Suszen explained
that whereas power came from animals, the
sĭnkakĭŭ′s came from qōlŭncō′tn (God), and 778
that the sĭnkakĭŭ′s was more important than
power because the loss of it actually killed
a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed
to blend; power, he said, could be stolen
without stealing the soul, but the theft of
the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved
that of the former.

A shaman of sufficient power could 754
steal one's sĭnkakĭŭ′s as the victim slept
and when the latter awoke he would be ill or
insane. The soul might be restored by a 774
shaman strong enough, just as lost power
was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. 778
The prospective thief saw the sĭnkakĭŭ′s
in a dream, distinguishing it from a
"real man" by its 'going fast without walking."
One would not wish to steal the soul
of a worthless person, but one who had stolen
a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several
years and get its power." If his own
power was strong enough he could "tame" the
sĭnkakĭŭ′s, by feeding it, for example, if it
told him to do so. He tried to hide the
stolen power in the mountains, in a river,
or in some other lonely place, but we are
not told what he finally did with the soul.
All this happened in his dreams. After one's
sĭnkakĭŭ′s had been stolen he went insane, or
at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless
he could get it back his days were numbered.
He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the
thief and restore the soul, or, if he had
strong enough power of his own, did so himself.
This was accomplished by concentrating
on his power and that of the thief, bringing
the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing
the latter. The sweat house was a
favorite place in which to concentrate and
struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously
like the theft of power, especially
since Suszen, a very confusing informant,
was the only one who described it. At any
rate, soul stealing had not been done recently
and no one told of an actual case.

Each individual had only one sĭnkakĭŭ′s. 774
It looked like him, but it could "go fast
without walking," "like thought," and could 787
fly. It was the part of him which dreamed:
it left the body during sleep and fainting.
Its failure to return to the body meant
death. After death it departed to the Catholic
heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost.

The land of the dead (stqama′skŭt), 775
often dreamed of by the living, was in the
sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but
its direction was not known. Suszen believed
that it was divided; that good people
went to a good place after death, where they
could have lots of fun, whereas bad people
went to an evil place of continual strife

and killing. David claimed that before the white priests introduced the concept of the soul, the Indians knew nothing of life after death and thought that they just died like animals. He was probably right.

The ghost (tŭqtŭqEnĕŏ'laŭh or tŭk'tŭk'ŏnE'ŏna) was similar to those in European tradition, having a few vague and general traits not standardized in detail, and widely open to foreign suggestions which make a "better story." Therefore any attempt to separate the aboriginal ideas on ghosts from those which have been imported seems quite futile.

The ghost was not the disembodied shadow (cqaqElaŭh), but was sometimes identified with the sĭnkakĭŭ's of a person not good enough to "go to a good place" after death. Ghosts were usually of the dead, but some emanated from the living who were about to die or who were absent and thinking hard of home. Suszen explained that when a dead man's guardian spirits restored him to life, his ghost returned to him. The ghost of the dead lingered near his house or his grave, where it might appear in several ways: sometimes as a flame which came out of the grave with a rattling sound and pursued the beholder, sometimes as the double of the deceased, which disappeared as it came nearer. Ghosts often indicated their presence by a rattling sound, as of dried deer hide or tin cans. They laughed, shouted, screamed, whistled and coughed. Suszen said that they talked, but Michel denied it. Sometimes they even threw stones. They moved as fast as a man could run, yet without moving their legs or leaving tracks. They were all feared, but especially those of suicides, which were visible every night near the scene of the tragedy. Ghosts pursued people in lonely places, deprived them of their wits, frightened or froze them to death, or made them ill. Whistling might attract them and was avoided by timid persons when alone at night. One pursued by a spectre along a path could evade it by stepping aside from the path and letting it pass. Recurrent troubles in a house were often ascribed to a haunting ghost. For this reason a baby was never left alone in a house where someone had died, and a fir bough and a sprig of wild rose bush were hung in the room of a dead person to keep the ghost away. Rocks were piled over a place in the woods where someone had been frozen to death or had perished by violence, perhaps to lay the ghost, perhaps as a warning to passers-by. A few anecdotes will illustrate the variations of the ghost theme in more detail.

Mr. Richard Post has a good one. "One dark night at Chilowhist Jim's, just after we had said goodnight and the Indians had retired, I walked silently by their tent on a bit of sandy ground. A boy of eleven saw me and called out 'Who's there?' I made no reply, but hurried right on without turning my head or changing my direction. He called two or three times and, when I disappeared, returned into the tent.

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 ●177 The Dream dance complex, at least so far as it incorporates elements derived in recent decades indirectly from Christianity, seems to have taken a less consistent form than that of the indigenous cult.

769 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

769 539 787 The following account of such an experience dates from the days of Suszen's great-grandfather. Suszen, who related this and couched it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. --Analyst]

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12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. [1]

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned various parts of the construction to
159 groups of men, and appointed a policeman to
stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was
sūIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
792 band."[1] A few years before the priests came
into the region, sūIpEqēn dreamed that they
would arrive and that the Indians would re-
● 177 ceive money from the Government. At that
time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use
159 the sign of the cross, to sing religious
songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."[1] SūIpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream
dance must have occurred among the Northern
Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who,
after the whites had arrived, decorated his
792 moccasins with red flannel and went among
the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream
dance complex may not have taken form among
the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It
796 involved three main conceptions: falling
stars (see below), earthquakes, and other
strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 174 (A)

177 eous and God-fearing life; and these proph-
ets led special dances and song concerning
the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy
of the coming of the white men (such prophe-
796 cy being called qEpĕktsa′) and the downfall
of Indian culture was a minor element and ap-
parently of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmipEnŏmt; the dreamer was s'maIp'nŏmpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qŏlŭncŏtn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

The "white chief," explained David, was
776 called sEwImstwItl'n, meaning "already made,"
and was believed in long before the whites
787 came. He had created everything, and to him
all good people went when they died. Some-
times people saw him in trances, without
796 being called on to give the Dream dance, and
they prayed to him wherever they were at any
time. Most prayers to him, however, were
rendered at the Dream dances. They were call-
ed sqwai′lIp (this may be the name of the
dance), and were wordless songs which had
been heard in dreams by the prophets lead-
ing the dances. This "white chief" was prob-
ably identical with Qŏlŭncŏtn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

stood at the center of the field. The starter (a neutral), holding the ball, stood between them. The better players of each team lined up just ahead of the leader, to receive the ball first if he succeeded in driving it toward their goal. There was no definite order in the positions taken, most of the players taking places at random. At each end of the field, behind the goal, stood a judge or umpire (cōqū'a'tsūm) authorized to discipline either team for fouling.

The starter began the game in either of two ways. He might throw the ball into the air between the two central men, who then struck it as it fell, or he might place the ball between them and call "go." The two central players then struck at the ball with their sticks, each endeavoring to drive it towards his own men who stood in the direction of the goal at the leader's left. No player was permitted to cross the line of the center of the field until the ball had been driven across it; thus only one-half of each team began the action. As soon as the ball had crossed the center line, all players followed it.

It was not permitted to pick the ball up by hand, although in strenuous playing as the ball approached a goal, it was permissible to push it forward with the hand or the bottom of the foot. In the open field only sticks were used. To pick up the ball, or to strike another player intentionally with a stick constituted a foul, which the judges penalized by ordering the ball returned to the center of the field and the play started over. If the playing became too rough, judges might stop the game, but there were no rules against pushing, holding, even wrestling with a man, to lift him and throw him aside. Minor accidents were frequent and sometimes a player was badly injured. No substitution was allowed during a game, however, and no one stopped playing even when exhausted or hurt. Intermissions were made when the two leaders arranged them; when the players could bathe their wounds and bruises in cold water.

A game was ended when one side made two more goals than the other; these two need not be successive. After a goal the teams exchanged goals and lined up to a new start. As many games were played as the teams desired, usually more than two at a match, often four or five. Bets were arranged before each game; individual players often betting more than the spectators. If stakes were high, a third party was asked to judge whether the two stakes were of even value, to be a witness of the negotiation, and to see that its terms were carried out fairly.

Shinny had not been played much since the coming of the whites, and few Indians now know the game. [177] ●

The term xatū́'c to designate the leader of a shinny team is the same as that designating the leader in the hand-game, or at a salmon trap or a hunt. In this case it does

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tᴇxaidek or Tᴇxai'nᴇk (chief)	Toẋei'.nᴇk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsᴇlᴇxkai'nᴇm	Tsᴇlē.xkai'nᴇm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cᴇlᴇkqai'n	Sᴇlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sᴇmkᴇn	Zu'sᴇmkᴇn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sᴇmkᴇn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolᴇk	Zā'xᴇlᴇk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nᴇmkᴇn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nᴇmkᴇn or Zanᴇmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkᴇni'tsa (the youngest)	Mẹx.kainī'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wᴇtskᴇla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

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The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwī'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekᴇtᴇmē'uẋ; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake.

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

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[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -ĭnᴇk, -qai'n, -kᴇn, and -itsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tsᴇl, sᴇl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where
the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the 167
Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to 131
the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia
valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and 177
middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding
the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon,
then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the
Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501
and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481
like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians,* Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231
Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177
1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579
much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231
other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some 177
claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556
appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design 285
material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later 415
days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the
advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by 531
tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

SKIN BAGS AND POUCHES.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many 237
sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, 287
and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape 415
for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. 531
Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads
supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177]
fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] c, fig. 36.

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Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.--Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddle-bags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflèches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflèches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. 285 314 415 The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

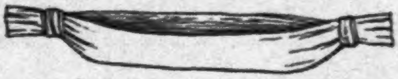

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

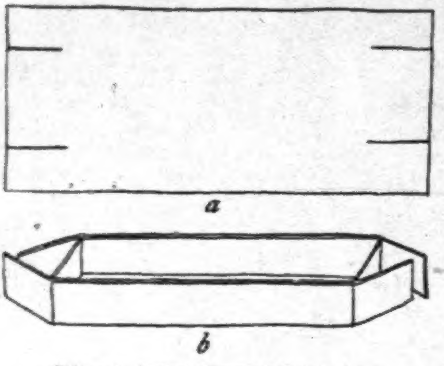

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [322] [323]

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven [177]

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baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discontinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflèches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

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Coiled Basketry.[5]—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*; pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and

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[5] See *o*, pp. 140-142.

DESIGNS ON BEADED BAGS.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly 531
geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time. I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral designs, and obtained a few explanations.

DESIGNS ON RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÈCHES.—Rawhide bags and 177
parflèches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other 531
tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur d'Alêne were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate with the Coeur d'Alêne, the latter did not know the names or meanings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alêne women were [462]
constantly making and painting these bags and parflèches, on the whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflèches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflèches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

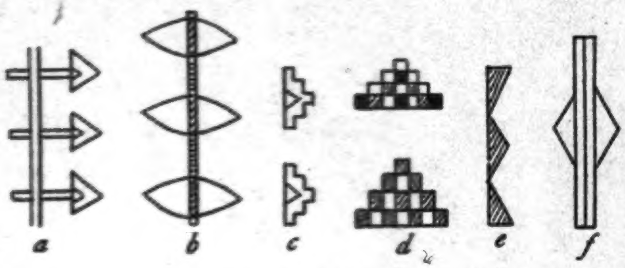

FIGURE 5.—Designs from beaded bags

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

[484] **Brush Lodges.**—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 **Women's and Girls' Lodges.**—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

332
342 **Underground and Other Lodges.**—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

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343 **Sweat Houses.**—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] *b*, p. 198.

[72] *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

281* consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo
294 robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others,
made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because
it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together,
making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair.
[531] All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted
designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for
[177] show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs.
Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used
on robes by the Blackfeet[76] and may have been copied from eastern
tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands
being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips
[286] of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they
were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as
I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven
of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe
used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes.
Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living
west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large
robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of
large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with
designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with
pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear
to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78] Some
buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before
the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo
hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted
nearly all other kinds of robes.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar

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[76] c, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] a, fig. 131 g. [78] a, fig. 301. [79] a, fig. 163.

[443] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
177 also common. White was the usual color for the background; light
blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

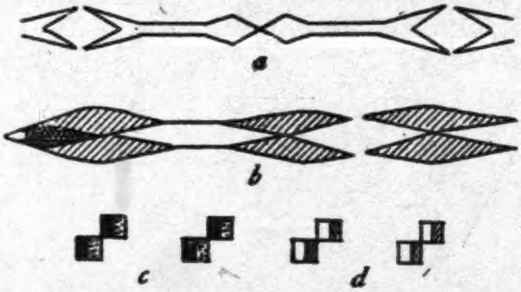

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

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[117] See Coeur d'Alène bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alène, No. 1.

[118] See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

294/531 few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were painted red.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

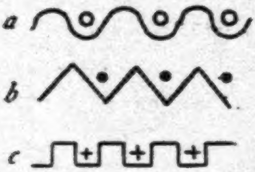

FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.[122] (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.[123] Red lines were also often painted on seams.

177/294 MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.[124] Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from

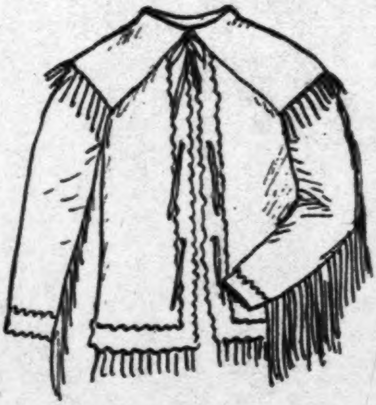

FIGURE 9.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern coat

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[122] See Thompson, a, fig. 191.

[123] For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, a, 163, 184; Lillooet, k, p. 220; also f, p. 192.

[124] See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settle- 294
ment on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change
became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becom-
ing settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get
supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be
worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago
the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now,
it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every
way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are
still used a good deal.

Ornaments.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thomp- 321
son.[125] They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor,
hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were
tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider, flatter, and stiffer
(more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used
by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the
Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a
series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the
other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest
reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some infor- 321
mants, the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east
of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced
by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of 325
copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] *a*, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length,
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 301
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened
around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to
the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young
men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132]
It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 302
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 321
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and 412
of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxx"*,[d] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i'í* was applied to them. 123 204

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows*.—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcxnalxw*[e] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[123] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ätse'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[123] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

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A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokan, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alene claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokan also used this type of bow. A few Spokan, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin.

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alêne, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokan. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

Arrows.—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsē'elp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *mɛtmɛtstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if Syringa was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.[118] Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a

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[118] See p. 42; Lytton, *g*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, 411
but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alêne quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

Guns.—The Coeur d'Alêne were one of the last tribes to obtain 177
firearms. They were practically without guns until after the traders 411
came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—Deer were run to bay or 224
to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,[108] were in common use.

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[108] *a*, p. 246.

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224
from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462]
canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes 177
run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not 224
always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152]
more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224
some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292
Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224
Thompson [169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281]
for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 348.

[170] a, fig. 228.

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taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800.

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FISHING—*Hooks.*—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.[172] Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.[173] Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.[174] This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.[175] Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,[176] while others were notched, grooved, or bored.[177] Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines.

Spears.—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,[178] used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.[179] The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,[180] the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[188] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[189] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwaxt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

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[172] *a*, p. 253.

[173] See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156–158.

[174] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *b*.

[175] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, no. 9.

[176] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*.

[177] See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 409.

[178] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, *k*, fig. 87.

[179] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 232; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 11.

[180] *a*, fig. 231.

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[189] Thompson, *a*, fig. 242; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 91.

[190] *a*, fig. 241.

[191] *a*, fig. 243.

[192] *a*, fig. 227.

177 231 492 d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokan. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokan, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

177 492 Horse Equipment.—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.[190] The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[191]

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[190] *l*, fig. 8.

[191] *l*, figs. 4, 20.

439 buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also occasionally obtained from the Paloos.

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

177 439 567 Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Alène hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them.

177 439 Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Alène and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé.

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Alène did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were

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willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often bought from the Plains tribes.
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It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

439 The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,

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Armor.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only [177] one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

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Forts and Defenses.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some

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[213] See Thompson, a, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, a, fig. 255.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcĕlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 177
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat 201
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not

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remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present [191] day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

SIGNS

201 1. *Bear.*—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes 166 with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in 594 another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit 621 that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, 127 and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although 221 parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

[416] [77] 221 Furthermore, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe,
[621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to
241 adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the
621 failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
157 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like
622 qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alène

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. 157
People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or 622
if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or
foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few
chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good
man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their
conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time
most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members
of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is
not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one
of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was
the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band
which was considered the head band of the division, either because
of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band
which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which
the other bands of the division had sprung.[283] Of the three, or possibly
four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the
tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if
not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district
is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up 157
the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single
community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed 177
away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time 622
there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four.
Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning
of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced
to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died
the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from
the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three
recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stëla''am*, with headquarters [551]
at Coeur d'Alêne City; *Xwtstceni''tsa* ("walking robe"),
with headquarters at Mission; *Cilcilltcô'sqet* ("revolving sky or
cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When
Stëla''am died, André *Sëltis* (Saltis) became head chief. He was
no direct descendant of *Stëla''am*, but was elected on account of his
wealth and intelligence.[284] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during
the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877
during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete
Wa'iyt'lcu' (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[283] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon. 177 621

[284] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 632 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated 624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as 205 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not 463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special 484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463
hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally 484
those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and
men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory
to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or
another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to
one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain
services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men
especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as
the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's
bidding and perform important service, especially where there was
danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who
were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do
in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families
and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the
pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If
there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an
emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of
the system only in a very general way, and received very few details.
It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle- [728]
aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable
men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them.
As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like
those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to [554]
some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those
who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in
certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177]
symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the
Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied
from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the
Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these
men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an
armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed.
They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed
to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle.
They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this
class had existed under the old system also, and the members were
known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no
armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202
signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any 484
important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries,
and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when
buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and th

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173
They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails.
The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They 567
reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177
After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves
and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567
value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not easily be kept captive.

PERSONAL NAMES.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551
among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams.
These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776]
guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551
were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from
incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551
not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwaxanc'*

cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present day, and some of them were provided with hoops. 854

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,[300] and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier 127 854 or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

Head Deformation.—During the life of the child on the board carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind, 304 854

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites. 585 583 177

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[300] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires. [832]

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives begin to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused. 584

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself *and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased* were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property. 428 587

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

[306] *a*, p. 324.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. 768 They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,[311] as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. 765 Before and after the burial, most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[312] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[313] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differences. 177 764 For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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[311] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 334–335.

[312] *a*, p. 333.

[313] *a*, p. 333.

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764 nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

773 Conception of the World.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[314] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

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821 In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[315]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people be-

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[314] a, pp. 337-342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqEn En*, see p. 184.

[315] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Shahaptian tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

361

Smxlkammi'n	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sāli'lx° [34] ("heaped house" [35])	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tskwora'lxm [36]	On Okanagon River, close to *sāli'lx°*.
Ôkina'qēn [37] ("—— head")	An old name for *sāli'lx°*.

101 The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoi'lxxx* (Sanpoil or Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespi'lxx* (Nespelim). The name of the
621 former division is said to be derived from that of the district around
361 Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespi'lxm* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around
● 177 Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

101 I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have
361 I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxielpi'tuk*,[38] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[34] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.

[35] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.

[36] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 781).

[37] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).

[38] Compare the tribal name.

offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. 166
Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose 174
home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the
Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably 361
came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

Intercourse and Intermarriage.—The Lake tribe had most 177 ●
intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'x̣*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'x̣* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

177 The opinion generally held seems to be that some time previous to the introduction of the horse the *Stuwī'x̣* were driven away from the Lower Similkameen entirely. Afterwards the lowest point held by them was around Keremeous. At some later date those living near this place retired farther up the river, died out, or were absorbed by the Okanagon. Anyway, they disappeared, and henceforth the *Stuwī'x̣*, along with the Thompson, occupied the river only above this point.

[197] During the first part of the nineteenth century the *Stuwī'x̣* and Thompson languages were used exclusively above Keremeous, the Thompson preponderating. Later the *Stuwī'x̣* became extinct and Thompson alone was spoken. Through continued intercourse and intermarriage with the neighboring people of the Lower Similkameen and of Okanagon Lake, Okanagon is now gradually pushing out the Thompson language, and is liable to supplant it in the whole valley. The infiltration of Okanagon blood has been very gradual and does not keep pace with the spread of the language, which is making rapid headway. The *Stuwī'x̣*-Thompson inhabitants are becoming Okanagonized more through contact than through intermarriage. This process has been facilitated by the changed mode of life of the Thompson, whose habits have become more sedentary and who do not often visit their friends in Similkameen and seldom intermarry there. On the other hand, the Okanagon are in closer proximity to the Upper Similkameen people and, therefore, in constant contact with them. As already stated, the people of the upper end of Okanagon Lake are mixed with Shuswap, and also slightly with Thompson and probably with *Stuwī'x̣*. The Douglas Lake Band, in all their settlements, intermarried with the Okanagon Lake people, on the one hand, and with the Thompson-*Stuwī'x̣*, on the other. They have therefore considerable Thompson and some Nicola, *Stuwī'x̣*, Shuswap, and Similkameen blood.

As all the Okanagon bands intermarried a great deal, foreign blood received at one end of the tribe was often transmitted to the other end, and thus there is a little Thompson and Shuswap blood through almost all the tribe.

A few instances of intermarriage with distant tribes have been reported. About three generations ago a Similkameen man married a woman who came from a tribe in the far south. Some of her manners and some of the food she ate were considered peculiar. For instance, she was fond of grasshoppers. She may have been a Paiute or a member of a Californian tribe, probably a slave who had been sold. Another instance is that of a Similkameen young man, who while on a trading trip to Hope, married a young woman there belonging to the Lower Fraser tribe. The following year he took her

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it. 177

II. MANUFACTURES

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WORK IN STONE, BONE, ETC.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers[5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been

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[1] a, pp. 182-184.

[2] See Thompson, a, p. 183, fig. 122.

[3] i, figs. 30, 35, 36.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, b, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 222 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

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6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

Coiled Basketry.[1]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes 285
long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and 314
many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands 415
of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made
little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring
bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials 439
abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets
and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia.
The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled
baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson
who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil
made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements,
as they also procured some from the Columbia. The
Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As
among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets,
and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots
were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used
instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce
in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of
uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by
the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river
within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of
cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees
in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication 177 ●
on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285
about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced
to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531
some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314
this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was
principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple
designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the
inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely
cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville
appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil.
The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and
they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people
think it came from the south, and some think it must have been
learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely.
Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower
Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted.
About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased,
most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass
entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531
high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns 285

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[1] See 4, pp. 140-142.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers. 226

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes, were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes. 177 224 226

Seasons.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pᴇskaei'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are— 805

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pᴇske'pts*	*ska'pts.*
Summer	*spa'ᴇntck*	*spa'ᴇntck*
Early fall	*stᴇmᴇlt'k*	*tᴇmᴇlt'k*
Late fall	*pᴇskae'i*	*stlwōi'st*
Winter	*pᴇsil'stᴇk*	*sil'stᴇk*

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson.

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Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade.

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and parflêches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpo
Colville; Lakes

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bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools.

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

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Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior.

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

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Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

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[For information on the introduction of the horse to the Plateau area in general, see 7: Teit, category 116, pp. 350-351.]

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where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tuna'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone. 000 [101] [177]

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne 000 [224] [484]

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfeet. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1730-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

000 of them, perhaps all, divided into two or more parties, who traveled in different directions from one seasonal ground to another, hunting, root digging, berrying, visiting, and trading. Some of these parties traveled considerable distances on these trips. In the summertime bands of Flathead might be met with in the valleys of the Big Hole, Beaver Head, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, and in the country north to Helena, as well as at points within the boundaries of their neighbors in the Bitterroot Valley and elsewhere. Parties also frequented the upper portions of Shield Creek and the Musselshell; but this may have been in later days, after the introduction of horses.[34] Changed conditions, wrought by the adoption of the horse, the importance of buffalo hunting, and wars with the Blackfoot appear to have resulted in the breaking up of the old system of geographically localized bands and to have forced the tribe to live together as a unit. In the summer the tribe split into two or three large parties, who came together for the winter in a single large camp or in two camps close together. Sometimes, for protection, the tribe remained united during the whole year. [177] In later times they wintered as far west as possible, according to some, in Pend d'Oreilles territory. *Tlka'lɛmɛls*[35] ("thick bushes" or "willow bushes"), now known as Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley, was for many years their main winter camp. In the schedule of Indian Reserves[36] the Flathead appear to be divided into three bands—the Bitterroot, Carlos band, and the Flathead.

000 *The Salish-Tunā'xe.*—The number and locations of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* bands are not fully remembered. It seems that there were at least four main divisions. The largest band is said to have had their headquarters at a place called *Sxneū'kol* (said to mean "ice piled up") on Sun River, near Fort Shaw. This was considered the main seat of the tribe. Another band wintered at *Sxneū'skul* (said to mean "little ice piled up"), also on Sun River; a third division had their headquarters on Dearborn River; and a fourth generally made their main camp somewhere near Great Falls, but whether on the main Missouri or at the mouth of a tributary stream is not clear. A fifth band is sometimes spoken of as having lived farther north and west, in the foothills of the Rockies, at the heads of some small streams near some little lakes. The people of this band were mixed with Kutenai and it is not quite certain whether they belonged properly to the Salish-*Tunā'xe* or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*.

(In a later communication Mr. Teit sent the following information obtained from the Kutenai.) There were two bands with separate chiefs that lived together near Browning, Mont. (on the present

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[34] Some people think that very long ago there were scattered bands located more or less permanently at all those places.

[35] Compare *Ke'lɛmɛls* (list of Okanagon villages, p. 266, No. 2).

[36] Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1902, p. 496.

361 619 131 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwē'stsɛne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 Population.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none [177] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many, while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend 162 171 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmtē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'χe* were 161 162 +171 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1850, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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648 d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were
224 often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much
feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and
southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often
camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' terri-
tory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the
old territory of the Salish-*Tună'χe* and part of that of the Kutenai-
Tună'χe. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and
north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of
the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Sho-
shoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some
of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far
north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east
of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary,
became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought
there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand
[199] in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms,
the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire
648 guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who
now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer
necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party
usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead
often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish
tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne
sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Sho-
shoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the
western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to
move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed
by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile
migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These
were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres
or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres.
The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from
some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the
Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800
from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the
Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the
east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have
pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and
were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from
the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued,
in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly
with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The
Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies
of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

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166 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead 174 as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he 167 had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward [487] toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead 582 had most intercourse with Salish-*Tună'xe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sᴇmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tună'xe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tună'xe*. The Salish-*Tună'xe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tună'xe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sᴇmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

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Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Sxmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'xe* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, *Tunā'xe*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣āpa'eqxt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'ukxn*, a *Stlaxai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

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177 from the Fraser Delta, mixed with Lower Thompson; *Tsɛlsèmtt'*, a Colville; Michel Colville, a Colville. These men were all in the employ of the Hudson Bay Co. at Fort Colville, and came to the Flathead together about 1860. They all married on the reserve, but left few descendants; only Michel Colville had two sons and a daughter who grew up. About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. He was born at Kamloops. About 1890 there came an Upper Thompson, who married and was living in 1910 on the reserve at Mission. Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Hudson Bay man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. One was Crow and one was Snake. Later he deserted his wives and children and went to Red River, Manitoba, and never returned. His descendants are now on the Flathead Reserve. Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. He had two sons and four daughters, all of whom are on the reserve. Jim Dalloway, Ben Kaiser, and Tom Hill, Shawnee refugees, settled among the Flathead about the time the early traders arrived. A white man who had a Piegan woman for wife settled in the Bitterroot Valley a long time ago and had a very large family. His children all intermarried with Flathead and some of them and their descendants are now on the reserve. About 1810 a Flathead girl was captured by Piegan or some other tribe from a Flathead camp near Sun River. Later on she married a Chippewa. Some of her descendants came back a few years ago and proved their rights in the Flathead Reserve. Revais claimed that there were 12 persons on the reserve who were half Flathead and half Shoshoni, and 6 men who had Nez Percé wives. Fifteen Iroquois settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles and 19 among the Colville. All were at one time employees of the Hudson Bay Co., and all married women of these tribes. They have some descendants on the Flathead and Colville Reservations to-day. It is said that about 1820–1825 a small party of Iroquois, originally from around Caughnawaga, Quebec, under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse (or Big Ignace), reached the Flathead country, and being well received there, married and became members of the tribe. This party had been migrating westward for several years. Revais stated that when the treaty was made Governor Stevens told the Flathead that the Jocko Reserve was to be for the three tribes of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. Some of the Flathead wanted a reserve for themselves, as they did not consider themselves

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bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and 177 Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of 181 medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, [171]* honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was [831] much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some [178] of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish- [171]* *Tuna'xe* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sɛmtē'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the 000 Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
107 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'xe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'xe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
[412] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwī'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

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*171 DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflêches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
[178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

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*171 DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflêches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 302 171*

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs. 304 171* [184]

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed. 302 171* [301] [202] [177]

V. SUBSISTENCE

ROOTS AND BERRIES.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles. 222 171*

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Kalispel
Spokan

head and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both 000 east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied.

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those [224] of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse.

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles 224 parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot 171* Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that [171] part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
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224 never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they
*171 went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green
Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although
• [177] they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive
224 prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they
[178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead
*171 tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan.
[184] Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around
221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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501 ● [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it
501 *171 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sɛmît'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first
[178] [177] → iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

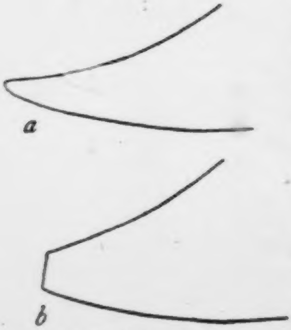

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171 → DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau
[262] [237] and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse 000
flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and
other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and
eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead,
and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last
days of the buffalo hunting.

I obtained the following information from Revais and others 231
concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend 171*
d'Oreilles and *Sɛmtɛ'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead;
and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne 177 •
got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan,
according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville
almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel."
It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides
of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses
Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles.
Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before
the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier 000
than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received
them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have
obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni.
From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and
Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the
same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way
of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south
to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico.
The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tunā'χe* and Flathead may have had
horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the
mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend
d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tunā'χe*
and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot
obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tunā'χe*, Flathead,
and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first
horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the
Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses
than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time
after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses
from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their
first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses
at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres
probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree
obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower 231
Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country 173
was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the

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231 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw
173 the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called
other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks,
which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been
a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down,
near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope.
They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite
at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on
the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with
much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by
the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later
they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for
"horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of
*171 the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs.
482 Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for
carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught
animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants
declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or
two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used
for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or
just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain.
No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was
lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow,
as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some
baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common
*171 method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles
of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflêches, filled
so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by
loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side,
and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse.
Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise
on the top of the saddle and parflêches and secured by the same rope.
[177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches,
ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse
management appear to have been received and adopted along with
the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead
to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds
of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most
men's saddles were of the "pad" type[1] similar to those of the Thompson,
[531] Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of
the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise
ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] I, p. 12, fig. 5.

informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

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The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Smtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tună'ẋe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tună'ẋe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tună'ẋe* and Kutenai-*Tună'ẋe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tună'ẋe*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tună'ẋe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tună'ẋe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington 000 Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439 within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) and at Thompson Falls. 487 The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411 Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713 surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under 171* "Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of knives, clubs, and tomahawks. [178] Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. [237] Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. [531] Shields and shield covers had painted designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. [531] Some of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177] •

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171* Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. [725] All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727] related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000 wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

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on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flat-
head, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between fami- 727
lies were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they 848
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, 628
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes.
A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni
captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the
Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms
and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flat- 171*
head (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez
Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was
held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the
Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo
robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to
see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected
that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook 191
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville.
However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook
was not used a great deal, the principal language being French.
Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also
employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the
Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by
the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly
different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 575
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177] ●

HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier. [113]

with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty 535
cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; 171*
a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the
dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been [177]
introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by 000
some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had 796
numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including 171*
several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory
dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, 72
another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all
night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The [702]

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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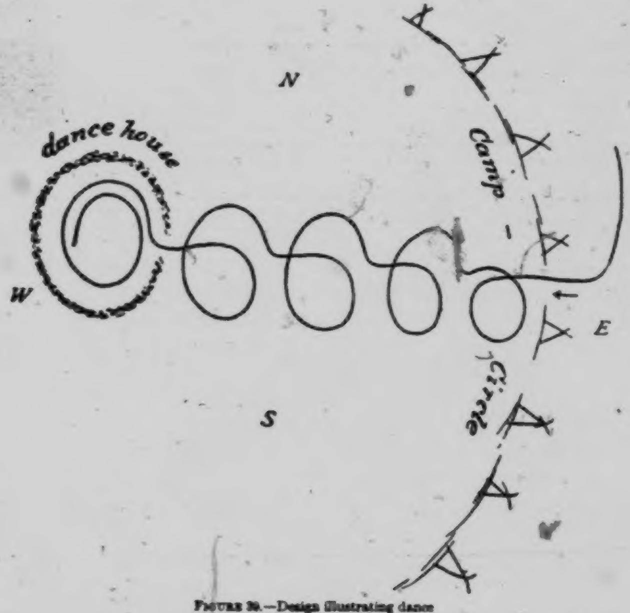

FIGURE 39.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
476 an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization
687 for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
578 great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

128 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

178
Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to 342
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəns'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1] The underground or semi-subterranean house appears to have been [17] a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[2] Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[3] An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the [823] length of the house. One door preferably faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid 231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was very gentle. 492 The first person who mounted it rode with two long sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking sticks) as they went along.

492 Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were ● 178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermar- 492 riage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse, 484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them. It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest 487 trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville. Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'ẋe* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmɛtū'kɛnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

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131 *The Sɛmtɛ'use.*—The *Sɛmtɛ'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplɛ'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie. [178]

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

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[37] Said to be the *Sɛmtɛ'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[38] Said to be the Flathead name.

[39] Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
131 or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon, Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtě'use*, as this place was considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[a] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St. Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
178 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission, in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
619 divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsī'ni* ("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsin*, "entrance, outlet, or
131 confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slătě'use*, and sometimes *Tsentī's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwī'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

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[a] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai 000
and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war 648
parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. 727
However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the [181]
Rockies were the *Sᴇmtě'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had com- 648
bined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great [224]
measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had [178]
evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern [166]
part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the
bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*). [361]
About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles
country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and [224]
at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreillies country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with 648
them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the 224
mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a 177
great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the
Upper Kutenai and *Sɛmtɛ'use*. Intercourse was rather less with 582
the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, and
Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage
occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel
had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the
Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with
the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend
d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe.
There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with
other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying
Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse
and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel,
less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes.
Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and
Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other
Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and
Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance [178] •
of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes
increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage
now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages
were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little 567
extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and
captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had 727
slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south
of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* are said to have had a few slave or captive
women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and
Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were
seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed.
After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven 177
for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled
down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, *Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣ăpa'sqɛt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsă'utkɛn*, a *Stlax̣ai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

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Kalispel
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bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. 177

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tunâ'x̣e* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sᴇmtē'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead. 181 [171]* [831] [178] • [171]* ooo

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most 531
ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally 171*
red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly
black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most [380]
of them were obtained from mineral earths.

DRESSING OF SKINS.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner 281
as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such 171*
as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne[5] and Shoshoni.[6]

RAWHIDE WORK.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. 281
Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides
sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were 415
used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were 171*
comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were
lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide [178] ●
bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably
not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and par- [439]
flêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

WOVEN AND OTHER BAGS.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes [531]
were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven 285
wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least 171*
by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

WOVEN MATS.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red 285
and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their 531
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[1] c, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.
[2] See p. 44.
[3] j, pp. 175, 176.
[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.
[5] See p. 44.
[6] j, p. 176, fig. 2.

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwi'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunà'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

531
*171 Designs on Baskets, Bags, etc.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
● [178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

462
*171 Division of Labor.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the winter-
time. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in con-
struction to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foun-
dation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
*178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, espe-
[592] cially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the in-
troduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never sup-
planted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

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in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27. 291 281

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171* [531]

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings. 291 191*

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All [284] the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." [531] It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or [178] boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

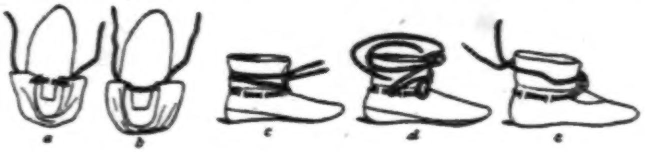

FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[6] 4, p. 47, fig. 1.

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291 *171 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] [531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

292 *171 [439] Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." 294 *171 Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] Id., p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111909.

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111783.

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alène, Thompson, and 291 other tribes. 171*

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and 531 by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. 291 Elk teeth and shells were also used. 171* Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. [178] • In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on [237] men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes.

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[10] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111909.

415 285 ● 178 *171 [222] [412] Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 178 *171 [415] [407] Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 *171 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

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136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time 224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, • 178 transportation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great *171 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the [222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties. 000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

224 *171 [177] never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although they hunted all the way, going and returning.

224 In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they fled. [178] This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 *171 [184] Fishing.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around 221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

501 [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it 501 *171 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sxmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, proba- [178] [177] → bly with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

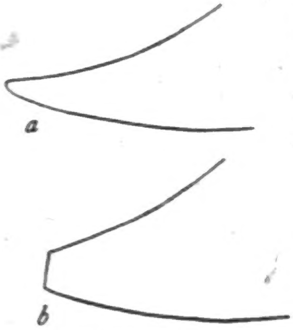

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171 → **DOGS.**—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau [262] [237] and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 **HORSES.**—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

492 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly
531 ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used
*171 on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

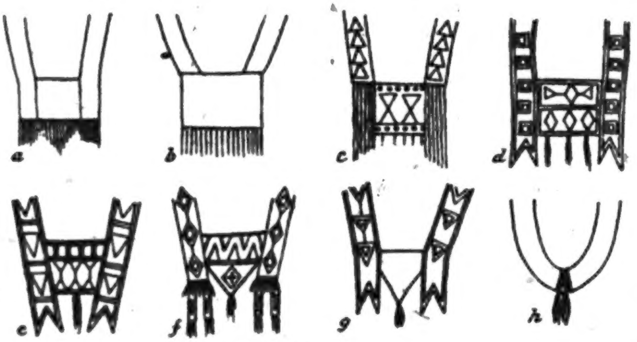

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and
492 used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging
*171 lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover,
[415] safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in
[178] use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

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[8] [illegible] p. 23, fig. 19.
[9] [illegible] Thompson, p. 202, a, fig. 131.
[10] [illegible] instance, I, p. 22, fig. 18.
[11] [illegible] figs. 23, 24.

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parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, 492
came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down [415]
with a cord or cinch. [178] Most people could mount about equally well
from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side
for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear 481
to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 171*
Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used.

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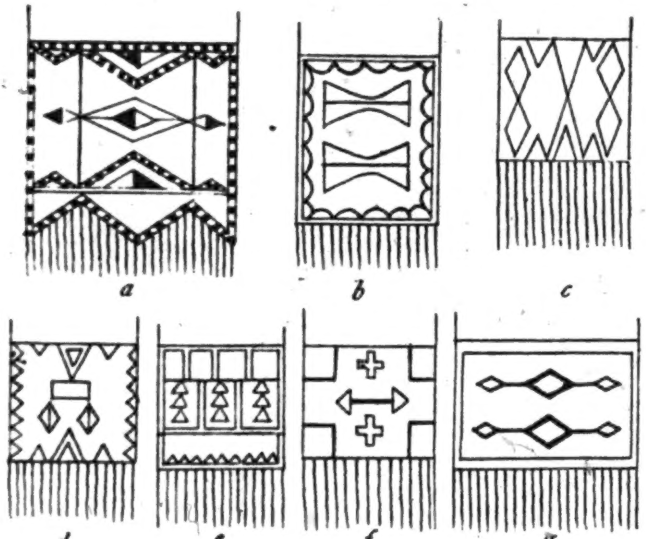

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before 487
and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, 439
which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the 438
mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and
eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In
early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural
elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the [178]
advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western
influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction
of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau
tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set
westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western
gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington 000
Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178] ●
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned.
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725]
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

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000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living,
[619] common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
178 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information
621 about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
*171 bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
*171 of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding
the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
*171 the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
*171 each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations
of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

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None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silxmuxs'tu'*. was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoitsmxlo'* or *Kwokwo'ita* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tund'xe* word. He was partly of *Tund'xe* descent.
2. *Tcukui'leqxn* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix -qen "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Silxmiŝlôrei'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tund'xe* name. *ŝlôrei'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tund'xe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tund'xe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

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The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilxni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilxni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

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I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqxn* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwistpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spait'x*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177]

Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178] [113]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening
*171 of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*171 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
*171 country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

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I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

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All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains. [178] •

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

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1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish

Coeur d'Alene

(Skitswish)

000 Car., 338, reprint 1860), Kroeber's account of the Arapaho process (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVIII, pt. 1, 1902), and Wissler's for the Siksika (Ontario Archæol. Rep. for 1906). Good descriptions of Eskimo methods are given by Boas, Murdoch, and Nelson in the 6th, 9th, and 18th Reps. respectively of the B. A. E.; of the Nascapee process by Turner in 11th Rep. B. A. E.; of the British Columbia method by Teit in Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., II, pt. 4, 1900; and of that used by the Chukchi of N. E. Siberia by Bogoras in vol. VII, pt. 1, of the same series. Consult also Bushnell in Bull. 48, B. A. E., 1909; Mason in Rep. Nat. Mus. 1889, 552, 1891; N. Dak. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 455, 1906; Shufeldt in Proc. Nat. Mus. 1888, XI, 1889; Spinden in Mem. Am. Anthr. Asso., II, pt. 3, 1908. (J. M.)

Skingenes (*Sk·i'ngĕ'nes*). A Songish band living on Discovery id., S. end of Vancouver id. Pop. 26 in 1909.

Discovery Island (Indians).—Can. Ind. Aff., pt. 2, 66, 1902. **Sk-i'ngE'nes.**—Boas in 6th Rep N. W. Tribes Can., 17, 1890.

Skinpah (Tenino: *skin*, 'cradle'; *pă*, locative: 'cradle place'). A small Shahaptian tribe speaking the Tenino dialect and formerly living on the N. bank of Columbia r. opposite the mouth of the Des Chutes, in Klickitat co., Wash. They were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855 and placed on the reservation of that name. Their number is unknown.

Sew-paw.—Ross, Fur Hunters, I, 186, 1855. **Skeen.**—Kane, Wand. in N. A., 263, 1859. **Skien.**—Robie in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 352, 1858. **Skin.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 410, 1855. **Ski'npă.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 740, 1896. **Skin-pah.**—U. S. Stat. at Large, XII, 951, 1863. **Takin.**—Lee and Frost, Oregon, 176, 1844 (misprint).

Skistlainai-hadai (*Sk!ī'sLa-i na-i xadā'-i*, 'people of the house where they always have plenty of food'). A subdivision of the Yaku-lanas, a Haida family of the Raven clan; probably named from a house.—Swanton, Cont. Haida, 271, 1905.

101 **Skitswish.** A Salish tribe on a river and lake of the same name in N. Idaho. The name Cœur d'Alène (French 'Awl-heart'), by which they are popularly known, was originally a nickname used by some chief of the tribe to express the size of a trader's heart. The Skitswish bear a high reputation for industry, self-respect, and good behavior. In 1909 533 were enumerated as belonging to the Cœur d'Alène res., Idaho.

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Cœur, and Alenes.—Scouler (1846) in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., I, 238, 1848. **Cœur d'Alêne.**—Parker, Journal, 293, 1840. **Cœur d'Eleine.**—Stevens in H. R. Doc. 48, 33d Cong., 1st sess., 77, 1854. **Cœur d'Eliene.**—Ibid. **Cœur d'Eline.**—Ibid. **Cœur d'Helene.**—Lane in Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 170, 1850. **Cœurs d'Aleines.**—Mayne, Brit. Col., 296, 1862. **Cœurs d'aliene.**—De Smet, Letters, 170, 1843. **Cœurs d'Helene.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850. **Cœurs-pointus.**—Domenech, Deserts, I, 441, 1860. **Cosard Helene.**—Lane in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, 521, 1853. **Cour d'Aliene.**—Dart in Ind. Aff. Rep., 216, 1851. **Cour d'Aleine.**—Nicolet, Oregon, 143, 1846. **Cour d'Alenes.**—Cain in Ind. Aff. Rep., 210, 1860. **Cour d'Aline.**—Robertson (1846) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 8, 1848. **Cour De Lion.**—Johnson and Winter, Rocky Mts., 34, 1846. **Les Cœurs d'Aliènes.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 150, 1831. **Needle Hearts.**—Domenech, Deserts, II, 262, 1860. **Painted Heart Indians.**—Saxton in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 257, 1855 (misprint). **Pointed Hearted Indians.**—Wright in Sen. Ex. Doc. 32, 35th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1859. **Pointed hearts.**—Cox, Columbia R., II, 131, 1831. **Printed Hearts.**—Lane in Ind. Aff. Rep., 159, 1850 (misprint). **Q'ma'shpal.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896 ('camas people': Yakima name). **S'chizui.**—Giorda, Kalispel Dict., I, 494, 1877–79. **Sh-chee-tsoo-ee.**—A. T. Richardson, inf'n, 1907 (name as pronounced by a Skitswish). **Skee-cha-way.**—Ross in Ind. Aff. Rep., 22, 1870. **Skeelsomish.**—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. **Skeetsomish.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. **Skeetsonish.**—Cass (1834) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 609, 1853. **Sketsomish.**—Lewis and Clark Exped., I, map, 1814. **Skitsui.**—Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., IV, 449, 1845. **Skit-mish.**—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 460, 1854. **Skitsaih.**—Gallatin quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. **Skitsuish.**—H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 7, 1848. **Skitsamiug.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896 (Paloos name). **Skitswi.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Okinagan name). **Skitsuish.**—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., VI, 206, 1846. **Skitswish.**—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 415, 1855. **Stchitsui.**—Gatschet, op. cit. ("Flathead" name). **Stiel Shoi.**—De Smet, Letters, 216, 1843. **Stietshoi.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 732, 1896. 101

000 **Skittagetan Family.** The name applied to a linguistic family composed of the Indians usually known as Haida (q. v.). It was taken from *Sqĕ'dagits*, a name of one of the Haida town chiefs, which seems to mean 'son of the chiton' [mollusk]. This was first erroneously applied to the town of Hlgagilda, of which he was head chief, and later, under the form Skittagets (see *Skidegate*), was applied by Gallatin to the people speaking this language, whence it was adopted by Powell.

=**Haida.**—Tolmie and Dawson, Comp. Vocabs., 15B, 1884. =**Haidah.**—Scouler in Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc., XI, 224, 1841. >**Hai-dai.**—Work quoted by Kane, Wand. in N. A., app., 1859. =**Hidery.**—Deans, Tales from Hidery, passim, 1899. <**Hydahs.**—Keane in Stanford, Compend., app., 460, 1878. >**Kygani.**—Dall in Proc. A. A. A. S., 269, 1869. ×**Nootka.**—Bancroft, Nat. Races, III, 564, 1882. ×**Northern.**—Scouler, op. cit. >**Queen Charlotte's Island.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, 15, 306, 1836. >**Skidegattz.**—Gallatin in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 402, 1853. >**Skittagets.**—Gallatin in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., II, pt. 1, c, 1848. =**Skittagetan.**—Powell in 7th Rep. B. A. E., 118, 1891.

Skittok. A Knaiakhotana village on Kaknu r., Alaska, forming part of the Kenai settlement.

Chkitok.—11th Census, Alaska, 70, 1893. **Skittok.**—Post route map, 1903.

Sklau (*S'k·lau'*, 'beaver'). A Squawmish village community on the left bank of Squawmisht r., Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. Brit. A. A. S., 474, 1900.

Skoachais (*Sk·ōātcai's*, 'deep hole in water'). A Squawmish village community on Burrard inlet, Brit. Col.—Hill-Tout in Rep. B. A. A. S., 475, 1900.

Skogari. The Tutelo village in 1748; situated on the N. branch of the Susquehanna, in the present Columbia co., Pa. At the date named it was "the only town

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 554
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home
elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when
he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference
to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology
this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
681 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization
for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

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Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəmı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp 342
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared
with those who had had to remain. 888

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use. 551/776

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim'tī'kən, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, səyau'xmukən, in memory of his brother and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved. 721 [773]

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 181/721

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[13] See pages 192-94.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 138.

181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[551] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These
721 were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[18]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snaká'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls (Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snaqaie'tkʷ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[18] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the correct guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told. 776 796 881

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian spirit songs (ankwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents. 796

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night. Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act. 181 796

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly toward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew 533 796

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."[16] 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 721

> "The natives of the Oakinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms in impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe."[17]

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

> The last time the Thompson came to skŭnqwŭnťep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One man was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home."[18]

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

> "At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow."[19]

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

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16 Teit, Shuswap, 542.
17 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206.
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, Thompson Indians, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Kartar.

Sinkaietk
[Northern Okanagon War Dance] Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

S
The Sinkaietk take no scalps and have no war dance. Mary Carden stated that the Blackfoot, who were met when buffalo hunting, were the only people who scalped. 726

N
The Northern Okanagon, however, have a dance preparatory to war and a scalp dance on their return. A warrior keeps scalps with his power emblem in a medicine bundle: they are kept for display. The scalps are decorated with feathers and porcupine quills strung on the hair. They do not take heads of the slain as trophies. 726 778

N
For the preparatory war dance, warriors paint their bodies solid red without designs and wear a small breechcloth. All trophies from former skirmishes are brought out. Garments and ornaments from slain enemies are worn at this time. A war leader with an enemy scalp on a short stick starts the dance by stamping the lower end of the stick on the ground when the drum begins to beat. Then all the men, and as many women as choose, dance with the war leader. At intervals during the dancing and singing, each warrior describes his war power, states what his power has told him to do and how many times he has saved his people. At this time power songs are never sung; only war songs are used. Great warriors ask their people to test them for war. These men have so much power that arrows and bullets cannot penetrate them when their people shoot at them. The war dance continues until the last warrior has told his story. 726 535 796

N
There is no dancing in camp while the men are away fighting, but when they return they hold a scalp dance. People from many neighboring villages come to dance with the returned warriors. At this time, the warriors one by one relate their deeds in the last fight. [722] 727 535 796

N
David says that the Shuswap are the greatest enemy of the Northern Okanagon. Whereas the Shuswap come down to fight the Northern Okanagon every spring, taking advantage of the high water to float their bark canoes, the Northern Okanagon go to Shuswap country to fight every fall. This would indicate a degree of formalization. 721

RELATIONS WITH THE WHITES

S
The Sinkaietk tribe was well disposed to the whites in their first contacts, according to the accounts of white men as well as their own. Ross Cox found them friendly at the beginning of the last century. Wilkes,[28] in 1845, says, "The Okonagan tribe of Indians are supposed to number about two hundred, and are represented as quiet and 177 181

1/A [For context of these footnotes, see p. 83 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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28 Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 434.
29 Lane, in Message from the President, 170. 1/A
30 Shaw, Estimates for Indian Service, 113. 1/A
31 Craig, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 171. 1/A

peaceably disposed." In 1850, Lane"[29][1/A] reports, 177
"The Onkinegans inhabit the country north of Fort Colville; are well-armed, and number 181
about 700. They are well disposed toward the whites."

The Sinkaietk deny that they ever participated in battle with the whites, but in the governmental reports concerning the difficulties in Yakima country in February, 1856 the Sinkaietk are mentioned. At this time, Major Haller took one hundred infantrymen to punish the murderer of a Mr. Bolon. The party was defeated by the Yakima and some ten persons were killed. 177 648

"The result of the blunder on the part of the military was instantly heralded to all the tribes west [east] of the mountains, inviting them to join and exterminate the Americans. This message took like wildfire with all the Indians, and immediately after the following tribes decided to go to war: The Cayuses, Walla-Wallas, Umatilles, Des Chutes, Tigh, John Day's River, Pelouse, Isle-de-Pierre, O-kin-i-kaines [Sinkaietk]; and on the east [west] of the Cascade mountains, Nesqually, White River, Dewamish, and Washington Lake Indians....

"The defeat of Major Haller by the Yakima caused these tribes to commence hostilities sooner than they intended."[30][1/A]

In May, the Sinkaietk still took part in the general unrest, according to Craig, at the Lapwai agency (May 27, 1856).

"... There is a cloud of Indians collected in the Spokane country, they say to rub out the few whites and Nez Percés that are here.

"There is very little doubt that the Indians in the direction of the upper Columbia have joined the war party, as they have received their horses as pay for so doing. There are now Cayuses, Pelouses, Spokanes, Okin-e-Kanes [Sinkaietk], Coeur d'Alene, and Colville Indians, a part of each of which are now on this side of the Spokane prairie. They say they have made all the whites run out of their country and will now make all the friendly Indians do the same. They have sent to the Snakes, and a party has already joined them."[31][1/A]

In the same year, Stevens reports,

"The whole interior is ripe for war. One-half of the Nez Percés are about to join the war party. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Colvilles, and Oki[n]akanes [Sinkaietk] have accepted horses as the price of their service. They say to the friendly Nez Percés, join us in the war against the whites or we

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 83 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

48. carI'pa.
49. lŭ'plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI'kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōx̣wist.
52. ēnlāx̣ŭlāx̣swa'tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lâ'x.
54. snx̣EncI'ne^{ŭx}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinc- 181 ●
tion among these people. Every individual
is free to make his own decisions and to
choose his own manner of existence within 571
the limitations of the culture pattern of
the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or 565
gamble when and where he chooses. He may es-
tablish himself and his family in any one of
the village sites belonging to his immediate
band or to a friendly band. Wherever he re-
sides he must recognize the chief of that
area as leader, but if the methods of a
specific chief are displeasing, he may always
move elsewhere.

An individual receives his nationality, 186
not from the place of his nativity, but from
the place where he resides the greater por- 619
tion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child
captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, 571
to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sin-
kaietk parentage. 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose
to stay. Family ties are very strong. The 166
same group often winters at the same site
year after year. The wealthy are respected 361
and residence in their proximity is desir-
able, for practical reasons. In case of
famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy 571
assist the poor. Even a man who is poor be-
cause of laziness is not permitted to starve.
He is cared for by his more enterprising and
therefore more affluent relatives.

The power concept is a potent force in 554
Sinkaietk social organization. Since power
is not esoteric, every individual obtains
some power, to a greater or lesser degree. 622
The whole phenomenon makes for special-
ization. Thus, the leaders of group activi- 778
ties are chosen because of their abilities
derived from specific powers. As a result,
positions such as war leader, dance leader
and house leader, hunting leader and curing
doctor, are never hereditary and are not
necessarily permanent during an individual's
lifetime.

At all seasons of the year some fami- 361
lies live in the hills. Single families are
moving throughout the year, but at all times 621
the villages along the rivers have the dens-
est population, more so in winter than at
any other season. A small group wintering
apart from the main body of the band has no
chief and sometimes does not even appoint a
temporary headman, but the chief always
knows where they are. For any specific acti-

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

● 181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47][1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48][1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai 000
and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war 648
parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. 727
However, the only one that suffered much in these raids west of the [181]
Rockies were the *Sᴇm*[illegible]*se*, who are said to have been easy-going
and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them
several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant
of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula.
Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked
again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox
came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of
the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled
among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined 648
with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great [224]
measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had [178]
evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern [166]
part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the [361]
bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*).
About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them
stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles
country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and [224]
at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the
latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and
Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally
east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of
the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated
most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country
after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps
in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend
d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally
camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both
Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had
begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties
occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with 648
them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the 224
mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and 177 Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of 181 • medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead [171]* were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was [831] much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some [178] of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish- [171]* *Tunä'xe* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sxmtë'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the 000 Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
687 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

622 562 people were free to follow either. Amity might be advised but could not be enforced. Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skū'mâlt are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation"‡with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women."[52]

562 184 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of the equality of women is not unexpected. Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

> "The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

> "There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mâ'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o'mâ'lt and the Sinkaietk skū'mâlt. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 554 622 In the old days, among the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a chief could wear an eagle feather headdress clear around the head. A "mean" man, that is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition, might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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‡[For footnote, see p. 96 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

[52] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*.

[53] Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 235.

[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 154.

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sa-
773 cred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.'[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right!" Then I came back.'[1]

789 The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord
796 around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it
●[184] from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElslü'ɬ (Upper Kutenai ?)'[1]and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqöll'tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[2] Some say that Fox was Coyote's partner when he danced, others say that Porcupine was. This is the first time that Johnnie Louie [the interpreter] has heard that Porcupine was Coyote's partner. Margaret [Sereepkin ?] says that Fox was always Coyote's partner.

[3] This is the conventional ending of a tale. – L.S.

[4] Compare skalsi'ulk, the name given the Upper Kutenai by the Okanagon groups according to Teit, Salishan Tribes, 202. – L.S.

½[For context of these footnotes, see p. 152(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 152 (c)

The form of the hand game in modern vogue among the Southern Okanagon is practically identical with that found on the Northwest Coast, particularly among the Kwakiutl and the Klallam,'[1] except for differences in the gestures used by guessers to indicate the position of the unmarked bones. It is probable that there are also local differences in the signs used by Southern Okanagon. 525 171

A hand-game of somewhat different form is described by Alexander Ross as played on the lower Okanogan River in the early nineteenth century. In this game six players at most played on a side; only one pole for drumming was laid between the teams, and only two bones were used, each party taking one of them. Other features of the game agree with the modern form. The name given by Ross, "tsil-ell-a-come," is evidently the ts!la'lEqEm of this account. At the period described by Ross, the gamblers played with arms and bodies naked, but with wrists and hands muffled "with bits of fur or wrapping," to conceal the holders' movements in shifting the bones. Similar wrappings to cover the hands were used by the Thompson Indians.'[1] 525 184

DICE GAME

The dice game (mákamáka or mikamikami'n', possibly a Chinook jargon term) was played at any season, but perhaps more often in the winter because there was then more leisure. It was played by two men or two women. Occasionally a man and a woman were opponents. 525

One informant said that beaver-tooth dice of the usual coast type were used; however, straight dice of shaped bone with incised, painted markings seem to have been the common type. The dice were from four to seven inches long, flat and tapering at the ends. Counters for scoring were used, a certain number to each player. The score was taken from the combinations turned up by the dice when they were thrown on a blanket. Methods of scoring given by informants did not entirely agree; it was not determined whether this was due to the informants' faulty information or to local variations.

Two forms of the game were recorded:

1. The first form was explained by Chilowhist Jim. Ten counters (thick sticks of wood six inches in length) were used. These were placed in a pile between the two players. The four bone dice were blank on one side. On the other side (the face), two dice were marked longitudinally by three round incised dots, two by five transverse lines. (The decoration varied.) One of the dotted bones was wrapped around the middle with a thread (in early times with a sinew); this was called the "man." The other three dice were called "women." The incised faces

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 187(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai	A'tlmuqtl'lįm[1] ("Flatheaded".) Akluksma'kna, kikznik·e ("Leg or leggy[5] people").	Meqkwō'qәnaẋ ("Red willow people"). e-tl'nuqtlīlim*[4]	e-tl'ncumitl'lxwa ("river people") e-tl'nuqtlīlim*[4] ("compress side of head.")	Sxuyome'n.[2] Snхulúi.[3]
Nez Percés		sqaie'lzuxw[8]tc'tlkxn.	kamᵋ'spelᵋ ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		ku'shpēlu*, pepah-pān'lēma* ("people of the great fir-trees").[6]	ku'shpēlu*, pepah-pān'lēma* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpūkā'n.[7] Cpuka'n.
Wasco				Ltcɫ'cuks.[9]
Klamath and Modoc				Spuka'n.[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Kah-to'h-spi-ta'p-i-e*		ai-ks-ts-to-tu'p-i-e*	
Gros Ventres	Kooheitinin[10] ("Flathead men").			
Arapaho	Ka-ka-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-ta'-ta-ni-o-ta-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nabaqindibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Anaha'pe, Ācahāpe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ah-mi'n-e-ah u'-me*, ah-min-e-ah u-me* ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	ā-tsa-hā-pa*			
Yankton	pasado-ska*, pas-ka'-sa* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably a'kw'qәnaẋ, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 147.

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In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sxmił'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

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NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tɛmeiɛ́'*, *Lɛmeiɛ́'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snɛχslamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sïhwĕ'pe*, *Sïhwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukstɛme'xʷ*, *Nko'tɛme'xʷ*, *Nkstɛmī'*, *Lä'kstɛme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sɛmilkami'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcɛnākĕ'*, *Otcɛnāqai'n*, *Otcɛnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npoĭ'lce*, *Snpōĭ'lsχɛc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sχōɛĕlpi*, *Sχoiĕ'lpi* (said to be derived from *ɛχoiĕ'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcɛtstc* or *Snrai'tcɛtstc* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpɛskwă'use*, or *Snpɛskwĕ'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiă'use*, *Snkaiĕ'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Sic̣i'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomktske'lix*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Sku'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkʷ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qaqa'ten* by the *Tună'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sɛlkwŏla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sĕha'ptɛn*, *Sahă'ptɛne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktske'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skalĭ* ("above, up country or to the north") and *ɛ'ulkʷ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 212, note 6.

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Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrange- 415
ment of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan 314
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend 184
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[7]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, 285
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend 285
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. 531
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication
have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the
Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the
Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet.
This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms
and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[7] See a, pp. 140-142.

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III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not 342
used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few 171*
by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the 184•
Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai.
The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them
since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The
neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were
peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Colum-
bia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance
from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with
the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and [417]
notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped
in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of
Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent,
but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel in-
formant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance
from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that
long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground
was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by
others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas
the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all 344
large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were 361
the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public 171*
gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps
there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally
men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older peo-
ple for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a
spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors.
All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them 361
mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also some- 342
times used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed 171*
that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five
dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, [592]
having three fires, with two families to each. There were no parti-
tions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes con- [364]
sist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges
used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

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361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
178 if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
[592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
● [184]

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184] ●
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated [354]
lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

OTHER LODGES.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters 342
in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical
forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little 171*
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes
families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the 171*
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations,
when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, 171*
and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend
d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named
tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food.
Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is
said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used
some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The
latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles,
and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets
were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

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415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. 352 *171 Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. [237] Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. [372] Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 281 CLOTHING (pls. 3, A 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. [184] Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (c, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] [184] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] c, p. 128, pattern No. 6 (p. 142); Thompson, a, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] c, pp. 140, 142, figs. 83, 85; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] c, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, a, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111890-111893.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (c, p. 128, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in c, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in c, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (a, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, 302 because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 171*

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, 304 tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. 171* Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan [184] are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are 302 said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At 171* the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached [301] ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, [292] in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young [177] men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

V. SUBSISTENCE

Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead 222 tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, 171* and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtĕ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

224 never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they
*171 went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green
Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although
[177] they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive
224 prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and
antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including
many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by
day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle.
Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the
circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and
the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge
of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted
men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while
others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying
the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially
at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and
there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the
size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break
through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back,
or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active
mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows
and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they
[178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after
the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the
introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting
one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 Fishing.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead
*171 tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan.
● [184] Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and
lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary,
fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the
Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around
221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent
most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes,
hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by
mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the
Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off
with considerable loss and never came back.

721 The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago.
628 Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once
the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The
[648] Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always
[184] friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars
with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time
they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided
down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties
occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast,
and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette.
The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers"
because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the
Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap
and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tund'ze*. In
very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars
with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about
1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of
[648] buffalo hunting (1880-1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—
the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne,
Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including
the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot,
Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in
the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and
Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came
very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered
as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak;
while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock.
It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western
000 alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the
eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are
said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow
against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until
after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances
for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each
tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they
been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow
628 would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early
times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

● 186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. / After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa´wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-roo[illegible] hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a 484
white salmon) especially prize the bitter-
root of the Kartar. 439

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained 321
in trade from coast people. One buckskin
buys sufficient to trim one dress. The 439
shells are assorted according to size and
color so that bundles are uniform, but all
sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk
drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as
decoration on garments and are never used as
a medium of exchange.

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory direct- 171
ly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predomin- 439
ately to the north. They go up the Okanogan
River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles
from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the
Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded [186] ●
with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The
Inkamip go in August, taking about four days
on horses. Since the white traders came, the
Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the
Inkamip also trade.

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

The Chelan visited the country of the
Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was
about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a
man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive,
died on the trip across the mountains. They [764]
wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to
a tree to await their return the following
year. The body had dried, so that they "had
to cut her up" and bring back the remains in
a box.

children were killed, except one girl who had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two.[22] 173 726

In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa'kálatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

The Nez Percé are traditional enemies of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Percé have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk." 186 721

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[22] Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
[23] Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
[24] Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

p. 81 (A)

48. carI'pa.
49. lŭ'plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI'kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōx̣wist.
52. ȇnlâx̣ŭlâx̣swa'tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lâ'x.
54. snx̣EncI'na^{ŭx}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family [illegible] any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).[1]

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use
until the child could walk. After that it
served when long journeys were to be made.
It was said that formerly infants learned to
[856] walk only at a later age than in these days
of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that
cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

● 186 Most of the informants denied that
there was any intention of flattening the
304 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that
this was done by some of their neighbors, but
854 they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez
Percé and others pEpl´liakEn, "flatheads," on
this account. They in turn laughed at the
Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden,
however, described the process, which she
said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance
was put in position on the baby's head and
854 bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin.
Then the infant was wrapped in the outer
blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms
were left free during the day so that it
might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sewed up in buckskin and, with a sack contain-
854 ing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to
the cradle covering near the child's head.
The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

[1] [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

173 177 201 remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present 191 day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

SIGNS

201 1. *Bear.*—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

Dialects.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokan. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *Sɛmtē'usɛ* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokan divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'xe* (Salish-*Tuna'xe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.[23] 197 191*

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'xe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai. 191 • 191*

Habitat and Boundaries.[d] *Flathead Tribe.*—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the 000

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[23] According to the Flathead, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'xe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish-*Tuna'xe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the Flathead Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtis, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 10 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'xe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish languages. See also list of *Tuna'xe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tuna'xe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'xe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'xe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'xe*.

[d] See footnote 29 on p. 305. Compare map in Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead,
Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families 727
were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they [648]
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, [628]
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes.
A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni
captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the
Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms
and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead 171*
(or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez
Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was
held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the
Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo
robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to
see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected
that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the 191 •
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville.
However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook
was not used a great deal, the principal language being French.
Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also
employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the
Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by
the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly
different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 375
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

approached for present purposes. Certainly the native nomenclature is indicated in its entirety, and I feel that the classifications have suffered very little as a result of the artificiality of the materials used. 822

We have seen where the name for a material object, buckskin, has crept into 822
the color scheme, and has more or less distorted it. This tendency to objective
reference is more marked in the case of animals, for which there exists an entirely 192
exclusive series of color names. The designations applied to horses alone form a list practically as long as the group of more universal terms which we have just considered.[23] Following are the designations recalled by my informant: gray (horse), txe·'lps; buckskin, tipa·'luxʷ; spotted, ma'man; pinto, kei'luxʷ; mouse colored, tipo'kuluxʷ; and tan, kpi'kulups.

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[23] Those skeptical of the flexibility and plasticity of primitive languages will please note that here is an instance where a primitive group met a new situation (the coming of the horse), by incorporating into its language an entirely new series of words, in this case color terms, immediately upon feeling the need. 192

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lel-el-el-el!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *171 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 *171 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy.
278 *171 Besides charms of this kind, poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

• [192]

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[1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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619

4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix -qein has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298).	The Spokan.
5. *Sxmilē'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sxmilē'use*.
6. *Tuna'xɛ* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xɛ*.

Names by which Known to Other Tribes; Names Given to Them by Salish Tribes.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Să'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lxx*, *Sē'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *Sī'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlxmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lxmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstcī'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sɪqa'tkomstci'nt*, *Sɪqatkomstci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomskī'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Sniă'lxmxn* or *Snia'lxmxnic* or *Snia'lxmxnxx*, "people of *Snia'lxmxn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lxm* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspī'lxm*, *Kalispa'lxm*, *Skalxspi'lxx*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lxm*, the name of

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[3] Compare p. 298.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is Tună'xe while the Kutenai pronounced Tuna'xa. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 303, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes -ix, -ic, -is, -xx, -xn, -ex, -l, -s, -xmx, -xmxc, -xmic -xmux, -ux, mean "people"; -ctī'nt, -tcint, -tci means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

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[196]

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, 101
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. 648
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroach-
ments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them 131
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reser-
vation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international 175
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last 122
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Depart-
ment of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the 114
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal 117
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native mes-
sianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been in- 121
cluded here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit 122
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more sum-
marily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount 127
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encourage-
ment and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identify- 132
ing botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcrip-* 194
tion of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

114 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as
194 recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: snəqaie'tkᵘ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); snəká'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and sťske'tamixᵘ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

Bob Covington was a sober, intelligent half-breed, well respected by his people. For many years he served as Indian policeman and interpreter for his people in dealings with the government. He was a willing worker and exceedingly obliging and hospitable. He interpreted for John Tom, and furnished much information himself. Covington died in July, 1930, at the age of about sixty-five.

William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

Seattle, 1932

VERNE F. RAY

know, or had forgotten. 115

Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in	father	â	as in	but
ä	"	hat	e	"	met
ē	"	fate	i	"	pin
ī	"	pique	o	"	not
ō	"	note	u	"	put
ū	"	rule	E, the indefinite vowel		

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

P.5 (B)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeür d'Alene

PREFACE

The following papers contain descriptions of the Salishan tribes of the interior, excepting the Middle Columbia tribe.[1]

The material presented here was collected by Mr. James A. Teit in 1904, 1908, and 1909 while he was traveling over British Columbia and the States of Washington and Montana for the purpose of determining the distribution of Salishan dialects and the general movements of tribes so far as these could be ascertained by tradition.

122 This investigation was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, of Pasadena, Calif., who for many years defrayed all the very considerable expenses of Mr. Teit's work.

123 Mr. Teit was thoroughly conversant with the Thompson Indians, among whom he lived for a great many years. This facilitated his investigations considerably. It will be understood that the information given here is almost entirely based upon questioning of the Indians. The ancient customs have disappeared to such an extent that direct observation is impossible. The historical data contained in the following account must also be considered in this light. They are the records of oral tradition among the Indians and not based on documentary evidence.

On account of Mr. Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson tribe, it is natural that his inquiries were very largely guided by what he knew about the customs of that tribe. It is not unlikely that this may have colored, to a certain extent, the descriptions. I doubt particularly whether the negative statements contained in his report can always be taken as conclusive, because the question whether a certain custom is in vogue may be misunderstood and similar customs may have existed. Mr. Teit's statements of opinion must be taken as those of his informants, not his own, unless expressly so qualified.

128 The material here presented has been edited from a manuscript written by Mr. Teit and from notes scattered over many years of correspondence.

194 Mr. Teit's spelling of native words is not quite certain; particularly the distinction between *k* and *q*; *hw*, *x* and *x*, *tl* and *l* is uncertain. The variability of vowels probably represents real differences.

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[1] A description of this tribe has been published in the Anthropological Publications of the University of Washington, vol. II, No. 4.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

194 The following is an explanation of the symbols used:
Vowels have their continental values.

é	open e, as in "fell."
ó	open o, nearly as in German "voll."
E	obscure vowel, as e in "flower."
tł	affricative.
ł	voiceless *l*.
q	velar *k*.
c	English *sh*.
x	medial palatal continuant, corresponding in position to *k*.
x̣	velar continuant, corresponding in position to *q*.
'	glottal stop.

Special attention is called to the use of *x* and *x̣* which has been changed from earlier usage to conform with the system now generally employed.

Mr. Teit uses the period (.) to indicate in some cases a glottal stop,
194 in others strong voicing.

128 Dr. Gladys Reichard had the kindness to revise with native informants all Indian words in the chapter on the Coeur d'Alêne. She was able to identify most of the terms. The spelling of Indian words in this chapter is, therefore, reliable, except in the case of a few words that could not be identified and which are marked with a query.

Franz Boas.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

101
619

4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qein* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298).	The Spokan.
5. *Sɛmitɛ'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sɛmitɛ'use*.
6. *Tuna'xɛ* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xe*.

Names by which Known to Other Tribes; Names Given to Them by Salish Tribes.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sā'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lɛx*, *Sɛ'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *Sɪ'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Sɛ'dlɛmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lɛmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstci'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sɪqa'tkomstci'nt*, *Sɪqatkomstci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomskɪ'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Sniā'lɛmɛn* or *Snia'lɛmɛnic* or *Snia'lɛmɛnɛx*, "people of *Snia'lɛmɛn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispɛ'lɛm* or *Skalispɛ'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspɛ'lɛm*, *Kalispa'lɛm*, *Skalɛspi'lɛx*. The name is derived from *Kalispɛ'lɛm*, the name of

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[3] Compare p. 296.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tunā'xɛ* while the Kutenai pronounced *Tunā'xa*. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 302, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes -ix, -ic, -is, -ɛx, -ɛc, -ex, -i, -e, -ɛmɛ, -ɛmɛx, -ɛmic -ɛmux, -ux, mean "people"; -ɛlt'nt, -tcīnt, -tci means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

[193]
[196]

INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·'luxʷ) of 101
the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other 131
early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpuell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi·'ləm), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1] Any such assumption is definitely in error.

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group [551]
name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix.

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (snəq̣aie'tkʷ) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the snəq̣aie'tkʷ groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (sxoie'lpʷ).

The two names ([illegible]espelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were separated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Ferry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other 131
Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them 197
except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common.

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[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Chelan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

● 197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

Sinkaietk; Methow
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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103 29. kàłà'kłàk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
361 30. kàtōma'ûkᵘ, "one hill on the flat."
31. łàámI'na, "against the hill."
619 32. EnstEpI'tsa.
33. Enaqatkà'tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nẋuẋalI'nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca'ktküłp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa'tqłp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi'nt.
38. sûmûkwa'aqa'In, "snow on the brush."
39. nō'aōmEn.
40. sInál·alaqwaI'I'p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaûẋōlō's band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaûẋōlō's.

N
101 The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of and on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia.
361 Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. tłàtsEnI'tkûx, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwaI'e·'nIkûx, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxûwI'ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inłEl·łamEltsI'n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamI'p, "at head of the lake."
47. pûstIntsē'ntEn.

S
103 A group of Methow (smē'tẋaûʷIx) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand
[101] Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci'lōẋwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in
[197] their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more
361 similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe,
619 although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people")	101
Klamath	Ła'mał	
Wishram	Wi'sxam	
Wasco	Wasqo'pᴇm	
Chinook	Tsᴇnû'k	
All Coast Indians	Sukᴇti'kᴇnux̣, Sukoti'kᴇnux̣ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)	
Lower Fraser tribe	.sʟᴇmsiû'ᴇx	
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ᴇtsᴇn (possibly the Cowichan)	

DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alêne, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct. 197 ●

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsᴇnux̣ or .nkeēus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé. 131

2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

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[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutᴇme'xᵘ, Nekᴇtᴇme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nă'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, [illegible]), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 177 ●
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[23]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such
populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[24] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[23] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[24] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

167 131 101 passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai′tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai′tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

167 197 101 114 [According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanuḳt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper 167
Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration 197
legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants
who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tᴇnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached 131
its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large 721
war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The
Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[29] At this

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[29] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1925 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiä'kɛtux or Stiä'kɛtamux. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley which was the headquarters of the ˏsˏnkeiē'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

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[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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ion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcᴇs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake.

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The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

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[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

Dialects.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[8] 197

The Colville use the term *Salixtct'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

Habitat and Boundaries.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwt'ẋ* or *Stɛwi'ẋɛmux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

Divisions, Bands, Villages, Place-names.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[9] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'ẋamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[8] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[9] This division is called [illegible] ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, [illegible], Lake people.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

177 The opinion generally held seems to be that some time previous to the introduction of the horse the *Stuwi'x̣* were driven away from the Lower Similkameen entirely. Afterwards the lowest point held by them was around Keremeous. At some later date those living near this place retired farther up the river, died out, or were absorbed by the Okanagon. Anyway, they disappeared, and henceforth the *Stuwi'x̣*, along with the Thompson, occupied the river only above this point.

[197] During the first part of the nineteenth century the *Stuwi'x̣* and Thompson languages were used exclusively above Keremeous, the Thompson preponderating. Later the *Stuwi'x̣* became extinct and Thompson alone was spoken. Through continued intercourse and intermarriage with the neighboring people of the Lower Similkameen and of Okanagon Lake, Okanagon is now gradually pushing out the Thompson language, and is liable to supplant it in the whole valley. The infiltration of Okanagon blood has been very gradual and does not keep pace with the spread of the language, which is making rapid headway. The *Stuwi'x̣*-Thompson inhabitants are becoming Okanagonized more through contact than through intermarriage. This process has been facilitated by the changed mode of life of the Thompson, whose habits have become more sedentary and who do not often visit their friends in Similkameen and seldom intermarry there. On the other hand, the Okanagon are in closer proximity to the Upper Similkameen people and, therefore, in constant contact with them. As already stated, the people of the upper end of Okanagon Lake are mixed with Shuswap, and also slightly with Thompson and probably with *Stuwi'x̣*. The Douglas Lake Band, in all their settlements, intermarried with the Okanagon Lake people, on the one hand, and with the Thompson-*Stuwi'x̣*, on the other. They have therefore considerable Thompson and some Nicola, *Stuwi'x̣*, Shuswap, and Similkameen blood.

As all the Okanagon bands intermarried a great deal, foreign blood received at one end of the tribe was often transmitted to the other end, and thus there is a little Thompson and Shuswap blood through almost all the tribe.

A few instances of intermarriage with distant tribes have been reported. About three generations ago a Similkameen man married a woman who came from a tribe in the far south. Some of her manners and some of the food she ate were considered peculiar. For instance, she was fond of grasshoppers. She may have been a Paiute or a member of a Californian tribe, probably a slave who had been sold. Another instance is that of a Similkameen young man, who while on a trading trip to Hope, married a young woman there belonging to the Lower Fraser tribe. The following year he took her

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

Dialects.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokan. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *Sεmtē'use* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokan divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'χe* (Salish-*Tuna'χe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.[3] 197 ● 191*

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'χe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai. 191 191*

Habitat and Boundaries.[4] *Flathead Tribe.*—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'χe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the 000

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[3] According to the *Flathead*, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'χe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish *Tuna'χe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the *Flathead* Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtis, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 10 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'χe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish languages. See also list of *Tuna'χe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tuna'χe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'χe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'χe*.

[4] See footnote 29 on p. 302. Compare map in Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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By other Interior Tribes

Wasco	Ti'atthuxa[5]	Wina't.ca
Klickitat		Awena'tchᴇla (people[7] at the coming-out or source)
Nez Percé	Papspê'lu[8] (firs or fir-tree people)	

By Coast Tribes

Snohomish	Bŏ'tcacᴇd[9] (arrows or arrow people)	Tsŏ'kwob.c
Snohomish	.sā'ladebc,[10] an interior tribe west of the Columbia River (south or below the Yakima)	
Snohomish	Suwa'dabc (inland or interior people)	general names for all interior tribes
Twana	.swā'dab.c (inland people)	
Nootsak	.swa'namc (inland people)	

The Klickitat call the Chelan Tcᴇla'lpam, and the White Bluffs people Wa'napam.[11] According to the Cœur d'Alêne, the name in the sign language for the Columbia is squeezed, or wedged ("with reference to their having been pressed or squeezed between other tribes," as some say); and for the Wenatchi, bent or broken joint. Whether these terms have been given owing to some peculiarities of the tribes, or have been derived from translations of place-names, is not clear. Possibly they are due to folk etymology. [198]

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[5] Said to be the name for a tribe on the east side of Columbia, west of the Spokane, probably the Moses-Columbia.

[6] From the Yakima language.

[7] Said to be with reference to their occupying the country at the heads of the rivers or above the Yakima. Bands of Wenatchi occupied the heads of all the streams between the Yakima and the Cascades.

[8] Compare Yakima name for the Kalispel (*Handbook of American Indians*).

[9] A tribe in the interior, west of or near the Spokane, probably the Columbia, but possibly the Palous or some other tribe. Another name for them was warriors. Their principal village or headquarters was called Bo'lbol, and they sometimes attacked the Snohomish and Coast people.

[10] Probably the Shallatoo, a band or division of the Wenatchi formerly living on the upper Klickitat River (probably before the Klickitat spread there), and latterly farther north (see *Handbook of American Indians*). It is hardly likely that the .s.nia'lᴇmᴇnic (Pend d'Oreilles) are meant.

[11] Said to mean distant or people at the end or extremity. Compare the name of Wenatchi, also the Klickitat name Wanakshila' (with the same meaning) applied to the Puyallup, and the name Wanu'kt applied to the Tai'tnapam.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility. 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. 622 Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. 554 They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. 198 The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. 854 Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. 856 However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. 551 A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way. 175 726

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them. 173

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different. 201 198

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 565 575

PACKSTRAP

492 While travelling, burdens were usually carried with the aid of a packstrap or tumpline (łäki'kan). The central portion of such a strap was made of buckskin or bear hide. To soften the latter it was pounded between rocks. To this central part, which was about a foot long and two and a half inches wide, were sewed long cords of buckskin so that the whole length became eight feet or more. Packstraps woven of Indian hemp were sometimes used. The straps were never decorated.

Men, women and children used straps of the same type. The line was usually passed over the forehead, but sometimes around the chest. There was no sex difference in the matter. Women did not wear basketry caps with tumplines, but often used a bit of padding, such as a piece of fur, under the strap. Men occasionally wore fur caps to protect the forehead.

Travelling packs, such as those carried when journeying south of the Columbia river for the root digging season, consisted of essentials such as fire drills, cooking baskets, digging sticks, horn wedges and dried food. Small bundles were made of these articles, which in turn were wrapped with robes and tule mats, making a long roll. The ends of the packstrap were tied around such a bundle about twelve inches on either side of the middle. The pack rested low on the back. Men's and women's packs were of about the same size. Men sometimes carried deer with the tumpline.

SIGN LANGUAGE

201 Sign language was but weakly developed. It was used to a certain extent as a means of communication between persons speaking unintelligible dialects. Persons who were within sight but out of hearing of each other utilized signs. It also served when it was not desirable to make any sound. A few of the signs are described here:

1. "Yes": nodding the head.
2. "No": shaking the head.
3. "Come": pointing at one's self or motion toward one's self with right hand.
4. "Don't come": motion away from one with right hand.
5. "You": pointing at one.
6. "Look": head turned, eyebrows raised.
7. "Stop": right arm extended forward, palm outward, hand moved from side to side.
8. "Let us meet": two forefingers held vertically together.
9. "Let us go together": right arm stretched upward, index and middle fingers projected and held together.
10. "Sit down": right hand cupped, palm upward, arm lowered.
11. "I can't hear": both arms flexed, palms upward, fingers pointing to sides.

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12. "I don't believe": fore and middle fingers of right hand spread apart, held to mouth, moved to left.
13. "Let us be friends": locking two hands together and shaking them.
14. "I am surprised": right hand held over mouth.
15. "Riding a horse": fore and middle fingers of right hand straddling fingers of left hand, middle finger on palm side, motion up and down.
16. "Table": hands spread horizontally, right above left, against chest, then moved outward.
17. "Eat": hands moved as in eating.
18. "Go out (of house)": eyes turned toward door.

525/533 Arbitrary words were sometimes inserted, such as the following:

o·'ya'ta' ti·'s naqsà'luq
I pity my lone counter.

525 After a moment's hesitation the leader picked up the bones which had been thrown in front of him, examined them carefully, then rolled them in his hands, swung his arms from side to side in time to the music, went through various other fantastic movements, then threw the bones, one pair at a time, to two players of his selection, one at his right and one at his left. The players selected were usually at opposite extremities of the line, but not invariably so. They went through a procedure similar to that of the leader, hesitating before taking the bones, waving the arms, hiding the bones and shifting them, sometimes many times. All of the motions of the players holding the bones were intently watched by the leader on the opposite side; he did the guessing. After a few moments the players brought their arms forward and crossed them in front of their chests, often with the hands in the opposite arm pits.

The guesser then held out the left hand with the palm outstretched and made various motions as of guessing with his right hand, in order to confuse the players or to gain from them some inadvertant indication of the position of the bones. If a player believed that the guesser knew in which hand he held the plain bone he might shift them again, or go through false motions under cover. The guesser continued with his gestures. Other players on the side of the guesser also were permitted to go through the motions of guessing in order to confuse their opponents. The difference between a true and a final guess, and a false or preliminary one, was a subtle nod of the head, or a dropping of the arms to the sides. Since a player immediately surrendered the bones as the result of a correct final guess, the preliminary gestures, if carefully conducted by the guesser, were very apt to cause the player to make a minimal movement of surrender if correct or to gain an indication of security if incorrect. If such indications were made by either or both players, it was a simple matter to indicate a final decision and win the bones. Both final and tentative guesses were made by indicating the position of the bones with a conventionalized gesture of the right hand and at the same time clapping the left hand on the right shoulder. The signals were as follows (M indicates the marked, U the unmarked bone): 201/525

U M — M U	Thumb and index finger extended, others flexed.
M U — U M	A gesture downward and straight ahead with the right hand; index finger extended.
U M — U M	Gesture to the left with the index finger extended.
M U — M U	Gesture to the right with the index finger extended.

That is, if the guesser judged the player at his left to have the unmarked bone in his right hand and the player at the right to be holding the plain one in his left hand, he indicated his guess in the first manner above, etc.

525 If the judgment was correct the bones were thrown to the other side. Of course, the guess may have been correct for only one player, in which case the

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they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

● 201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

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At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcēlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 127
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 534
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-
carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not 201

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remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech. [191]

SIGNS

201 1. *Bear.*—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alene

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2. *Deer* (in general).—Index finger held in front of body, pointing outward, and wandering motions made with it from side to side. (Imitative of the movements or manner of deer traveling about.)[235]

3. *Buck deer.*—Four fingers of each hand held near sides of head, fingers slightly apart and pointing upward, hands moved forward and backward, at the same time describing curves. Sometimes the whole head and shoulders are moved uniformly with the hands. (Imitates antlers and movements of a buck.)[236]

4. *Young buck.*—The same sign as the Thompson sometimes make for "doe," but the two fingers on each side moved around as in the "buck" sign.[237]

5. *Doe.*—The sign for "woman" (No. 15) and then the sign for "deer" (in general) (No. 2).

6. *Raven* (or *Crow*?).—Hands held out in front of sides and pointing slightly sidewise; fingers extending slightly downward or drooping, and both hands moved up and down from the wrists at the same time. (Imitates flapping of wings as made by ravens.)[238]

7. *Eagle.*—Almost the same sign as the preceding, but the hands flopped farther from the body and a little more motion put into the arms; one hand is then pushed downward with a sweep. (Imitates the flying and swooping of an eagle.)[239]

8. *Snake.*—A wriggling zigzag motion made with the hand or forefinger pointing downward and outward. (Imitates the movements of a snake crawling.)[240]

9. *Salmon* (or *Fish*).—Hand held rather stiffly in front of body, edge up, and fingers close together, then moved forward in short rapid zigzags with a movement chiefly from the wrist. (Imitates the movements of a fish, especially swimming upstream.)[241]

10. *Lake trout.*—The same sign as the preceding, then the right index finger pointed to the tip of the left elbow, and shaken or made to describe a small circle. (The last part of the sign seems to refer to the spots on lake trout. Sometimes the circle is made against something of a yellowish or grayish color.) See "color" sign.

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[235] This sign is often used by the Thompson for "unalarmed deer or similar game traveling around feeding."

[236] This sign is also used by the Thompson for "buck deer."

[237] Also used by the Thompson for "young buck," especially for a 2-year-old buck.

[238] This sign is used by the Thompson, who differentiate between raven and crow. The sign is made more slowly if a raven is meant, and generally an imitation of the raven croak (krô) accompanies it; for a crow the movements are faster and the crow cry (kä, kä) is generally given.

[239] The Thompson sign for "eagle" is only a little different from this.

[240] The same sign is used by the Thompson.

[241] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 568, No. 103.

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11. *Man.*—Index finger held almost horizontally in front of chest and pointing outward.[242]

12. *Old man.*—Hands clutched and drawn downward close in front of face, and then the sign for "man" made. (The first part of the sign is imitative of the drawing down of the face and wrinkles of old people.)

13. *Man on horseback* (or *riding*).—Left hand held out in front edgewise, fingers close together; sign of "man" made with the right, then the first and second fingers of the latter parted and straddled over the upper edge of the left-hand fingers. (Imitative of riding.)[243]

14. *Chief.*—Right index finger pointed upward directly in front of the brow. (Probably has some connection with "high" or "prominent.")

15. *Woman.*—Hands raised to near top of head, palms backward and fingers toward thumbs, then parted and drawn over or in front of ears with a sweeping motion downward to fronts of shoulders and outward. (Imitates parting of the hair or hairdress of women.)

16. *Wife.*—The same sign as the preceding, then the right fist lowered with a slight jerk at the right side. (Imitates sitting down at your side, *viz*, the one who sits by you.)

17. *Robe.*—Hands closed and passed by each other close to and in front of breast. (Imitates putting on of a robe or blanket.)[244]

18. *Spoon.*—First and second fingers of right hand, backs down, and points inclining upward to the left, then moved in motion as if scooping up something. (Imitates the hollow of a spoon and dipping.)[245]

19. *Knife.*—The right hand held edgewise and moved across the top of the left backward and forward (imitating cutting).[246]

20. *Gun.*—Right arm placed across the breast, with the index finger pointing out past the left arm a little above the elbow or at the elbow. (Imitates a common Indian method of carrying a gun in front of the body, with the muzzle sticking out to the left.)

21. *Shooting a gun.*—This sign is not clear, but I understood it to mean "shooting a gun." Right arm and finger the same as in preceding sign, but higher up, near the left shoulder; one or both eyes closed, then the right hand pushed downward quickly a short distance (probably in imitation of closing the eye when taking aim, and the sudden discharge or recoil of the gun).[247]

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[242] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 7.

[243] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 8.

[244] The same sign is used by the Thompson for "robe" or "putting on a robe."

[245] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, Nos. 10, 11.

[246] Used by the Thompson as a sign of "cutting up or slicing something," also nearly like a Thompson sign for "knife."

[247] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 56.

22. *Bow and arrow.*—Same sign as Thompson, No. 55.[248]

23. *Tipi or lodge.*—The two index fingers placed across each other at the first joint, with tips raised more or less upward.[249]

24. *Rain.*—Hands held a little above the head, bent and limp from the wrists, all the fingers toward each other and drooping; hands then moved or shaken up and down. (Imitates frequent dripping.)[250]

25. *Snow.*—The same sign as the preceding, then a small circle made with the index finger (toward something white, if there is a white object handy).

26. *Sun.*—Thumb and forefinger spread and extended upward to the right above the level of the head, and then stopped suddenly. (Probably imitates the course or high position of the sun in the heavens.)

27. *Moon.*—The same sign as for "sun" is made, and then the hands brought over each other in front of the body, a little distance apart and palms down. (May possibly contain the idea of "small" [or "narrow"], or covered sun.)

28. *Star.*—Lips half opened, and sign of "sun" made forward and then upward with a swinging motion. (May be imitative of distribution or scattering. Some Indians say it means literally almost the same as saying "sun thrown away.")

29. *East.*—Index finger pointed to the east, point curved upward, and a half circle described upward toward the body. (Seems to imitate rising or coming out in the east.) [251]

30. *Sunrise.*—The sign of the "sun," and then that of the "east"; or the sign of "east" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (See "Sun." Imitates the rising of the sun.) [252]

31. *West.*—Index finger with point curved downward, pushed from the body downward toward the west. (Imitates setting or going down in the west.) [253]

32. *Sunset.*—Sign of the "sun," and then that of "west"; or the sign of the "west" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (Imitates setting of the sun.) [253]

33. *Noon.*—Sign of "sunrise" made. When the motion toward the body reaches near the right ear, the finger is straightened and pointed sharply and directly upward. (Imitates the high position of the sun at noon or overhead.) [254]

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[248] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285.

[249] Used by the Thompson for "tipi" or "conical lodge."

[250] Also used by Thompson Indians.

[251] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13; p. 286, No. 75.

[252] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13.

[253] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 14.

[254] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 12.

34. *Cross trails.*—Forefinger of each hand brought out from sides and crossed over each other out in front of the body. (Imitates coming together and crossing.)[255]

35. *Lake.*—Circle described with both hands in front. (Imitates "roundness" or more probably "surrounded" [by earth].)[256]

36. *Bushes.*—Hands brought together facing each other, a little distance apart, with fingers extending upward; then hands moved up and down a little.[257]

37. *Thick brush.*—The same as the preceding, but the hands very close to each other. (Imitates thick growth or things standing thickly together. The movement of the hands seems to indicate that the things are not in one place, or in two rows.)[258]

38. *Cold.*—Clenched hands held more or less closely together in front of body, then arms and hands made to tremble or shake. (Imitates drawn-up feeling and shivering.)[259]

39. *Hot.*—There are several methods of expressing "hot" or "heat" of different kinds, viz: (*a*) Sign made for "no," and then that for "cold"; (*b*) sign made for "good," and then sign for "sun"; (*c*) breath blown slightly as if panting; (*d*) the breath blown slightly as if panting, and then the sign of "sun" made (this is if the sun is very hot, or a person is hot from the heat of the sun).

40. *Tobacco.*—Left hand held palm up in front of the body, hand lax, and palm slightly hollowed; right index finger placed across it, then the index finger and thumb brought together, and small circular motions made with them in the hollow of the palm. (Imitates crushing or mixing in the hand of tobacco preparatory to putting it in the pipe.)[260]

41. *Cigarette.*—Both hands held close together horizontally, points of fingers of each hand almost touching; then fingers of both hands describe motions over the thumbs toward the body. (Imitates rolling of the tobacco in paper.)

42. *Smoking.*—Hand held in front, fingers closed excepting forefinger, which is arched upward with the back outward; the finger is then brought to the mouth and back again several times. (Imitates pipe and puffing smoke.)[261]

43. *Small.*—Right thumb placed underneath the point of the index finger, a little back from the end (sometimes both curved slightly toward each other); hand held out in front of the breast or

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[255] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 74.

[256] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 6.

[257] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 4.

[258] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 5.

[259] See Thompson, *a*, p. 287, No. 84.

[260] A Thompson sign for "tobacco" is very similar to this one.

[261] A Thompson sign for "pipe" is the same as this one. The sign for "smoking" is different.

face; sometimes also a small or short breath was blown, or the mouth was puckered. (Imitates something "tiny.")[282]

44. *Big.*—Hands held close to each other, palms facing, and fingers bent almost to touching; then the hands suddenly drawn asunder, describing half circles toward the sides of the body. (Seems to imitate something held which expands[283] and can no longer be held.)

45. *Very big.*—The same sign as the preceding, but the circles or sweeps of the hands are more extended.[284]

46. *Color.*—Pointing to something of the desired color, and then making a small circle opposite it with the forefinger.

47. *Bad.*—Hand makes waves in front of the head, is then pushed outward and afterwards downward with fingers extended. (Possibly implies "pushing aside or away from one.")

48. *Good.*—Right hand pushed past front of mouth or lower part of face in a sweep or wave. Sometimes the sweep is made slightly inward toward the body. (Possibly implies "retainment," the opposite of 47.)

49. *No good* or *very bad.*—A wave of the hand inward toward the breast, then outward and downward, as in the sign for "bad." Sometimes the fingers make a slight snappy noise as they move out and down. (Probably implies "pushing away" and "disgust.")

50. *Good looking.*—Right hand drawn over the face to the chin (without touching), and then swept outward, palm down. (Implies "good face.")

51. *Glad.*—Hand drawn up in wriggling motion from opposite the abdomen to the breast, and then outward. (Suggests a feeling of satisfaction or good feeling rising up to the heart or breast.)[285]

52. *Dumb.*—Hands placed flat on the mouth, and then on the ears. (Probably implies "closed in" or "shut" mouth and ears.)[286]

53. *Deaf.*—Hands placed flat on the ears.[287] (Probably implies "closed.")

54. *Dead.*—Right hand passed downward on left side between the body and left arm, the forefinger pointing to the ground. (Seems to have some connection with going down to the ground.)

55. *The chief is dead* or *dead chief.*—The same sign as the preceding, and then the sign for "chief."

56. *I* or *Me.*—Forefinger put on nose. The breast struck with the forefinger is also used.[288]

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[282] A Thompson sign for something very small or a very small quantity was made like this one. The mouth was puckered. See also *a*, p. 287, No. 81.

[283] Also used by the Thompson.

[284] Also used by the Thompson.

[285] Also used by the Thompson.

[286] Used by the Thompson for "dumb" or "deaf and dumb" (can neither speak nor hear).

[287] Also used by the Thompson.

[288] See Thompson, *a*, p. 294, No. 33.

57. *Thou.*—The right arm and forefinger extended and pointed toward a person's breast.[269]

58. *Ye.*—Right hand pushed out in front of left side, then drawn across in front and downward to the right. Often the left hand is touched or tapped lightly by the right before making this sign.

59. *All.*—Right hand held in front of breast, palm downward, moved around horizontally.[270]

60. *Ye all.*—Same as "Ye" (No. 58); but the hand continues in a wide sweep to the right in horizontal plane, palm down.

61. *Yes.*—Hand with forefinger extended carried across the body to the left, and then struck a little downward.

62. *No.*—Hand drawn up and pushed out to right, back outward, and fingers thrown downward; or the hand extended a little in front of body, and then carried with a sweep to the right and downward. (Seems to be connected with the idea of pushing something aside.)

63. *Good-looking woman.*—Sign of "woman," and then sign of "good-looking."

64. *Good-looking wife.*—Sign of "woman," then sign of "good-looking" and then sign of "wife."

65. *(I) think woman not good-looking.*—Sign of "woman," then of "good-looking," then of "thinking," and then of "no good" (No. 49) or "no."

66. *To think* (or *like*?).—Fists held one above the other in front of the breast.

67. *Thou art no good.*—Sign of "no good," and then finger pointed to the person.

68. *Good man.*—Hand brought to breast, and then pushed outward with fingers upward. Also the sign of "man" made, and then that of "good."

69. *Know* or *I know.*—Thumb and forefinger raised to near throat and then thrown outward. (Seems to imply holding or gripping something.)

70. *Don't know.*—Hand held in front, back inclining downward, fingers spreading, then hand shaken from side to side. (Seems to imply shaking off something.)

71. *Don't hear or understand.*—Forefinger held opposite right ear and shaken, hen hand thrown outward to right side and downward.[271]

72. *Untrue* or *tells a lie.*—First and second fingers forked or spread, then pushed past front of mouth; then fingers snapped slightly, and hand pushed outward and downward. (The first part of the sign seems to imply talk which is "double" or not direct.)

73. *Drinking* or *to drink.*—Points of bent forefinger and thumb placed touching or almost touching, the two forming a circle, then

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[269] Also used by the Thompson, a, p. 284, No. 35.

[270] Also used by Thompson, a, p. 284, No. 38.

[271] Also used by Thompson, a, p. 285, No. 53.

drawn to the mouth. Often at the same time a motion of swallowing is made with the throat or mouth.[272]

74. *Whisky.*—Sign of "drinking" made first, and then the sign of "bad" made, or of "crazy."

75. *Jumping.*—The hand pushed out in front upward and then downward, forming a curve, palm down.[273]

76. *Running.*—Like the "bear" sign, but the elbows held well back and moved alternately, as a person does when running.

77. *Falling* or *fall down* (also *capsize*).—The hands placed close together, then carried to the right side and downward; at the same time the hands are turned over.[274] (Seems to imitate something turned over or capsized.)

78. *To fall from a horse.*—Sign of "man on horseback" or "riding," then right hand thrown down to the right side.

79. *Stop.*—Hand held in front, palm forward, and forefinger bent out, then pushed gently outward and downward a couple of times.[275] (Seems to imitate pushing back something

80. *Look.*—Fingers of both hands brought up to level of the eyes, then the index fingers extended outward in front.[276]

81. *Thou look.*—Sign of "look," and then both index fingers pointed to the person.

82. *Come.*—Hand extended some distance in front of the body, index finger extended slightly and bent; then the hand swept inward toward the body. (Seems to be imitative of hooking or bringing something toward one.)[277]

83. *Don't come.*—Same sign as "come," and then hand thrown off to the right side. Otherwise the sign of "come" made, and then the sign of "no."

84. *Walking.*—Hands and arms swing alternately outward and inward in front of sides several times.

85. *Meeting.*—Two index fingers brought together in front on a horizontal plane until the points touch.[278]

86. *Two meet.*—The spread first and second fingers of right hand held in front of head, points up, and then the two fingers brought together.

87. *Where from*, or *where have you come from?*—Right hand extended and shaken in wavering motions in front of the body or toward the individual.

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[272] This is like the sign for "drinking" of the Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 11.

[273] Like the Thompson sign for "man jumping."

[274] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, Nos. 65, 66.

[275] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 42.

[276] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 49.

[277] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 75; Shuswap, *e*, p. 567, No. 88.

[278] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 71.

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88. *Came from*, or *I came from* (*certain place* or *country*).—Finger pointed in the direction of place or country where the person came from. When hand in proper direction, finger pointed downward with a slight jerk; then the hand drawn back to the front of the body, and finger pointed down near feet. The raising and stretching of the arm much or little defined to some extent whether the place was distant or near; but, as several places and tribes were often located in the same general direction, the name of the place or tribe was often said, or the sign for the tribe given. When considered necessary, places were also differentiated by defining in signs the nature of the place, whether by a lake or a river, a falls, or in mountains, valley or plains.

89. *White man*, or *whites*.—Right hand raised to left side of brow, inclining slightly inward, palm down, fingers close together and somewhat extended; hand drawn across horizontally to right side of brow, as if making a cut. (The origin of the sign is unknown, but it is thought by the Indians to imitate the wearing of hats by the whites.)

90. *Think the whites are good*.—Same sign as preceding, then sign of "thinking," and then sign of "good."

91. *Think whites are no good*.—The same sign as preceding, only the "no good" sign made instead of sign for "good."

92. *Don't like whites*.—Sign for "whites," then sign of "think," then sign of "no." (The same sign seems to be used for "think" and "like," at least in some cases.)

Tribal Names in the Sign Language

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93. *Coeur d'Alêne*.—The sign of "bow and arrow" and shooting horizontally. Sometimes the sign of direction of the Coeur d'Alêne country was also added. Sometimes the left hand, in making the sign for "bow," was held edge up, with the thumb pointing down, and fingers all close together, the arm held horizontally and arched. The arm was also sometimes moved from left to right. The meaning of the sign is "flat bow" (or "the people who use flat bows, shooting them horizontally"). Some of the Plains tribes used the simple signs of "bow and arrow" and "west" or "sunset" for the Coeur d'Alêne, meaning "Bow and arrow people of the west." This name is supposed to have been given them because at a time when all the other buffalo-hunting tribes had at least some guns the Coeur d'Alêne were still using bows and arrows. The terms "Flat bow" or "Wide bow" were applied to the Coeur d'Alêne in the sign language because of the universal use of flat bows by them, and because, of all tribes, they used the widest bows. The terms "Awl-heart," "Pointed-heart," etc., were not used by any Indians for the Coeur

d'Alêne in the sign language. Some of the traders, however, may have used signs with these meanings.

94. *Flathead* or *Salish proper.*—Right hand placed on the right side of the head slightly back of the temples, with fingers extending upward to top of head. Sometimes the hand was merely touched to the side of the head. Supposed to mean "pressed the side of the head" (hence "Flathead"), but the origin and true meaning of the sign are unknown.

95. *Pend d'Oreilles.*—With both hands sign of paddling, first on one side of the body and then on the other. This means "Paddlers" or "Canoe people." Sometimes the sign of "lake" (with reference to Flathead Lake) was added to the sign of "paddling," because at one time a large number of the tribe lived near Flathead Lake; i. e., "Lake paddlers" or "Canoe people of the Lake." The Pend d'Oreilles were called "Paddlers" or "Canoe people" because they used bark canoes, while the Flathead did not, and because they were the most eastern people of the region who used canoes. The terms "Ear drops," "Ear pendants," were never used for the Pend d'Oreilles by any Indians in the sign language.

96. *Kalispel.*—This tribe was called "Paddlers" or "Canoe men," just like the Pend d'Oreilles. When it was desired to differentiate them from the latter the sign of "river" was added; viz, "River paddlers" or "Canoe men of the river." They were so named because of their habitat on Pend d'Oreille River and because they were canoe people like the Pend d'Oreilles and used the same kind of bark canoes.

97. *Spokan.*—First the sign of "salmon" or "fish" was made, then the fingers were raised to the mouth and a motion of swallowing made. The sign means "Salmon eaters," or "People who eat salmon." The Spokan were so named because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group having salmon in their country, and they were the most eastern tribe of the region using salmon extensively as food.

98. *Colville* or *Chaudière.*—Sign of direction of location of country was made, then the sign of "falls" by pushing the hand down, fingers perpendicular, then the signs of "fish" or "salmon" and "catching" up with the hands. Sometimes the sign of "river" was made first of all. The meaning is "Salmon fishers at falls." The term has reference to Kettle Falls, the main salmon place of the Colville, and to the fact that the Colville caught more salmon than any other tribe of the region. The term "Kettle Indians" was not used for the Colville in the sign language by any of the Indians.

99. *Lake* or *Senijextee.*—The sign for "Lake trout" was made, or the sign for "fish," and then of "a spot of yellow." The meaning is "Lake-trout people," so named because it is said that comparatively

few good salmon reached their country, and the tribes depended for food on lake trout, which were abundant.

100. *Sanpoil, Okanagon.*—My informant was not quite sure of the signs for these tribes.

101. *Similkameen.*—The sign of "eagle" was made for this people; "Eagle people." Said to be so named because eagles were formerly very plentiful in the Similkameen country, and eagle-tail feathers were formerly exported from there.

102. *Thompson* or *Couteau.*—My informant thought the sign of "snow" was formerly made by some people for the Thompson; "Snow people." Why so named is quite unknown. It may be derived through folk etymology from the name of the tribe. They were also sometimes called "People of the big river to the northwest." The sign for "knife" was also made for them; "knife people," but this term was used chiefly by the fur traders. The river to the northwest is either the Thompson or Fraser River.

103. *Shuswap.*—My informant was not sure of the sign for the Shuswap, but a term sometimes used meant "People who live (or go down) in the valley on the other side of the high country to the north."

104. *Lillooet.*—My informant was not familiar with any sign for this tribe, but thought the sign for "ax" was probably applied to them because the Okanagon group of tribes call them "ax people."

105. *Wenatchi.*—Fists brought together in front of breast, thumbs adjoining, then each turned upward and backward as if breaking something. Said to mean "bent or nearly broken" or "bent or broken in the middle," but with reference to what is uncertain. The sign may be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

106. *Columbia, Moses Columbia,* or *Columbia Cayuse.*—Hands placed together, points of fingers and wrists almost touching; then right hand pushed hard along middle of left, as if pushing something through. Said to mean "wedged" or "pressed in," or "wedged or divided in the middle," but with reference to what is unknown. The sign may possibly be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

107. *Yakima, Klickitat.*—Both hands held over temples, fingers meeting at top of head. Often the hands are pressed down on the head. Means "pressed or flattened heads." Said to be so named because the Yakima formerly pressed the heads of all infants; and they were the nearest tribe to the Coeur d'Alêne having this custom.

108. *Paloos.*—The common sign for the Paloos was the same as for Yakima, but with the sign of "location" or "direction" added. There was another sign for the Paloos which my informant had forgotten.

109. *Nez Percé.*—Forefinger of right hand pointed across the nostrils or point of the nose. Sometimes the forefinger was simply held for a moment horizontally across in front of the nose. The meanings of the signs are "Pierced noses." They were so named because long ago nearly all the Nez Percé had their noses pierced, and they wore nose-pins of shell and bone to a greater extent than any other tribe.

110. *Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse.*—My informant said he did not know any signs for these tribes. Usually they were called by the same sign as the Nez Percé, with signs of location added to differentiate them.

111. *Chinook, Wasco.*—My informant said there was an old sign name for the Chinook and Wasco, both being called by the one name, but he had forgotten it.

112. *Coast Indians.*—First the sign for "water" or "drinking" was made; then a wry face was made, as if something bitter had been tasted. Sometimes the sign for "sunset" was added, or for "west beyond the mountains." The meaning is "bitter-water people."

113. *Shoshoni.*—The sign for "snake" (viz, "Snake people") was made for all the Shoshoni. Different tribes were differentiated by signs of location. The origin of the term is unknown. The Flathead are said to have used different signs for certain tribes of Shoshoni besides the general one of "snake."

114. *Kutenai.*—The sign of "robe," and then that for "deer," was made for the Kutenai, meaning "deer robes." They are said to have been so named because they used deer robes extensively in early times. There was a special or additional name occasionally used for the Lower Kutenai, but my informant was uncertain of what it was. The fur traders sometimes used the term "Flat bow" for the Lower Kutenai.

115. *Cree.*—Hand pushed down over nose, or the finger points drawn down over the nose, as if scratching it. Sometimes the two signs were combined. Said to mean "bloody noses" and "striped or scratched noses." The origin of the sign name is obscure. Some Coeur d'Alêne suggested that the name may have arisen from some of them painting their noses red or in stripes.

116. *Gros Ventres or Atsina.*—Two signs were used for this tribe. In one, the two forefingers were crossed near the outer joints, with points extending upward. This means "tent" or "tent poles." This is the oldest sign name for the tribe; but why they were so designated is unknown. Some think it was because they had inferior tents long ago. The other sign was made by bringing the hands together in front of the breast, palms inward, and points of all the fingers touching. The hands were then pushed forward and downward without being parted, making a curve in front of the belly.

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This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot.*—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood.*—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan.*—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho.*—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne.*—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow.*—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow.*—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue men"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux.*—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cutthroats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

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125. *Counting.*—In counting, the Coeur d'Alêne begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 201 802

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. 201 576 Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. 202 224 Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[279] *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. 201 The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when 576 they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially 861 old women.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salikʷ* and the old name dropped out of use.[3] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qēn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

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Snpoī'l or *Snpoī'lix̣* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tcʌkst is from *ai'tcʌkst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lix̣tcʌn*" or "*Nse'lix̣tcʌn*," which means "Salish-speaking "(from *Sa'lix̣*, *Se'lix̣*, or *Si'lix̣*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcʌn*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.—The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

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[3] See p. 264.

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197 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lqtcn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan snəqaie'tkʷ Lakes snəkà'lt Colville	nsi'lqtcn
Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'łutcn
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi sìske'tamixʷ	ns'xwa'mux'tcn
Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtcn

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177 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[3]

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171 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the snəqaie'tkʷ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

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[3] Cf., page 26.

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6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

	Similkameen	Okanagon	Sanpoil	Colville	Lake
Thompson	*Smxle'qzmux* [1]	*Tcuiqwű'ui, Tciqwű'ui* *Tsawa'nzmux* [2] *Okznű.qai'n* [4]	*Snpoi'l* [5, 10]	*Sxoiě'lp* [5, 9]	*Snai'lcxkst.* [5, 9]
Columbia	*Smzlkzmi'x* *Smzlkzmi'x* [6]	*Soqznűqai'mxx*	*Nesilxzicě'n* [7]	*Sxuiclpzmxx* [8]	*Snailcxkstxq.* [9]
Flathead group	*Szmilkomi'*	*Otcznűke'* *Otcznű.qai'n* *Uicznű'.qai'n*	*Npoi'los* [10] *Snpői'lzxxc*	*Sxőzě'lpi* *Sxoiě'.lpe*	*Snai'tcxlsic.* *Snrai'lcxlsic.*
Coeur d'Alêne	*Smzlkzmi'cln*	*Wxic.nűqei'n*	*Sznpoě'*	*Sxoiě'lpzms*	
Klickitat (Tobacco Plains band).	*Xwapzma'pzm* [11]	*Kznűke'n* [11]			
Kutenai		*Ăkěnuq'lă'lă'm* *Kőkznu'k'kě* [12]		*Kqopile'nikl* [12]	
Upper Kutenai		*Okanaks'n* [11]	*Sznpoc'ls* [11]	*Hap.kle'n* [13] *Khapile'nikl*	*Tsxlznő'nikl* [13]
Yakima			*Haiai'nīma* *Ipoilq* [11]		
Sign-language names	"Eagle people"	Sometime called "Flat side of head on stream to west" (viz, Flathead of Okanagon River).		"Salmon fishers at falls" (viz, Kettle Falls).	"Lake-trout people."

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[1] Meaning "people of *Smxil'A*, *Smzk'kzm*, *Smqizkzmi'n*, or *Smxikzmil*," said to be the name of a locality in the Lower Similkameen valley (see also Similkameen villages, p. 208).

[2] Meaning uncertain. It is applied to the Okanagon in particular, but is also a general name for the southern Salish, in the same way as "Tsawa'nzmux." The same term is used by the Shuswap for the Lower Lillooet.

[3] Also the Shuswap name for the Okanagon. The term probably means "people at the back or behind," "Back-country people." It is applied particularly to the Okanagon, but is also a general name for the southern Salish.

[4] A special name for the Okanagon of Okanagon River. Said to be from the name of a place on Okanagon River.

[5] The suffix -emx ("people") may be, and occasionally is, added to the Thompson terms for the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lake.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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[6] Said to be the name of the district around the mouth of the Similkameen.

[7] Means "Salish-speaking" or "having Salish speech."

[8] The names for the Colville are said to be derived from a place name near Kettle Falls. They mean "hollowed out" according to some, and "stone skin-grainer" according to some Flathead informants.

[9] "Trout people." All names refer to a variety of trout—lake trout according to some, and salmon trout according to others.

[10] All the names for the Sanpoil are said to be from the name of a place in their country.

[11] Derived through the Salish language.

[12] Said to mean "Falls people."

[13] Probably from a place name. Meaning uncertain.

[14] "Eagle people." Klickitat say they think the name was applied to a tribe east of the Spokan; but Salish and other informants say it is the Klickitat or Yakima name for the Similkameen. The form here given corrected from Teit's *Xelam'put* by Melville Jacobs.

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete. 526

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

201 A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

565 575 621 **ORGANIZATION.**—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

622 **CHIEFS.**—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

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Kalispel
Spokan

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
-	A'tlmaqlk'lām¹ ("Flatheaded".)	Maqkwē'gəxak ("Red willow people").	e-tinemilē'kwe ("river people")	Sxxəme'n.² Sxntuti.³
Upper Kutenai	Akkak...'ka, Mixwdk'e ("Log or loggy⁴ people").	ə-tl'naqlīlām*⁵	ə-tl'naqlīlām*⁶ ("compress side of head.")	
Nez Percé		[illegible]	kamī'spals ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		ku'shpelu*, pupakpēn'lēmə* ("people of the great fir-trees").⁸	ku'shpelu*, pupakpēn'lēmə* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpōkē'n.⁷ Cpoka'n.
Wasco				Lēclē'cuks.⁹
Klamath and Modoc				Spokē'n.⁷
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Kak-ta'-kopi-ta'p-i-e*		ni-ka-ta-ta-ta'p-i-e*	
Gros Ventres.	Kaakahkais¹⁰ ("Flathead men").			
Arapaho	Ka-ka-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-ka'-to-tsi-o-ta-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nabaqindibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Arakē'pe, Ácuhdipe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ah-mē'n-e-sh u'-me*, ah-min-e-sh u-me* ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	ā-tsa-hā-pe*			
Yankton	pa-ēde-ska*, pa-bla'-sa* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably a'kə'q!wak, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. I, p. 147.

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sɛmtē'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tɛmeiā'*, *Lameiā'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snɛ̨xlamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sihuē'pe*, *Sihue'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukɛtɛme'xʷ*, *Nko'tɛme'xʷ*, *Nkɛtɛmī'*, *Lā'kɛtɛme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sɛmilkamī'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcɛnākī'*, *Ōtcɛnāqai'n*, *Otcɛnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npoī'lce*, *Snpōī'lɛx̨ɛc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sx̨ōɛī'lpi*, *Sx̨oiī'lpi* (said to be derived from *ɛoiī'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcɛtste* or *Snrai'tcɛtste* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpɛskuā'use*, or *Snpɛskuē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiā'use*, *Snkaiī'use* [9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Sk̨i'tsuī* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomktske'lix* [10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Ska'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkʷ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qoqa'ten* by the *Tunā'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sɛlkwōla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sēha'pten*, *Sahā'ptɛne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktske'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skelt* ("above, up country or to the north") and *se'ulkʷ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 202, note 6.

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EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

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General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	*Tcxle'tztin s'ke'.lix* ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") *Noxtu'*. ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	*Sarsi'*. This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	*Sicxqoi'*, *Sicxkoi'*. ("black feet").[18]
Blood	*Sxnhwulstci'nt*, *Snxwulstci'nt* ("blood people").
Piegan	*Tsxtsxmi'tsa*ᵃ ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	*Snkaioskestci'nt* (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles).[19]
Arapaho	*Lapaho'*, *Ala'pho* (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	*Wxtckaiu'*, *xtckai'u'*, *Tskakai'u'*, *Tcxxkai 'u'*, *Tsl'kxkai'u*, *Tskwai'u'* (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white).[20]
Cree	*Nextu'* ("cutthroat" or "beheader"),[21] *Lekri'* (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	*Noxtu'* ("cutthroat," "beheader").[22]
Assiniboin	*Stkitunuxtu'*[23] (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	*Sil'mtci'(nt)* ("raven people").
River Crow	*Skwais'tci'*, *Skwoistci'nt* ("blue [or green] people").[24]
Ojibway	*Ntcu'wa'*, *Ntcu'a'*.
Iroquois	*yilikwe'* (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

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[18] Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather. [201]

ᵃ Called by the Columbia [illegible].

[19] In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly." [201]

[20] In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across," sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south." [201]

[21] In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alêne sign language name for them is "striped nose" or "scratched nose." [201]

[22] In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

[23] Compare form and meaning of this word with *tcεd'zε* or *kstcεd'zε*, which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection. [201]

[24] In the sign language called "people who defecate by the riverside."

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way. 000

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next. 171* 727 [648] [628]

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them. 177 171*

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different. 201 • 191 171*

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 171* 56 61 375 000

562 623 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snəq̓aie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkən, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (q̣uxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tû'c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. The headman wears no special insignia, nor is [555 787] he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skölstI'ckûm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cûxkwItIatIacûmI'ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 ● [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cûxwawa'm) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cûxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo, 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cöxqölöqwe'Ilt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 11b. -- Analyst]

[58] Compare ~~the~~ house leaders.

[59] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.[1]

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 201 802

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. 201 576 Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. 202 224 Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[279] a, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women. 201 576 861

262/224 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not 611 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands 621 in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous 166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser 594 number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. 621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[281] a, pp. 289-302.

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463 hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally 484 those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fall into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. [728] It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle-aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. [554] Men were graded to some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177] symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202 signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any [illegible]4 important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the

202/484 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

567 SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered [302] members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

173 567 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[295] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[296] It was also used by young men and young women, for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

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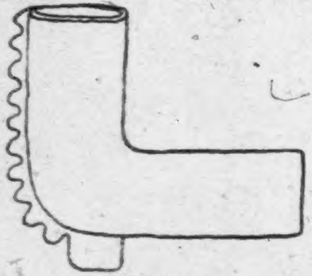

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alène country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alène, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used unti[illegible]er the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, howe[illegible], were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

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[295] See Nez Percé, b, p. 231.

[296] See Thompson, a, p. 313, fig. 284 a.

226 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) O. nerka, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) O. kisutch, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

227 The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such
203 a time and place. This announcement usually
622 occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

There were no insulting gestures. The 578
following verbal insults were recorded:
ntlupqō´pc, "dirty anus (or buttocks)";
kciltEmī´lt, "bastard"; kĒkōwa´p, "dog";
kcqwē´chin, "you have semen on your penis";
kcpa´rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back";
"your anus is filled with blue mud."

Some phrases of greeting were secured.
When a man meets a friend on the trail, he 576
says, waī xī'wī´ł, "Good! We meet." The
other replies, waī (waī is a generalized affirmative,
rendered "well," "good"). To a
caller entering a house, or to a person joining
a group, one of those present would say,
waī ktstsEkī´ts, "Good! You have come," to
which the newcomer responds, waī.

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. 574
This was very informal. One entered
the tipi of another with some such greeting
as waī ktskī´ts, "Well, I am here." This the 576
other echoed, and then hands were shaken all
around. After this the visitor was asked to
sit down, often at the best place, that belonging
to the head of the house, back of
the fireplace. He was expected immediately [203] ●
and without further formality to deliver any
news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim
stated that one was expected to enter and
sit without invitation, for if he hesitated
he might be taken for an enemy. In entering
the semi-underground house there was somewhat
more formality demanded of a visitor.
Possibly even members of the household were
required to announce their presence at the
top of the ladder, so that those within
would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular
rule of etiquette demanding that no
one look up while a woman was descending.
When one person was leaving, he or she said,
waī qEnqłhō´ła, "Well, I am going," or in the
plural, waī qōqłhū´ła, "Well, we are going,"
to which the response was waī.

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa´ī kūskī´taEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa´ī kEnskī´ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The woman of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her 585
parents without her husband, but his permission 431
was required. She carried gifts
(Mary Carden).

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqɛt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemī'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Anastɛmɛlpo'* (?) (full name *Tɛmplpo'sɛmɛn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonxwā'lqo* or *xwɛlłspo'sɛmɛn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mā'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 Councils.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings
of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
203 624 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535 727 796

Tsuwikt Dance.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327]

Tribal and Intertribal War Dances.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. [203] In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. [524] Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

Marrying Dance.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, 796 Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[327] b, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, a, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, c, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, k, p. 268.

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers. 622

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained. 554 622

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance. 623 203 ●

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line. 622

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pᴇlkamū'lôx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation. 173 622

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (*Pilᴇkᴇmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sᴇnx̣omi'nux* or *sᴇnxomᴇ'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These
bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

[302]

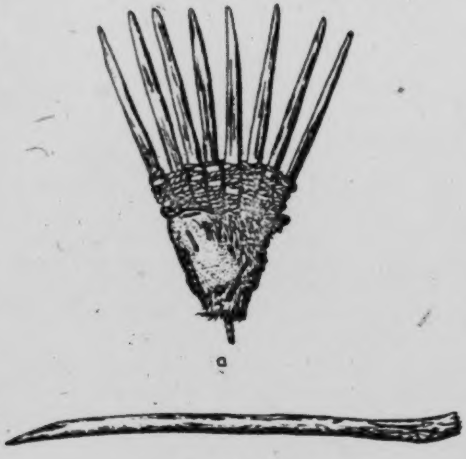

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
211 ing significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
single matter of business, two feathers in-
622 dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains
type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them [881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated. [145] The grease was collected from the tops of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283
or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled [237]
on the thigh by women. One end of the
string formed a loose loop, the other was
lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow 411
was not in use the loop end was loosened
and slipped down the bow. Great
care had to be taken that the string be new
and strong, for if it should break, the bow
would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411
a half feet long, while war arrows were perhaps
a foot shorter. Service berry wood was 322
used for arrows, as the pliability of this
wood when moist permitted easy straightening,
and its stiffness and elasticity when dry
made it admirable for shooting. A fairly
straight piece of wood was selected, stripped
of its bark and bent straight while heating
it before a fire. The teeth were used as a
vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about
five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench.
Wrenches were also made of bone and horn.
Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes
arrows were straightened by weighting with
flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing
with a handful of service berry shavings or
tough grass; never with a stone. Just below
the nock the arrow was made thin to provide
a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of eagle,
grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes
were always parallel to the axis of the [237]
shaft. Each feather was split and the wider
half discarded. The quill of the narrow and
stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible,
while being held between teeth and hand. The
vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew
from the back of a deer. One end of the
chewed and shredded sinew was held in the
teeth while the other was started around the
arrow about three quarters of an inch below
the nock, after pine pitch had been applied.
The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft
at one end under the sinew with the left
hand while the arrow was rotated with the
right, thus rolling the sinew around the
shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place
the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had
been wrapped on. The forward ends of the
vanes were fastened in the same way. There
were no grooves into which the quills were
set; neither were they bound in the middle,
but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the
binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211 ●
were often decorated with paint to facilitate
finding them in the bush and probably 531]
also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411
of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double
spiral, about that portion of the shaft 531
where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was
smeared over this section and charcoal, red
ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

805 together for two hundred, three for three
hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied
on to represent a thousand days. While the
device is indiginous, being known also to
neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earli-
er existence of the higher counts (see also
[843] Religion). It was also said that women kept
track of the passage of the nine lunar
months of pregnancy by making a knot for each
month, counting from the first failure to
menstruate until one month after the birth
[765] of the child. Old people were said to keep
track of how long their children had been
dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt
this. Knotted string records were call-
ed catca'sq!. They were not used as memor-
[211] anda sent with messengers who carried invita-
tions.

p. 70 (B)

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, Bo 101
Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 166
but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, 173
most of the information is first hand.

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not 361
yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptɩn ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptɩnuxʷ, located at the 361
site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This 221
was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here
since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

    This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population 221
was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing 361
during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan,
occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially 177
good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

    The number of people living here during the summer varied from [161]
100 to 150.

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'luxʷ. 361
This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

162
221
361
592

of a mile. It[1] was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. xaimi·'saxum ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'luxʷ. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwiʔ ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'lau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to skləmtcı'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'xʷ, home of the ski'xʷ. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwiʔ (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. məsməsa'ləmxʷ, home of the sməsməsa'ləmxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'xʷ (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. skləm'tcı'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'lau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

SANPOIL VILLAGES

8. niəxo'i'tqʷ ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ. About half way between sklə'mtcı'n (7) and na'a'qʷ (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

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[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [ŋspi'lam -- Analyst]

9. wał'wałá'skın ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wałá'skınxʷ, situated a half mile up the river from nłxxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11] 162 / 221 / 361 / 592

10. t'sakt'si'ˀkakın ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·ˀluxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wałá'skın (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

    It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. x̣ax̣sula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sx̣ax̣sula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kałpusp̓u'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kałpusp̓u'stənaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·ˀluxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mikʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mikʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kałpusp̓u'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·ˀluxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·ˀluxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·ˀluxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each [226] year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

162
221
361

of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due to the extremes of temperature at this location.

592
[622]

Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'sxənən ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qətsəltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qətapkunu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where skinny and various other games were played.

D. qaqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tləm ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A).

G. skəxwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. ənluqá'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained 162 here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at nx̣ox̣oγu's (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved 221 to npui·'luxʷ (15) with the approach of summer.

17. nx̣ox̣oγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of 361 the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the 592 sxula'lstʷ. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16).

18. snukɛ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɛ'iltkʷ. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snukɛ'iltkʷ travelled to npui·'luxʷ (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snukɛ'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[13]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[13]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxʷ. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'luxʷ (15).

snəq̣aie'tkʷ VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[13] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

5. ṕu·′pastən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller. 221/361
6. tmxo·′yâm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.
7. nxwi'′i′pəm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.
8. sə'â'â'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek.. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.
9. âtcxulski′pástəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.
10. nloqloqəkue′lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cash creek. Hunting base.
11. nxat′ltcəni′tkʷ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cash creek. Hunting camp.
12. sntxulu′stan ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cash creek. Served as a hunting base.
13. nlu·′piəm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu′stan (12), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.
14. sl̥âkumu′lamxʷ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·′piəm (13). Hunting base and root gathering camp.
15. nxlakaʕci′n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.
16. mə′lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.
17. luxluxxu′m ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu′m (17) may or may not have been used as camp sites. Burke was not certain.

18. aqlqəpuxwi′lpʷ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.
19. tq̓wi'i′p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.
20. ˌkli'i′puš ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

POPULATION

It is exceedingly difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of individuals constituting the Sanpoil prior to the nineteenth century. In 1782 began a series of epidemics which greatly depleted the population throughout the area. Smallpox made the most serious inroads, but measles and influenza caused considerable losses as well. 175

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population. It was followed by epidemics of the same disease in 1846 and 1852-53, introduced in both cases by the white people.[14] In one of these instances, probably the latter, a party of Sanpoil traders had travelled to Portland and there contracted the disease. Despite their illness they attempted to return home. Only one of their number survived the journey; it was through this individual

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[14] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations of America*, pages 13-14.

COLVILLE VILLAGES

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25. ntcali·'"əm ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia at this point), home of the sntcali'"xʷ. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.
26. nqua'si'əm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'xʷ. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.
27. qəqəla'pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqəqəla'piaxʷ. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.
28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'naxʷ. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qəqəla'pia (27).
29. ntcumu'tastum, home of the sntcumu'tastʷ, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami'n (28), near Kettle Falls.
30. qɫuma'"axʷ ("level land"), home of the sqɫuma'"axʷ. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu'tastum (29).
31. smɫtcunu'lau, home of the smɫtcunu'lauxʷ, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

221/361

From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the residents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying prefix and suffix. Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came. [551]

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui·'luxʷ and proceeds northward up the river.

1. ənluxu'la'xʷ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi'kəst ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. əqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'kəst (2).
4. snɫoə'pətə·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to 342
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 414
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skanı'uman, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kapətctitə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had ~~had to~~ remain.

221 226 462 796 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 462 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 295 796 796 221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; kťsa'tsa'ttə'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kəɫ, "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

221 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and
796 released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones
[160] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were
[855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to
512 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot
252 rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning
512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[221] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[4] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke'tam). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June. 226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[4] See pages 34-35.

HUNTING

221/224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spı·'xam). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221 224 462 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in snaká'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226 262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcmam) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming 621
from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted.
Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently
covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another,
perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together,
but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make
an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each
woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited 481
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624
gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite
at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often
left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412
of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat
curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning
and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same
wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning
a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles
were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own
digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp
at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they
were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun
and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of transporting 482
the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

SEASONAL ROUND

221 262 361 The foods utilized by the bands of the lower Okanogan River were typical of those found among northern plateau Indians generally. They took every variety of fish and game, root and berry that was available; also moss, seeds and the cambium layer of pine trees. Very little camas grew in the valley and no kouse, but the former root was well known through trade and special trips to camas grounds. Since the activities of collecting and preserving varied continuously with the seasons, the material will be presented in calendrical sequence. There are two main seasons, the sedentary winter and the nomadic summer. The latter was spent in camping, sometimes for several weeks, to obtain salmon and deer, but for much shorter intervals for other foods.

In winter the bulk of the people were in the villages, living in the tule longhouse or the underground house. A number of families from each band were generally scattered through the hills; usually those who did not lay in large supplies and depended more on winter hunting and fur taking. Hunting for furs became more frequent after white contact. Such families were visited frequently by young men sent by their chief to bring them food if needed. Game was soon scared from the vicinity of winter villages. If food was scarce men would go on long hunting trips, singly or in pairs. But game was thin and poor until summer.

Bears were taken in March and April, when they first came from their winter quarters and were still fat. Overnight trips were not generally needed except for grizzly bear hunting in the mountains, one of the few trips when women did not accompany the men.

During the last three weeks of April the fish locally known as suckers were running in the Okanogan, and families from the whole valley went to the falls in McLaughlin Canyon (twenty miles below Oroville) to work traps. They would remain a week or two, gathering and drying enough to last until the first salmon runs in June. The run of steelhead trout at this early season was not so important, but at Keller and other places considerable numbers of people used to gather. From here some people went directly to the summer salmon camps, particularly those at Oroville and Kettle Falls.

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221 262 [517] 361 When several bands came together at a fishing site they camped separately and the chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After fishing all day they might come together in the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races. The chiefs might meet to pass about their pipes and compete in showing off.

During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were mede in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

221 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for
deer were held in the fall..... In the
262 spring roots were dug, and the people returned about June to the streams and speared salmon.... In July began the season of digging
361 fresh camas, which continued indefinitely until a sufficient supply had been accumulated. After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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[1] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
[2] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 246
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
[4] Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

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Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sIEIEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqōllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there;she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cûnī'ne. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkûmkûmâ'swûltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'l^{ûx} and up to Enasxwûē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

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Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. hen they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalI´t'sman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest, then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alŏ´ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alŏ´ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals
● 221 behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsûwI'st^n.

785 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy
866 usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal,
881 lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

823 East: skwItȼpta'n, "the sun rises."
West: skēlōxta'n, "sunset."
North: kan''tlkt or kanētxūkt, "up the river."
South: k!a'ūti'mtk, "down the river."
Each of these terms was used for the entire quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkama'cq'é; anything high overhead was qanwē'ct, while qaIhō't meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, cIExEmūc, the cold south wind, n'xErélux, and the warm wind, ctchaȼxq. The North Wind was a character in the folk tales.

821 805 221 The Okanagon year (cpInkt) comprised twelve or thirteen months, which bore names referring to weather, plants, and food-gathering. These were not grouped into summer and winter series, but there may have been six general seasons: winter (picIctk), spring (picckētc), early summer (pichwū'Itk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcEa'k), early autumn (picEntsūū'[illegible] and autumn (picka'aI). The early fall was sometimes called sEnsá'xExwi'lExh, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

821 roughly equated with nameless lunar months,
each extending from new moon to new moon,
which were used in counting duration of time.
•221 Widows, for example, observed mourning for
twelve moons. Though the word for month was
805 xèaīnūx, "moon," the months were not accurately adjusted to the lunar count, and the Okanagon showed little interest in the exact number of days in any calendrical period. There was no week and no count of years.

The first month of the year was cqaa'I, that in which the large winter houses were first occupied, nearly equivalent to our November. It was preceded, however, by one or two brief periods which were not considered as months, and which may correspond to the "between month" of the Masset and other northwestern tribes. This interval was called sEnqō'ĭχEm, "when one builds the winter homes;" or, when divided on the basis of the local salmon runs, pIcqEl'Ewēc and qtlåkamē'cītn, salmon time on the Okanagon and on the Columbia respectively.

In the following table I present the months as given by four informants, with translations and approximate equivalents in our own months wherever such were stated. Aside from differences in spelling, much variation appears in the month names and there are several discrepancies in the sequence.

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Sequence of the Seasons

Cecile Brooks	Johnnie and Billy Joe	Chilowhist Jim	Andrew Tillson
sqa'al: autumn, "when the tamarack and everything turns yellow and dries up"	sqaa'I: autumn	skEa'l: November	sk!a·a'l: fall, about November
	sII'stk: winter	cEI'st'k: December	sII's^tk or sEI'st'q: December, "when the snow falls"
kEmə'qutEn: "when the snow falls"	qmə'qōtn: "lots of snow"		ẑkamə'kûtEn: December
k!tsatsafta'n: "very cold time"	ksatsalxta'n: lit., "cold, cold time"		lEtsatsa'xtEn: January
		cqûacō'et: January	
spakt: "when the snow is very white and the peoples' skin bleeches"		cpakt: February	
	ciaqwa'ks: "toward spring"		slaq!ûa'qsEn: February
	putckElta'n: "leaf time"		kEpEtskIE'n: March
skEni'rEmEn: "buttercup time"	ckine'rmin: "buttercup"	cEnə'rEm'n: March	skEneə'RimEn: April

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3. Cline E-S (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

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kĕpĕtakĭta´n: "leaf-budding time"		patckĭta´n: April	
	swatqōmĕnō´x: "lots of water"		swaĭūmnō^{x}: May; lit., "high water"
k!pĭ´tĭĕmtĕn:"bitter-root time"		cpaĭ´txlĕnten:May	
	sta'mō´leūh: "no more snow"		staĕmūla^{xū}:June;lit., "snow is gone"
kĕmĭ´ktō^{tĕn}: "when the sunflower seeds are dry"		k'maĭ´ktōtĕn:June	
	staaqō´laūh: "flowers on the ground"		sts'aq^{ū}: July
kĕĭ´atĕn: "service-berry time"		cl´atĕn: July	
	sĭnsaxōxwē´lh: "toward autumn"		ntsahūhwēlx:August
tĭōfoxta´n: "wild-cherry time"	tlōxtlōxta´n:"cherry time"	cfōĭa´tān:August	xĭōxtĭa´xĕn:September;"cherry-picking time"
			tk'asjtĕn:October
sqĕlĕwĭ´sĕm: "when the salmon turns white"			
sĕnqatwĭ´sĕ: "when the salmon spawn in the Columbia"		sĭnkat'q^{ūĭ}´lt: September	
		ckĀlōwa´ctĕn: October	

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DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling, but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[1] [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

1 See also Individual Life Cycle.[1]

HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, 221 as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended 342 chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the wintertime, because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson, only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through 417 the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson. It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer, but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter, parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds, hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same 343 as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia. The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[48] I did not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*" 285 baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) 415 Small baskets, practically the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in parflèches. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.) Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbricated 285 with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415 well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that no cherry or willow bark was used. 531 The grass was applied nearly always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

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[48] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

Nets.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and 221 river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They 286 had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.[37] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

Designs on Bags and Baskets.—My information on this subject 531 is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[37] *a*, fig. 134.

304 531 by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

137 221 241 262 FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl	*sx̣a''ulutx̣wa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ĕtxwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *e'lx̣wa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'it'xm.*

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[141] See p. 192.

pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way. 251

SEASONS.—The Coeur d'Alêne recognize five seasons—spring (*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsaq*), late fall (*stc'e'ᴇd*), winter (*sitstīk*^{w}). 221/805

Months and seasonal employments.—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *stc'e'ᴇd* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *squa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'ŏqwe'panᴇx* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stcᴇnă''rᴇmᴇn*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winds blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *.skwaxkwaxhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yaltsk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *sᴇla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa''aq*^{w} ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

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803 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 Game and Hunting.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and
[223] snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

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224 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxx*ⁿ,[d] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i'*ł was applied to them. 123 204

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'texnalxw*[e] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[183] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411 tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ātse'tcen* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[183] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

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With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

[416] Further-
[177] more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky,
221 cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe,
[621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to
241 adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the
621 failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
157 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like
622 qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

[462] 421 only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 421 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[209] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 311 421 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[209] a, p. 248.

221 311 421 of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

[462] The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

431 527 53 Festivals.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522] sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[290] *a*, pp. 295, 296; *b*, p. 246.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

V. SUBSISTENCE

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FOOD.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. [484] Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.[1]

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Vegetal food.—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes.

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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[1] According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent. 224

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting. [231]

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting. 221 ●

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century: 173

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox̣* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox̣* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place 224

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Spokan

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

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415 285 178 *171 [222] [412]

Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 178 *171 [415] [407]

Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 *171

The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221

The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

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late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring. 221

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan: 222 824

ROOTS

1. *A'thwa, ł'tɛwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlɛm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pō'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Să'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Stlōkōm* (unidentified).
9. *Mɛsă'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwɛnkwĕ'nɛm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *Sɛsĭ'lɛm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsă'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Siai'ɛkɛn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kɛrtsɛn* (unidentified).
15. *Molă'xpa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slă'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Łŏ'zlăz* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsĕkwĭ'kʷ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Stsa'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'natc* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'weslls* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pĕ'lpolqɛn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltaltlaax*[1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqweikwai'qɛn* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tɛmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yă'rtca* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsă'lx*[2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shō'sɛm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqɛm, kei'tkɛm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *Stɛsoă'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npakpeka'xɛn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sisĭ'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *Tɛptɛptai'ɛlp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

Sɛlɛxwai'lɛpkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

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[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.

[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

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224 *171 [177] never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although they hunted all the way, going and returning.

224 In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they [178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 *171 [184] FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around ● 221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was 221 ● lighter and the climate milder.

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed 227 except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. How- 171* ever, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them."

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing [411] fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. [136] No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. [438] A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe 501 people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. [171]* The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage re-
garding positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven 361
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231

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FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcɛnəm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming 621
from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted.
Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered 481
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624
gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412
of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of trans- 482
porting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

222 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually
251 required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places,
not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds
482 sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally
throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of
the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags
of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black
222 outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white.
251 It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest
252 and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom
262 steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method.
For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or
after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes
forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently
sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'lps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwantu'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'x̣ukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'tx̣wa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tləm). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwɪla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkȧ'ɬpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (ṗɪli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smɪtsuná'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potáto, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̓waq̓wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'ɪukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

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16. txaia'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (słake'łpʷ). The berries (słuksɛa'łaq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'łpʷ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'łpʷ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣la'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqʷ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun. 137 222 231

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (saä'pt'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly. 252 262

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (təqe'm-təqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (saɫyai'lpʷ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpuləkani'lmuɬxʷ, "wide leaved plant"; pá'lpuləkan, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mətca'kʷ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (ła·'ła'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stəkətcuxwi'lpʷ, the tree; sti'ktcʷ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saqaɫkalmə'lxʷ, "good bush"; səxa'slukʷ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yəykai'lpʷ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (squ·'sam, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

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34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (anti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

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35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (ia'talon). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'ná, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annuus* L., (wuγwaγká'p^u, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Petasites speciosa*, (xoxti'lp^u, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus poderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulp^u). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

42. Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxlowi'lpᵊ. "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[2] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137 222 237 252 262

43. suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44. Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵊ). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45. Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose. (qe'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46. Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkà'lpᵊ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47. Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48. Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49. Wooly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti''wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. 272

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[2] medicinal usage, p. 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ɑp'kanu'sástəm, "spear wip- 197
ing plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in 272
the same manner as the preceding one. 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the 251
stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[3] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[3] See page 76

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa´wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI´ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau´na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skūqūlau´ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sI"ūs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

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252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open. 252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes. 252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that 252
there were five pieces. Geese and cranes
were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either
before they were roasted or afterward, though
it used to be done before, while the blood
was still in the bird, since a cooked animal
has no more spirit. However, cooking the [774
animal without butchering it first would not
kill its spirit: only throwing away some of 825]
the meat would do this.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuc- 231
cessful and starving hunters in the bush.
They were never selected and fattened de- 262
liberately, though the French traders used
to buy them for food.

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was 262
remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mount-
ain sheep. Caribou were recollected as ob- 224
tained by trade. No buffalo are known to
have roamed this far west.[13] 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to 222 ●
gather plant foods, as they generally did, no
one of them would officially take the lead. 824
One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year.

(1)[15] Service berries (sí'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'ĭkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, de- 222
pending on the weather and the degree of ripe-
ness of the berries. If there were large 251
flat rocks nearby they were spread on these;
otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the 824
ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage,

1/A [For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[13] For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1/A

[14] Brown, *Old Fort Okanogan*, 31.

[15] Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1/A

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or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for summer consumption. 222 251

Today the fresh berries are boiled and eaten with sugar, though in the old days they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. 222 Dried berries were never cooked alone: usually they were mixed with bitter-root and 252 boiled, often also with salmon, which was separated when served and placed on mats. 824 A special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never mashed. The dried berries were sweet and thus very desirable for mixing with the many bitter foods.

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō´sem, 222 were gathered the last part of June and the first of July. 251 They were dried two or three days on tule mats, then sacked and stored, but were sometimes used fresh. 252 They were prepared by first being soaked in hot water half an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft, 824 then stirred vigorously with the foam berry mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root basket, until they foamed up like the whites of eggs. Dried service berries might be added for sweetening before soaking, the berries being very bitter. Grease will prevent the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, prepared in the evening when friends call, and eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berries were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanI´q or swá'enI´k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (xax'xa'I'I) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka´lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stI´q'-tsū), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

222 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled
cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in
251 these containers, handfuls were spread on a
rock to dry. After several days they were
stored in tule sacks for winter use. They
252 were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the
dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled
824 in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (łata), (9) strawberries (tq!ëmtqEm), and (10) thimble berries (palpŪ´lEqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immedietely. (11) Bearberries (skŪli´s) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spI´tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexŌRI´pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa´I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[462] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

222 251 252 824 en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIū′p·^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, , in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

[342] (15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxūlō′sa, white round camas at Waterville; I′t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka′ūōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

p. 26 (B)

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(16) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else.

(17) A root (stákcI′n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmárata), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called cŬI′x^{u} (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklŏ′kŬm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden).

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (pcaI′k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūI′x^{u}), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with sEma′rats, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (tcōkōlō′sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsI′n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō′wI) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flames had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

p.27(B)

222 251 252 (25) A root (^{t}sIms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

824 A root (xEnasta´tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsI´xwI) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsI´xwI'^{tn}. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamU´n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qUaqUaqUnI´lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mI´ktU) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mU´qUAk'n.) The women used a beater (klepta´n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

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[1] [See figure 24 on p. 58(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

222 251 252 824

powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not even moistened, and was regarded as a delicacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

(30) Choke cherries (tlöxtla′x^{ū}) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers. They might be treated like service berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwali′p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use."[1] It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aū′q!ū) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks put in the bottom, and on this was laid two inches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

[1] [For footnote, see p. 28 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. They were not pounded or stored, but used as a titbit while they lasted. 252 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kia panter and (34) pI'tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi'Ina, *Opuntia*?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokōI'na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River. 261 [796] 226

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI'tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p.29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.
18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[1]

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

●222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot.* The ceremony was called cqEpō'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skŪm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SŪIpEqē n after a dream.* His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

* [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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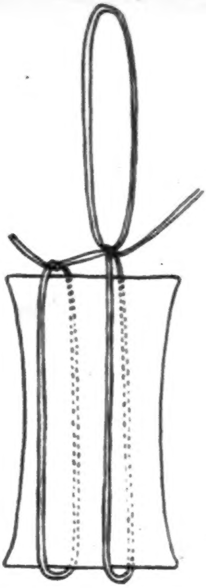

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

222 412 This was about two and a half feet long but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

222 412 which lay at the point of crossing, were lashed together with the inner bark of service berry (Figure 24). A piece of buckskin the shape of the beater (a) was sewed on the larger loop. A second piece (b) was sewed on the opposite face of the smaller loop so that this, the handle, was covered on both faces. The first piece of skin (a) overlapped the second. The sewing on both loops began and ended at the point of crossing. The stitches were on the back, the smooth side being down when in use. The fastening of the sewing element was a simple knot. After the beater had been in use, the buckskin on the beating surface stretched and was less taut, which was not considered desirable. A skilled woman could cause an almost constant rain of seeds to fall into the funnel-shaped birch bark bucket held in the left hand. The bucket was held by the rim with its loop handle resting on the back of the hand, or it was simply held by the loop. Basketry beaters were unknown to the Southern Okanagon.

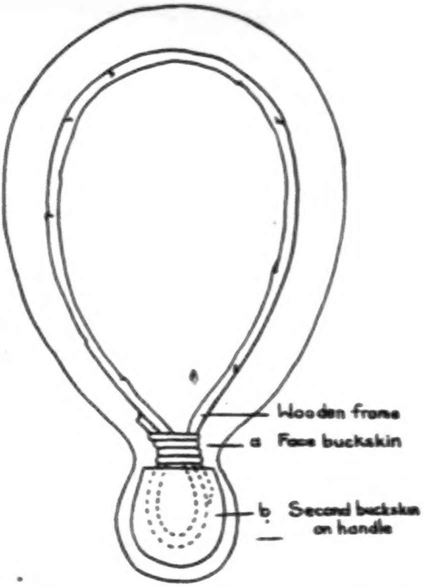

Fig. 24. Seed beater (drawn from description).

Mortar and Pestle

412 285 For a mortar a rather shallow, twined Indian hemp basket was lined with the heavy neck portion of a deerskin and placed inside a slight cavity, naturally or artificially hollowed in a stone.

Methow and Chelan were reported also to use this form of mortar and pestle (see below). The Yakima, Wenatchi, and "Ellensburg" (Northern Wenatchi ?) used a coiled cedar root basket with a pestle of similar shape but of a blue-black stone.

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and pre- 252
paring it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222 ●
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47]
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four 411
or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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3. (Probably *Lomatium kaus* Wats.? or (*Peucedanum cous* Watson).	*pi'wia.*
4. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a yellow flower and a round and rather flat root.	*p'ăxʷp'ăxʷ.*
5. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small round root.	*tu'xwa.*
6. *Allium* sp., possibly *geyeri*	*sistc.*
7. *Allium* sp., probably *cernuum*	*qwəli'wilc* (Thompson *kolă'wa, kala'ua*).
8. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a tall white flower and a small round root.	*st'ū'qom.*
9. Probably *Daucus pusillus*	*mŏ'smən.*
10. *Claytonia* sp	*sqwă'təm.*
11. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small flat root.	*la'q'ămxʷ.*
12. Probably *Fritillaria pudica*	*tc'a'wəx̣* (Thompson *tcă'wəx*): *Lilium columbianum.*
13. Probably *Sium lineare*	*mă'təsmə̄ts.*
14. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a large long root, and just one leaf which grows on top of the water.	*sqeiqəts* (Thompson: *Opuntia x'qəqx''x*).
15. Probably *Cnicus undulatus* Gray	*marĕ'opa.*
16. Root of an unidentified plant	*pitcelu'sa.*

My informants claimed that the roots of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* and *Balsamorrhiza hookerii* were not eaten, although one or both of these were used by the Flathead. Also they said that the roots of *Lilium columbianum* (Hanson) were not eaten, although this root is much used as a food by the Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, and others. *Lewisia rediviva* did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but was plentiful in Spokan territory, where Coeur d'Alêne parties went to dig it.[142] The *pitcelūsa* grew only on the borders of the Nez Percé territory, and parties went there to gather it. Some of the unidentified species used by the Coeur d'Alêne may be the same as some of those used by the Nez Percé.

BERRIES

Latin name.	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Amelanchier* sp. (service berry or June berry).	*sla'q.*
2. *Prunus demissa* Walpers (chokecherry or black wild cherry).	*ta'x̣ləx̣* .
3. *Prunus* sp. (red wild cherry)	*t'xcile'pə.*
4. *Sambucus* sp. (elderberry)	*stsă'qəq* (Thompson: *tsĕ'kuk*)
5. *Crataegus* sp. (black hawberry)	*sx̣o''natc.*
6. *Crataegus* sp. (red hawberry)	*kwăla.*
7. *Cornus pubescens* Nutt. (red willow berry)	*stiltcəxʷ.*
8. *Rubus* sp. (raspberry)	*nx̣ală'tsĕ* (Thompson: currant *lată'sa, xlată'sa*).

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[142] *b*, pp. 203, 204.

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9. *Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry).	*po'lpolqᴇn.*
10. *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry).	*mâtsu'q* (Thompson: *mᴇ'.tcuk, mi'tcuk*).
11. *Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble).	*ti'lictslumxʷ* (Thompson: *ti'tᴇl.ūm.*
12. *Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)	*st'i't'êmêlps.*
13. *Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)	*ya'ricᴇn.*
14. *Ribes* sp. (wild currant)	*tsê'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *tsâ'l.za*, Okanagon *.stsê'res*)
15. *Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry).	*sxo'sᴇm* (Thompson: *sxō'sᴇm, shō.'zᴇm*).
16. *Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry).	*stsa'qom* (Thompson: service berry *.stsa'gum, .sts'ō'gom*).
17. *Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry).	*stâcō'* (*stk*).
18. *Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry)	(*sᴇn*) *paqpaqa'xᴇn.*
19. *Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry)	*stâ'qln.*
20. *Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape)	*sqwâ'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.skâ'u*, roseberry *s.kōkwā'u*).
21. *Arctostaphylus uva-ursi* (bearberry)	*i'lic* (Thompson *â'ik, âi'ᴇk*; raspberry *.sâitsku, .sei'tck*).
22. *Rosa* sp. (roseberry)	*tsᴇxuts xwaxwoiye'pā* .

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Sorbus sambricifolia E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	*wa'xe'êlp.*
Lonicera involucrata	*.sa'mpaqᴇn.*
Juniperus, two sp. (juniper berry).	
Symphoricarpus racemosus Mich. (snowberry).	*st'ᴇmst'ᴇmnc'* (*lxᴇn*) ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	*tâtᴇpt'êlp* ("black plant") (Thompson: *sta'ptapt*, black; *stêtêpūsa* Ribes, sp.).

SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokan.[a]	*k'e'puxwa* (Thompson: *.qapux*).
Nutlets of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*)	*stsxtcê'tcs'* (Thompson: *.stsîkk*).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine (*Pinus albicaulis*).	*sowi'stic.*
Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*, one or two sp., possibly also seeds of *Helianthus* sp.	*mt'icto* (Thompson: *mi'kto*).

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[a] Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.

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Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'x̣we* (Thompson: *stse'x̣we*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stxtsamox̣tse'nεm.*
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacεm.*
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*x̣o'x̣lp.*
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pā'qai.*
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sā'ic'xict.*

The *Opuntia* (*sx̣u'wĕnātc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket. 222 252 412

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler. 222 237 314 412

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.
[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

~~222~~ ~~237~~ 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mó'smɛn* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ämxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *e*; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

V. SUBSISTENCE

Food.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.[1] 221 [484]

Vegetal food.—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes. 222

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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[1] According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

222 Oak did not grow in the territories of these tribes. It was confined to Columbia River and some of its tributaries farther south. Different kinds of tree saps and sprouts of growing plants were used in season, as among the Thompson. Following is a list of the principal vegetal foods of the Okanagon. I give both the Okanagon and the Thompson names for comparison.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
ROOTS		
Camassia esculenta (camas)	*ĭ'tʃwa, ī'tʃwa*	*ĭ'tʃwa*
Lewisia rediviva Pursh (bitterroot).	*spĭ'tlam*	*tl'kū'pᴇn*
Allium cernuum	*xalū'wa, xalĭ'ua*	*kala'ua*
Claytonia sessilifolia	*skwenkwĭ'nᴇn, skwᴇnkwĭ'nᴇm*	*tatū'ᴇn*
Fritillaria pudica	*ă'tamen*	*xala'uxoza*
Sium lineare	*cxei'kᴇn*	*wetsama't*
Lilium columbianum	*stoxtci'n*	*tcā'wᴇk*
Ferula dissoluta	*ai.yu'*	*taxqai'n*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata Nutt.	*tsa'ltsalᴇkᴇn*	*snī'lkᴇn* (root) *tskā'nelp* (plant)
Peucedanum macrocarpum Nutt.	*smitsenā'lkᵘ*	*kokwĕ'la*
Calochortus macrocarpus Dougl.	*yekiyu'kᴇps*	*maqaō'za*
Cycopus uniflorus	*xa'nᴇxan*	*xenᴇxai'n*
Erythronium grandiflorum	*s-hwe'ᵘxᵘ*	*ska'metc*
Fritillaria lanceolata	*smĕ'la*	*mū'la*
Potentilla anserina	*xī'laxil*	*xī'lᴇxil*
Hydrophyllum occidentale [1]	*stilᴇnqai'n* *tlaka'n*	*stilᴇnqai'.n* *me.sā'i, mᴇtsā'ī*
Cnicus undulatus Gray	*sntᴇkwalkwalū'stᴇn*	*skalis'po'* (plant)[2] *n'po'poqxᴇn* (root) *sᴇwĭ'pis* (?).
——	*sxexhĭ'lᴇm*	*tsepĭ'as*
——	*arātca'ks, nhātca'ks*	*rātcĕ'us, hātcei'us*
BERRIES		
Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt.	*sī'a*	*stsa'qum, stcoqᵒm*
Amelanchier sp.	*skikisĕ'loq*	*spĕkpĕk.*
Prunus demissa Walpers	*xlo'x.lex*	*sōlkū', zōlkū'.*
Sambucus sp.	*tsakwi'kᵘ*	*tsĕ'kuk*
Crataegus rivularis Nutt	*sxwanī'k*	*ā'luska*
Cornus pubescens Nutt	*sti'kexᵘ*	*taxpā'z*
Rubus sp. (raspberry)	*xlā'la*	*sā'itxq ᵘ*
Rubus leucodermis Dougl	*metcĕ'ᴇk*	*mĕ'tcuk, mĕ'tcak*

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[1] Said not to grow in the Okanagon country.

[2] Compare *kalispe', kalispe'tᴇm (kalispe'.m, kalispe')*, according to Ravals, names among Flathead tribes for sprouting camas.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
BERRIES—continued		
Ribes sp. (red gooseberry)	*.nie'tçxmelps*	*sxe'tsi'n*
Ribes lacustre Poir (black gooseberry).	*epxapū's*	*sōpū's, sōxpū's*
Ribes cereum (wild currant)	*iō'rxkxn*	*lōā'za*
Shepherdia canadensis Nutt.	*sxō'sxm*	*sxō'sxm, .s-ho'zxm*
Fragaria californica C and S.	*txkei'm kem*	*skokiē'p.*
Vaccinium membranaceum Dougl.	*stēxē'lik*	*tsaltsā'la*
Vaccinium myrtillus (small blueberry), var. *microphyllum* Hook.	*s.sē'pt*	*ā'meux* [2]
Berberis sp. (Oregon grape)	*ssteē'res* [1]	*tsa'lza, tsē'lza*
Arctostaphylos uva-ursi Spreng.	*skwolī's*	*ā'ixk, ā'ik, ei'xk.*
Rosa sp.	*skwēkwe'u*	*stsaka'pxl, skōkwa'ū* (var. of rose)
SEEDS AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS		
Hazelnuts	*qe'puxa*	*qapū'x*
Pinus ponderosa (yellow pine) nutlets or seeds, also of other pines.	*sqa'uku*	*s'tsī'q.*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata, seeds	*mī'kto*	*mī'kto*
Comandra pallida, seeds or nuts.	*qepux(e'llp)*	*qapuxē'lp*
Pinus contorta, cambium layer.	*ska'kuluk*	*n'tā.*
Pinus ponderosa, cambium layer.	*tse'xwe, tsā'xe*	*tse'xwe*
Heracleum lanatum, growing stalks.	*xaxī'lp*	*hā'qo*
Peucedanum sp., growing stalks.	*kwo'xkwax* [3]	*tlā'qo*
Alectoria jubata (black moss)	*skolē'p* [4]	*a.wī'.a,*
Opuntia sp. (cactus)	*sxwī'na*	*s'qx'qx'rx*
Tree-sugar [5]	*skamē'lik* [6]	*skamē'lik*
Elæagnus argentea, seeds [7]	*npokiā'xp*	*kwoiskai'nxxxn*
Snowberries [8]	*stxmixmixnie'la*	*stoa'kxms asnaiyī'*

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[3] Compare Coeur d'Alêne for wild currant.

[4] Compare Lillooet for black moss.

[5] A very sweet, sugary exudence which forms in cakes on the needles and branches of fir, and occasionally pine, in mid and late summer in the driest parts of the country.

[6] Means "tree milk."

[7] Seeds of this and of the cactus were probably never eaten; but they were used extensively as beads for necklaces and in the ornamentation of clothing, as among the Thompson.

[8] These were not eaten.

222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 411 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. 243, fig. 222.

224 toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson[8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

● 222 The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

173
224 The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

226 FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed[11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and

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[8] a, p. 247, fig. 228. [9] a, p. 249. [10] See e, pp. [illegible]. [11] See a, p. 251, fig. 231. [12] a, p. 252, fig. 232.

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Kalispel
Spokan

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 302 171*

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs. 304 171* [184]

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed. 302 171* [301] [292] [177]

V. SUBSISTENCE

Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtĕ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles. 222 171*

415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
178 generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
*171 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
• [222] type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[412] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
178 gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
*171 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
[415] with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[407] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring. 221

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan: 222 824

ROOTS

1. *A'txwa, i'txwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlɛm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pö'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Să'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Silökōm* (unidentified).
9. *Mxsă'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwɛnkwă'nɛm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *Sɛsă'lɛm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsă'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Siai'ɛkɛn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kɛrtsɛn* (unidentified).
15. *Molă'xpa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slă'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Lö'xlöx* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsɛkwă'kʷ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Sisa'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'natc* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'wesils* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pö'lpolqɛn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltaltlaɛx* [1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqweikwai'qɛn* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tɛmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yă'rtca* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsă'lx* [2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shö'xɛm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqɛm, kei'tkɛm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *Stɛxwă'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npokpeka'xɛn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sisă'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *Tɛptɛptai'xip* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

Sɛlɛxwai'lɛpkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

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[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.

[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222
824

Qa'puxa (hazelnuts).
Sɯi'stc (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stɛtsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Mɛ'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwɛ (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamoxstci'nɛm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hɛxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkɛn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shɯi'xna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241
*171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411
*171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237]
[231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224
*171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

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Kalispel
Spokan

136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time 224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, trans- 178 portation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great *171 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the • [222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties.

000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[141]

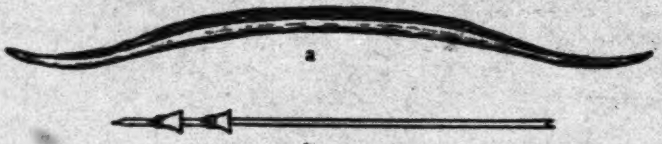

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[134] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[11]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be
322 described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkᵘ) were utilized. In order
411 of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuxwa'xailpᵘ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətəmətsi'lpᵘ), was used in the manufacture of

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[11] See page 89.

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skūqūlau'ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sI"ūs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

222
252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open. 252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes. 252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

221 805 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 GAME AND HUNTING.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and [223] snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

173 224 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

224 tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear

224
281

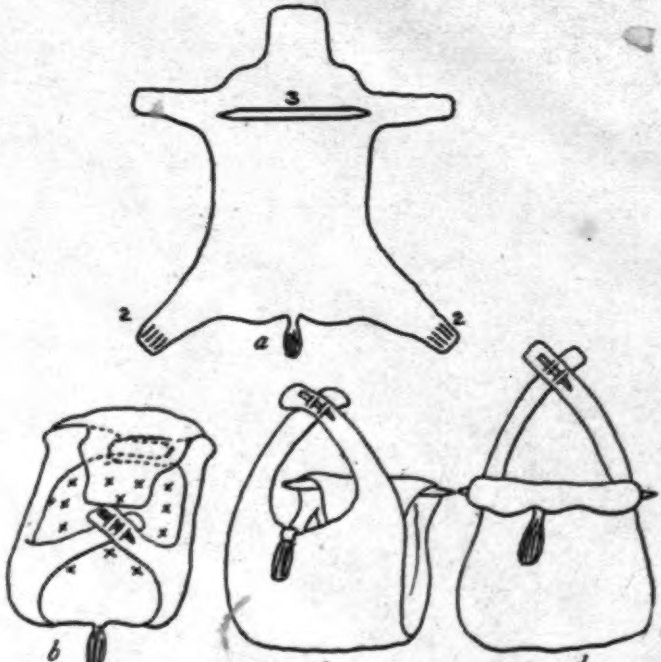

FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for
223 catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.[171] Young eagles were

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[171] Shuswap, e, p. 523; Nez Percé, b, p. 215.

taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800. 177 223

226 FISHING—*Hooks.*—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.[172] Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.[173] Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.[174] This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.[175] Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,[176] while others were notched, grooved, or bored.[177] Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines.

Spears.—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,[178] used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.[179] The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,[180]

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[172] *a*, p. 253.

[173] See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156–158.

[174] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *b*.

[175] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, no. 9.

[176] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*.

[177] See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 409.

[178] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, *k*, fig. 87.

[179] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 232; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 11.

[180] *a*, fig. 231.

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month 621
called skənɩ′umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and-they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpætctitæ′n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

HUNTING

221 224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spι·ˈxəm). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221 224 462 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in sιnəkáʼlt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226 262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control. 224 624

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.) 224 784 [834]

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter. 224 484

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening.

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[1] See page 179.

but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival 224
at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, 487
of the circular or tipi type.[3] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day.

All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He 224
usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner 624
in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans.

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illus- 224
trates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved 624
with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known 789
hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expeditions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out.

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[3] See page 34.

The leader carried the sni'i'kum; the other hunters carried the stakes. They then 224
started up the hill on one side of the valley where they intended to hunt, continued around the head of the valley and came down the hill on the opposite side. 624
About every twenty feet along this route, except where a cliff was encountered, 789
the leader took one of the stakes, tied a sni'i'kum to it, and thrust it in the snow or the ground, thus completely enclosing the valley except at the mouth. No one but the leader could do this; the others only followed, carrying the stakes. At the placing of each stake the leader called upon his guardian spirit (usually deer) reminding it of the promises it had made to him, and beseeching it not to let any deer pass the row of stakes.

Completion of this task occupied perhaps two days. The evening that the work was finished the leader called his followers together and announced that the hunt would start in the morning. He assured them that he had done all that was possible to make the hunt a success.

The hunters proceeded as usual to drive the deer they discovered to the head of the canyon. If the deer got past the hunters and started backwards, the women rushed out and prevented them from passing the mouth of the valley. If the deer, on the other hand, tried to escape over one of the hills they were confronted by the row of stakes and while yet many feet away, it is said, turned about and ran in the opposite direction. When the upper and narrow end of the "enclosure" was reached, it was a simple matter for the bowmen stationed there to shoot the deer, for they would not run beyond the stakes.

The efficacy of the "enclosure," however, depended entirely upon the power of the leader. If his power were not great enough the deer paid no heed to the stakes, and were lost. At one time a leader substituted a line of small fires for the stakes, but the innovation was a failure. The deer ran between them or jumped over them and fled to the woods beyond.

Deer taken by this method of hunting were handled in much the same manner as those killed by the more common procedure. When the sni'kum resulted in a large kill, which was usually the case, the deer were carried or dragged only part way down the canyon; then the camp was moved up to that point.

I was unable to learn how long this unique manner of hunting had been in 176
existence. Its inception antedated the memory of my oldest informants, but it 224
probably was not many generations old; the nature of the custom credits no assumption of great age. Moreover, the Sanpoil were presumably the only people 624
acquainted with the custom. Although I do not have direct information from
their neighbors,[2] my Sanpoil informants claimed that none of the surrounding 789
peoples used any similar method in their hunting.

In this case I feel that we undoubtedly have an example of a clean cut innovation, completely formulated by its originator, and carried along by the momentum given it as a result of his eminence as a hunter and his power as a leader. There was nothing fundamentally new about the procedure; the details—the preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[4] 176 224 624 789

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[2] Other than the Lakes, who were ignorant of the practice.

There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned. 224

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulä'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

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[4] Cf., the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

224 In the absence of the leaf, some hunters could imitate the call fairly well with the throat alone.

Deer were awaited by bowmen at watering places, or along the paths leading to them, and at "salt licks." The hunter always made certain that he was concealed. At watering holes it was usually possible to hide behind trees or in the brush, but at the "salt licks" a lean-to shelter was usually built, or a hole dug in the bank for concealment.

True deer fences were not used, nor were pitfall traps. Sometimes deer were taken with a snare made of Indian hemp or willow bark rope.[5] Disguises of bear or deer skins were used by some hunters.

Elk were hunted in the same manner as deer. They were much more scarce and it is doubtful that expeditions for the specific purpose of hunting elk were often organized. Deer hunters took full advantage of any opportunity to secure elk; the quest for deer was forsaken when these larger animals were sighted.

Antelope were hunted only during the summer and fall. They roamed in considerable numbers about the prairies south of the Columbia river, especially in the vicinity of the Grand Coulee.[6] Still hunting was the usual method employed for antelope. The hunter almost invariably searched for his game alone; never more than two men hunted together.

Antelope, less timid than deer, were hunted more successfully than the latter by the individual with the aid of only a bow and arrows. Water was scarce in the Coulee country, and it was near "pot holes" filled with water that antelope were most often found. The hunter, upon sighting one or more, carefully approached by the most protected route available. When within range he shot his arrows in quick succession, and occasionally succeeded in bringing down two of the animals. Unlike the case with deer, a hunter's chances were not completely lost even though he failed in his first attempt. Antelope characteristically fled for only a short distance. This made it possible for the hunter often to reach the herd a second time. It was not unusual for a clever huntsman to kill two or three antelope in a single day.

BEAR HUNTING

Two varieties of bear were found in Sanpoil territory. They were the black (cinnamon or brown) bear, and the grizzly bear. Bears were sought both for their flesh and hides. Although bear meat was considered "strong" in flavor, it was readily eaten. The skins were tanned without removing the fur, and used as robes and bedding.

The black bear was hunted by individual hunters, principally along the streams and rivers where berries abounded, and at the season that the berries were ripe. The animals could be taken unawares while feeding upon the berries and killed with the bow and arrow. Bears were most certain to be found during the berry season on the banks of the Columbia river, where berries were invariably

plentiful. Occasionally late frosts killed all of the berries in the mountains, in which case many bears congregated along the upper course of the Columbia. 224

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[5] See page 86.

[6] These animals did not frequent the bed of the Coulee, but rather the plateaus above.

Another method of taking bears was to smoke them out of their places of hibernation. The locations of dens customarily used by these animals during the winter were well known to hunters. Other places of hibernation were identified by the characteristic pile of pine needles used to cover the openings of the dens. The hunter built a fire of rotten pine wood at the opening of the hole, then waited with his bow and arrow ready for the bear to come out.

224 825 Grizzly bears were seldom hunted by the average man. In fact the grizzly bear was so greatly feared that it was much more common for a hunter to run than to attack one of the animals. On the other hand, those hunters who had for their guardian spirits the grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel or gopher, (these latter were "friends" of the grizzly), were able to successfully seek this formidable creature. Although not immune from injury, hunters with such spirits were certain to recover, no matter how seriously hurt.

224 825 The following tale, told by Bob Covington, illustrates the beliefs surrounding the grizzly bear:

539 An old man spent nearly all his time hunting grizzly bears. In those days there were lots of grizzlies in the mountains. He had become a big grizzly bear hunter.

One day he said to his wife, "Now, wife, some day I may get killed when I am out hunting. But whatever happens don't go to look for me. No matter how badly I am hurt, I have a good chance to get well. So you just stay away, at least until two days have passed."

Later on they were camping on the Sanpoil river near Keller. It was late in the afternoon, but the old man told his wife that he was going up in the hills for a while. He said he would be back before long.

Night came but he did not return. His wife wondered what had happened but she didn't go out. During the night she heard many noises in the hills. All kinds of animals seemed to be there. She heard coyotes and wolves and crows and all the rest of the birds and animals. Then she was sure she knew what had happened.

When morning came she started out. She could still hear the cries of the animals and she followed them. They became louder and soon she was nearly there. She crossed a little hill and then looked down into a small meadow below. All the noises had disappeared but she saw her husband sitting there in the center of the clearing. She rushed up to him but he didn't turn around. She went around in front of him but he turned so that his back was again toward her. Then he said, "Why didn't you stay at home as I told you? I'm hurt, but I'm all right just the same. Now you go on away."

His wife went away but she didn't go home. She stayed just on the other side of the hill. As soon as she was out of sight of her husband she heard the cries of the animals again. She stood it as long as she could then rushed back. When she reached the open place again the noises were gone once more and her husband was still sitting in the same place.

He was angry this time, and didn't turn his face away from her. "It's funny you couldn't stay away a little bit longer," he said. She saw that he had two deep gashes cut in his face as if he had been clawed by a grizzly bear. He went home with her this time.

After reaching home his wife saw that he had scars all over his body which looked like the claw marks of a grizzly. But they were all healed. Only the cuts on his face were still open.

His wife asked what the meaning of it all was. He said, "I told you once. I was in a figh[illegible] with a grizzly bear." Then she told him that she wanted to know about all the animals she had heard.

Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 589 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawâyi··· x[illegible]a··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi··· 224
(meaningless) 539

sqəpəntcu'əmstʷ ɛsnuqitsaxe'ɬ ni'xulqwa· 825
You cause the other animals to do as you have done.

â·nui' ki'qwəltuqumətsut' itsəpəntcu'təmstxʷ
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuqumətsu'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwəltuqumətsut,
You have given up to me;

sqəpəntcu'təmstxʷ i·'s winu·'mtxʷ i·'t kəlami'luxʷ msətstuqumərntsu'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224 825

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and predatory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14] 224 264 825

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home. 177 224

The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path. 224

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the trap. A heavy weight, usually a stone, was suspended over the pit from one end of a pole, the middle of which rested in the fork of a stick secured in the ground in a vertical position. On the opposite end of the pole was fastened a cord attached to the bait and a trigger. Any movement of the bait released the trigger and allowed the weight to drop.

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[13] See page 92.

[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

A bait with a strong and characteristic odor was essential to the success of these traps. Salmon gills and rotting meat were commonly used. Crawfish or shell fish were utilized as a bait specifically for otter. Deer meat was most successful in attracting marten and fisher; mink was usually enticed by scraps of fish.

Coyote, lynx, wildcat and rarely deer were caught by means of a snare. The device consisted of a strong, flexible pole, from which was suspended a carefully made willow bark rope looped to form a noose. The base of the pole was securely anchored and so placed that the noose fell directly over a path frequented by the animals sought. The noose was adjusted to the correct height and bait placed on the path in such a position that the animal could secure it only after putting its head through the loop. Brush was piled in a half circle around the trap, with the open end on the side of the noose opposite the bait. Another snare, used especially for coyote, was a hanging device. A noose was tied on one end of a rope, which was then passed over the limb of a tree or a rock dyke, and made secure to a very large stone balanced in an unstable, elevated position. When the coyote put its head through the noose to obtain the bait the tension on the rope caused the rock to fall, the loop to tighten, and the coyote to be jerked from the ground and strangled.

The ropes used in making snares were always rubbed with a strong smelling grass to conceal the human odors, which the animals would otherwise detect and avoid.

Wolf fur was desirable for use as robes and blankets but the animals were seldom hunted, due to their ferociousness, especially when with young. Sometimes they were taken in deadfall traps, but often they stole the bait and sprung the trap without being killed.

Muskrats were taken in winter by lying in wait with bow and arrows at their holes. Before the ground became covered with snow each winter the locations of muskrat tunnels were marked with stakes placed in the ground. It was then possible later in the season to locate the nests, arouse the rats by means of a long pole, and kill them with arrows as they emerged.

For the woodchuck or ground hog a specially designed arrow was used. It was not provided with a stone point, but the shaft itself was sharpened. A triangular wooden piece, notched to fit against the shaft, and bound to it with deer sinew cord, served the purpose of a barb; sometimes two were used (Figure 15, b). Such a device was necessary, for though the arrow passed completely through the body of the animal, it usually managed to reach its hole and partially re-enter, making it possible for the hunter to retrieve his game only by grasping the butt of the arrow and pulling. If an ordinary arrow had been used it would have pulled out without bringing the animal with it.

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[141]

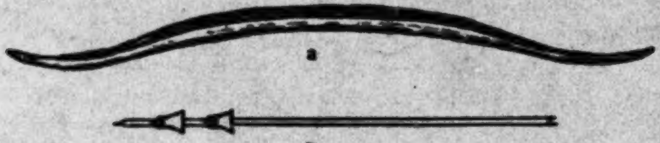

Fig. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[15]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be
322 described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nk^{u}) were utilised. In order
411 of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuxwa'xailp^{u}), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətamətsi'lp^{u}), was used in the manufacture of

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[15] See page 89.

Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence. 411

Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary. 411 224

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water. 411 779

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food. 262 825

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

262 855 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 166 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [944] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 106.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This
281 made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut
off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of
251 willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and
[825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and
888 kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the
same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps
251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently,
415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence
favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the
culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri-
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal 366
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snəkâ'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəq̣aie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples
was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always
brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were
obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were sup-
plied by the Methow, Chelan and snəq̣aie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were re-
ceived from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned
buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but 439
the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and
food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir
traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At
that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their
canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and
their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of
goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the
Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots,
hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads,
dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might
reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 524
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro-
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke. 579

DEER HUNTING

Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: preeminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (łEcqōqane´ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees.*‡ "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks." 224 ●

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (sūktakei´n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. 224 624 [834]

Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they 224

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‡[For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

224 could be seen from some distance. The dogs were held in leash by a simple thong around the neck, usually of willow withes. When they came to a fresh track they would strain and pull, and if it was a large deer they would be set free, the hunters running after them. As soon as a deer was brought to bay the dogs would bark, and the hunters stalked up to shoot it, keeping hidden, since the deer would still run if it should see a man. A very good dog could bring a deer to bay all by itself. Such hunting was done only by one or two or three men. If there were more they would organize a drive.

Deer fences were used in October when herds had formed and were descending the trails from summer pastures, the does first and the bucks later. A fence would be built across the brow of a hill as on a contour line. Where it crossed a deer trail a trap would be built, usually only one for each fence, but sometimes two or three. There would be an opening in the fence here just wide enough for a deer to pass through. The fence would be about half a mile long and eight feet high. It was made by chopping trees halfway through and bending them over to forty-five degrees, all in the line of the fence. The limbs would hold them so. If the deer were scared they would jump over such a fence, but if undisturbed they would travel along it until they came to the hole. The fence was reinforced here by twining extra poles among the trees.

A log about two feet in diameter is laid across the trail at the hole in the fence. A deer coming down the hill would step over this; if it were any bigger he would jump. Just where the forefoot would come down on the further side of the log, a hole was dug in the earth about one and a half feet deep and two and a half feet in diameter. A noose of Indian hemp rope, about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, was laid about the hole and tied to the top of a fir sapling, which was bent over and tucked under a notch in the log to hold it down, the tip very close to the hole. Small twigs were laid over the hole to hide it. When the deer steps over the log his foot will jar the sapling so that it springs up, pulling the noose which is around the forefoot. The sapling is not large enough to carry him into the air, but simply to lift his foot.

The more complicated and effective variation of this trap described by Teit[9] was probably also used, but was only dimly recollected by Chilowist Jim. Here the spring is held down by a second rope, which is tied to the center of a piece of wood six or eight inches long. This was caught under the log and a rock placed at the opposite side of the hole. Another stick resting on this served as a trigger. When the deer steps into the hole he pushes down the covering

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p.20(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[9] Teit, Thompson Indians, 247.

[10] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70.1/

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224 twigs which move the trigger, so that the spring is released. In general, Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 Nets (spinpI´nia) were made occasionally
of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?]
286 long, but only eight feet high, since the
deer could not see them to jump over them.
They were stretched between trees and shrubs
and the deer driven into them so that their
horns and feet became entangled, when they
[462] were shot. Women prepared the hemp string
and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of
convenient weight to pack, and tied together.
Teit reports that nets among the Thompson
were generally made of the bark of Apocynum
cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on
the snow was hard enough to support the
weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough
to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone,
singling out the freshest track they could
find and following it persistently. This
work demanded much strength and endurance.
Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their
lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then
rain for a while to melt the surface, then
cold to make the crust. They usually carried
a sack tied to their belts containing dried
[264] meat and roots. In starvation times they
would eat game in the bush, though it was
customary to bring everything to camp first.

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis* for the interior Salish:

> "As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

000 Men might sing in the sweathouse before

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*[For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst]

224 782 Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick."

PREPARATION OF DEER

224 482 When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck.

224 251 If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces.[11] [482]

224 251 262 In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all

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[11] Tait, Thompson Indians, 248.

p.21 (A)

the blood possible, and this was all poured 224
in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by
warriors, if they had the power of a deer-
killing animal, but more frequently service 251
berries were cooked in it, or it was added
to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer 262
time, even though it clabbered in the heat.
The intestine was hung up near camp until all
the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the 251
hills the meat would be dried there, at any
time of the year. It would then be lighter
to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the
deer while women cut the meat into slabs, sev- [462]
eral inches square and three-sixteenths of
an inch thick. If there was much meat, a
structure similar to the salmon rack would [417]
be made from six to seven feet high, on which
sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed 251
at permanent camps (sEnxaówI′ltseten). These
had four uprights, were five to six feet 417
long by three feet wide and three feet high,
with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

251 417 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 262 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

● 224 784 825 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had [783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

● 224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa′wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI′ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau′na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

[a][i.e., bear-hunting party. --Analyst]

224 624 841 The leader of the party[a] had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. 224 302 Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224 He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 825 An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224 Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

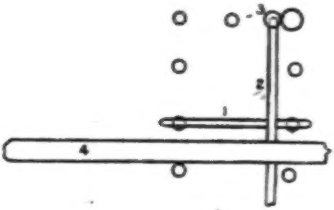

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 [624]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsəmI´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [585] 825

p. 23 (B)

● 224 825 up simply the bare skull. Hallowell,[12] who also says that no ceremonial treatment of the bear's carcass was practiced in the Plateau area, makes note of this fact. The greatest criterion of manhood was killing a bear, particularly a grizzly. Stories are numerous of heroes who killed bears unaided, the best of them by stabbing with a knife.

224 A "small mountain goat" (yàlI´kwÛlEkEn), quite possibly an antelope since this is somewhat out of the mountain goat range, was hunted in the Waterville - Coulee City region in the spring.

Small game was taken at all seasons, and while not sought at great distances, still it formed a large item after big hunts. Generally it was a sport for boys, or a diversion for women, between berrying and root-digging. Men took part only in big drives, such as those held while the women were digging camas in the Columbia River country. There was no ritual behavior for small game, such as the women's tabus, the rituals of butchering salmon and deer, etc.

Rabbits came foremost. Cottontails were taken by small spring traps set in their trails, with piles of brush for them to jump over so they would land on the trigger and noose. The springs were bent saplings, two inches in diameter. Rabbits (spa´p´kônten) also were shot by small boys with bows and arrows. On favorable ground boys drove them through the sagebrush towards men with rabbit sticks. These were straight sticks about one inch thick, of willow or service berry wood. Jack rabbits were hunted with sticks, bows and arrows, and boys might use a form of sling.

[263] Rabbit meat was roasted or boiled, but never dried or preserved, although plenty of rabbits were killed. The fur was used for caps but was not strong enough for mittens.

The sling was an Indian hemp cord one or two yards long and one quarter inch thick, one end wrapped about the little finger two or three times, and the rest all wrapped around a large smooth stone about one inch in diameter. The string was jerked back at the end of the throw, sending the stone spinning toward the quarry. This was also used in hunting birds.

When beaver houses were located, the entrance tunnel was dug away back to the bank of the stream; then stakes were driven close together in front so that the beaver could not escape. Sticks were then driven down into the various houses to force the beaver to rush out, on which they were stabbed with sharp stakes.

Ground hogs were shot with the bow, or a short pole of service berry wood was thrust in the animal's den under a rock and twisted

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[12] Hallowell, Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere, 73, 142.

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skūqūlau'ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sI'"ūs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

222 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were
252 cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open.
252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes.
252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 263 224 ● 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERĕ'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

1 [For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1

trout would be ascertained before the ice came. 000

Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself. 224 [787]

Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa'ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation. 261

There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites, but it seems to have been frequent before that. 731

How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen: 261

The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it. 776

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot."* The ceremony was called cqEpō'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would toe; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skūm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SūlpEqē n after a dream."* His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

* [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as for 224
food, most men having enough general power;
but if a man had poor luck he would dance, [777]
sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa′p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224
the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was [784]
allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492]
pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, 231
but with short legs. Their colors were
black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They
were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, 552
Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alI′p, "coyote"; siniksti′a, "skunk"; ckámxI′ct, "bear"; kIlaūne, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female 562
dog was lost, in chasing game or what not,
the owner would make a little digging stick 789
and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231
arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825]
to be able to converse with dogs.

411 had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop was attached. This club was used mainly as a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

412 324 Little information was obtained concerning stone knives, which have long been out of use. A single type of knife served all purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin. [411] Mary Carden reported that knives to be used in warfare were provided with short stout handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal.

411 Spears of various lengths were used in warfare and to a very limited extent in deer hunting. A spear about ten feet long with a bone head was reported by Suszen. [224] The shaft was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

713 411 Shields of varied shape and construction were used in warfare to parry arrows and spear thrusts. One type was circular (about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

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formed of two small sticks crossed at the middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on this figure-eight fashion. 227 286

Deer nets were made of hemp string by hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight feet high and as long as four hundred yards, but were made in sections large enough for one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, man the net. 224 ● 286 [462]

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for 481

783 man's luck and power: her pollution would be
permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with
841 green grass on which to lie were put in a
pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute
for the customary sweat bath. They were not
allowed to take back to the village the
[296] clothes they wore during this time. These
were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and
left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought
them by girls to don after a sweat bath and
a bath in the river, taken before returning
841 to their ordinary life. They were not allowed
to cook, even for themselves. Food
was brought to them from the village, and
none of it might be left till the next day or
brought back to the village. Anything but
bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten,
and possibly the first of the camas or berry
crop. They were not supposed to drink directly
from a stream, lest it dry up. The
drinking tubes used were made by pushing the
pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should
not comb their hair during the period, but
could scratch the head with their fingers.
Women in their periods could not help men in
any way, nor would men look at or talk to
them. Should a man eat anything cooked by
them, he would sicken, lose his power, and
game would flee from him. While a woman
with a small baby might take it to the lodge
with her, older children were left in charge
of the husband or some relative or neighbor.
At the lodge a woman busied herself with making
mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to
use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent
boys and girls was over they returned
to the village in a very unceremonious fashion.
The return was unheralded and uncelebrated.
If a boy changed his name at this
time there might be a feast, but it would
be on account of the name. The adolescent
returned, no longer a child nor given to the
things of childhood, but an adult ready to
take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the
boys accompanied the men on their hunting
883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits.
The first kill of a deer (and of a
[524] bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed
by the community and ceremoniously
treated. He himself did not eat of it, but
all the old men did (or at least he did not
eat until the old men had partaken). This
was for the sake of his future luck in the
hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood
of eighteen or twenty. The girls
stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned
by some older female relative, except
early in the morning before the boys were up
when they went to sweat, swim, and get the
water for cooking. They were supposed to
swim every day. They became acquainted with

Though two brothers might both have the 776
grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian
spirit, twins did not have grizzly power 825
more often than other people. 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was 778
one of the powers which the dead had possess-
ed during life, but after his death it chose 428
a new master. It was never deliberately
sought, as other powers were, but came in a 787
dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor.

Insanity was regarded as a kind of 778
power, though not from any animal. A man
recently went mad "because he wanted power 828
too much."

The strength of one's power depended on
the number of guardian spirits which he had 776
and on their qualities. In the opinion of
any one informant, the same animal did not 778
confer varying degrees of power. Cecile
seemed to think that power was directly pro- 825
portional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank.

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not neces-
sarily bring success. Suszen said that one 778
could succeed in hunting without the aid of
power, if he were a good runner, knew the 224
haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special
power for hunting had to be industrious and
clever to secure the game. If any of his [784]
power tabus were broken — if, for example, a
menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing.

As I shall explain later, when discuss- 776
ing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands.

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

789 791 Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

342 791 825 Guardian spirits also aided in house building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

224 791 562 A shaman with special power for hunting deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sásIō′s kēláspI′xEm. Women did not customarily hunt deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening.

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If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwəlhŭmĕst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatŏ's, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill.

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Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot.

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During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It

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224 776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the clews of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwíst, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwíst's grandmother, Sīkūntalūqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stárēs) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sīkūntalūqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sīkūntalūqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sīkūntalūqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

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SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and pre- 252
paring it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazel-
nuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were
cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes
were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight
extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican.
Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224 ●
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47]
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four 411
or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The
best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were
painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have
been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods
of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish
tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish,
especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to
the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the
Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became
scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-
places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was
a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets
were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-
spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones
for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

221 805 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 [223] GAME AND HUNTING.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

173 224 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxxᵉ*,[4] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i't* was applied to them. 123 224

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcxnalxwᵉ*[a] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[183] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411 tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, 411 but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alêne quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

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[4] A Kalispel term. [a] *Ätse'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[183] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

Guns.—The Coeur d'Alêne were one of the last tribes to obtain 177 firearms. 411 They were practically without guns until after the traders came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—Deer were run to bay or 224 to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,[186] were in common use.

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[186] a, p. 246.

224 A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back again, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. [251] [483] [462] Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224 from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462] canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was some- 177 times run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not 224 always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together. At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152] more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224 some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292 Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224 Thompson[169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281] for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 248.

[170] a, fig. 228.

224 tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear

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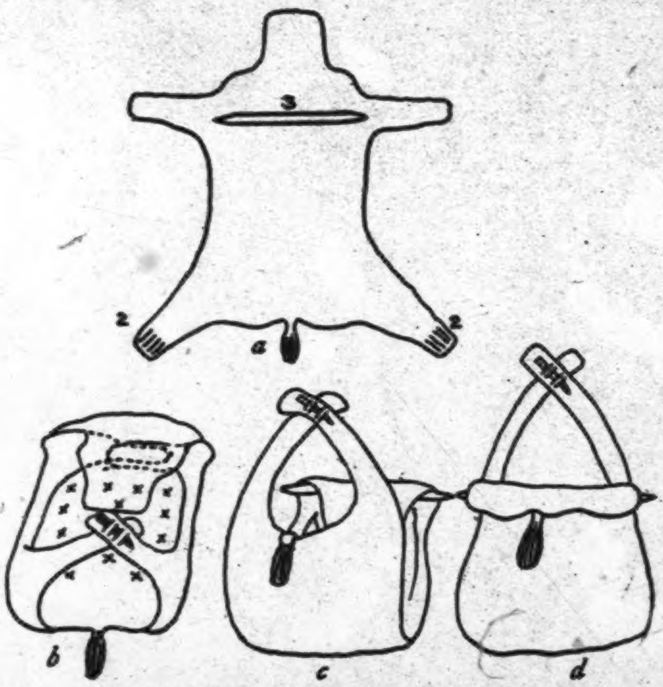

FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for 223 catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.[m] Young eagles were

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 201 802

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[m] Shuswap, e, p. 523; Nez Percé, b, p. 215.

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting. 201 576

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they 202 224

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[279] a, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women. 201 576 861

262 224 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not 611 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands 621 in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous 166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser 594 number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made [illegible] territory their headquarters for a long time. 621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[281] a, pp. 289-302.

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 [544] 621

CAMP CIRCLE.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 481 621 [537]

TRIBAL REGULATIONS.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[285] 622 626 681

WAR CHIEFS.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

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[285] *b*, pp. 244, 245.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[462] 421 only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 421 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[209] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 311 421 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[209] a, p. 248.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 471 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. 242, fig. 222.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.[3] The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.[4] The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower

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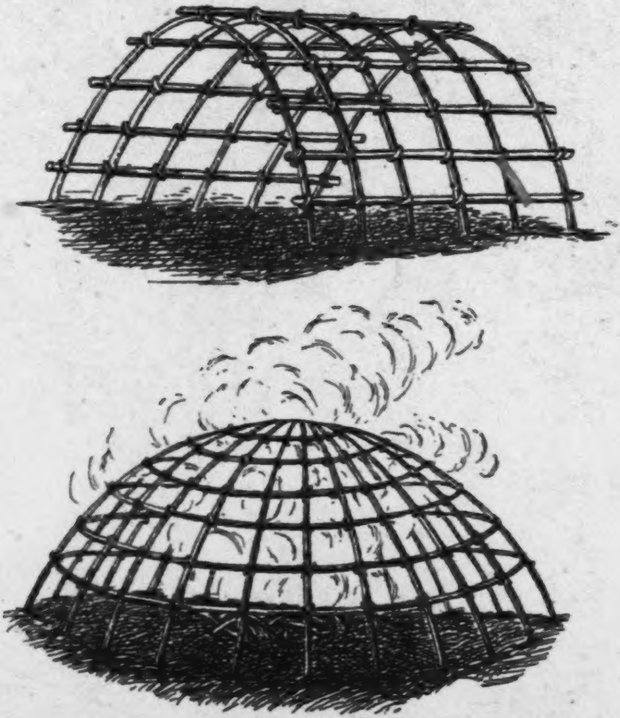

FIGURE 18.—Structure for drying meat

Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

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[3] a, p. 240, fig. 218.

[4] a, p. 240, fig. 217.

224 411 made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

136 224 *Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

[262] The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

224 The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

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[5] a, p. 244, fig. 225.

[6] c, p. 233, fig. 260.

places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent. 224

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting. [231]

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting. 221

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century: 173

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox̣* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox̣* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place 224

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

where they were going to drive, the hunting chief took off his cap, made of the skin of a ewe's head, and, waving it toward the cliffs where the sheep were, prayed to them as follows: "Please, sheep, go your usual way, and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" He then sent many men around to sit at the heads of two gulches on top of the mountain and shoot the sheep with arrows as they came up. The men picked were the best shots, and included most of the strangers. He then directed the drivers, a great many men and all the women, mostly Similkameen people, how to proceed and where to go. Most of them, in driving and following the sheep, had to pass a place where they had to jump over a cliff about 3 or 4 meters in height, alighting on a bank of snow. All the men jumped, but some of the women were afraid, turned back and went around by a longer route. The drivers saw and started great numbers of sheep, but they failed to get them to take the top of the mountain. Instead the sheep congregated on a steep, inaccessible cliff below the top, out of range from above or below, and stayed there. The people shouted at them lustily, but they remained there, knowing that it was a secure place. The great drive came to a standstill, and the hunting chief could see no way to get the sheep out.

Among the drivers was an Upper Thompson woman, the grandmother of the narrator of the story, who was married to a Similkameen man. She lived in Similkameen and was known to be resourceful and to have shamanistic powers. The mountain sheep was one of her guardian spirits, and on this occasion she was wearing a cap made of the headskin of an old ewe with horns attached, similar to that worn by the hunting chief. The leading Similkameen people held a consultation. They said, "All our friends will laugh at us if we can not get sheep for them." The Thompson woman said, "Yes; they certainly will." The chief then said to her, "Well, you may know something. I will give the leadership of this hunt to you; you shall be hunting chief." She answered, "Very well, but one thing you must promise." Then, pointing to the dog close to her side (a rather small and vicious-looking animal, that all the people hated), she said, "You must promise never again to abuse my dog. I will drive the sheep alone with my dog, and you may sit down and watch me." She approached the sheep, pointing first at them, then at the four points of the compass, but no one could hear what she said. Presently she gave a sharp call, and the sheep ran into a bunch, which she now pointed out to the dog. She said to it, "Friend, go and drive your friends so that they will all go up where the people want them." The dog rushed off and drove the sheep fiercely. When any of them scattered, he rounded them up again.

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. 173
The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog 224●
drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily 251
buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to 224
the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When 482
the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen.

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7] [231]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts 224
of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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[7] a, p. 243 fig. 227.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoi
Colville; Lakes

● 224 toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson [8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

222 The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

173 The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among
224 the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

226 FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed [11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and

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[8] 4, p. 247, fig. 223. [9] 4, p. 248. [10] See 4, pp. 522-530. [11] See 4, p. 251, fig. 231. [12] 4, p. 252, fig. 232.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers. 226

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes, were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes. 177 224 226

SEASONS.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pzskaai'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are— 805

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pzske'pts*	*sha'pts.*
Summer	*spa'nntck*	*spa'nntck*
Early fall	*stzmalt'k*	*tzmalt'k*
Late fall	*pzskaa'i*	*stluxl'st*
Winter	*pesil'stsk*	*sil'stsk*

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a 771
bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" 796
who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1]

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. 224 ●
If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 782

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. 731
It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 796

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[1] See Thompson, a, pp. 349, 350.

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where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tunä'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north.. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone. 000 [101] [177]

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne 000 [224] [484]

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfeet. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1780-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

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probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward.

000 *The Tunā'x̣e (or Salish-Tunā'x̣e).*—The country of the *Tunā'x̣e* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tunā'x̣e* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonā'x̣a* or *Kutonā'x̣a* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tunā'x̣e* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[a] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'x̣a*, *Tonā'x̣a*, or *Tuna'x̣a*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

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[a] See note 29. The names *Tuna'x̣e* and *Tona'x̣a* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktuna'x̣a*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *ax̣*(?) to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'x̣am*.—F. Boas.

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attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Sᴇmtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

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A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. [224] These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

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The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

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648 224 d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand [199] in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire 648 guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

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SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

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Qe'puxs (hazelnuts).
Sel'stc (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stctci'ten (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'tsto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'zus (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamozpici'nzm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hasta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skala'pkem (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Skal'xus (*Opuntia* sp.).

4/2 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[1]

411 *171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[1] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

224 of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited.
*191 When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances
[492] carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

000 Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were
136 abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

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136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend
d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the
exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The
Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but
great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time
• 224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, transportation,
178 and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of
other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great
*171 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place.
Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the
parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes
became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes,
who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of
life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively
buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever
was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the
mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide
bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used
as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be
used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the
[222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became
of less importance, because these industries could not always be
prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging
grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and
people often found themselves far away at the proper season for
berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect
these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game.
A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by
old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties.
000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by
the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves,
and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the
plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other
eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived
a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead,
and th[illegible] they must have had headquarters in some semiforested
country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on
the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The
Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted
buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at
the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains
tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the
Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and
it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and
Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

head and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied. 000

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those [224] of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse.

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or

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[171]

224 never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they *171 went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although [177] they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive 224 prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they [178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

226 FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead *171 tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. [184] Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around 221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

9. wał'wəłá'skən ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wəłá'skənxᵘ, situated a half 162 mile up the river from nłxxo'i'tqᵘ (8). This was a winter camp, but was 221 also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and 361 shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are 592 washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11]

10. t'sakt'si'ksk ən ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxᵘ, located about a half mile below na'a'qᵘ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wəłá'skən (9).[11]

11. na'a'qᵘ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

    It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. xaxsula'uxᵘ ("level ground"), home of the sxaxsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kałpuspu'stan ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kałpuspu'stanaxᵘ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxᵘ (15).

14. sa'a·'mlkᵘ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkᵘ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kałpuspu'stan (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxᵘ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxᵘ ("gray, as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxᵘ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each [226] year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
681 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization
for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

221 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon
226 and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards.
462 Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The
776 largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on
251 the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others
342 went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried
251 foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general
342 preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time
462 fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'łutən,
285 "time that it snows"; kt̓sa't̓sa'ttα'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kət̓, "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of
776 the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, tell-
796 ing stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the
221 season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

2: Ray **E-5** **(1928-1930) 1932** . **Southeast Salish**
Sanpoil

FISHING

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Throughout the year fish was relied upon as the principal article of sustenance by the Sanpoil, as well as other peoples along the Columbia river. Salmon, *Oncorhynchus*, (ənaai'ulkʷ), and steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, (xumi'nɑ'), were caught in large numbers each summer, a portion to be used as fresh food at the time but the greater percentage to be dried and stored for winter consumption. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia;[1] enormous numbers of these fish ascend the river each year for the purpose of spawning. Of the five species of salmon which frequent the Columbia and its tributaries all but one reach the portion of the river which flows through the Sanpoil country. These are the chinook or king salmon, *O. tschawytscha*, (ənti·'tix), the silver or white salmon, *O. kisutch*, (stsuwɪ'n), the humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, and the dog or chum salmon, *O. keta*, (ki'su'). The fifth species, the sockeye or blueback salmon, *O. nerka*, is seldom found farther upstream than the mouth of the Okanogan river, which is below Sanpoil territory.

Salmon is present in the middle Columbia from May until November. Some are still to be found even later in the winter, but the flesh is hardly edible, due to deterioration after spawning. Steelhead trout run from early March until July.[2] The steelheads found in this area vary from ten to fifteen pounds in weight and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following the steelheads is the summer or chinook run of salmon, occurring during May, June and July.[3] The chinook is the largest of the salmon; those found in the Columbia average twenty-two pounds in weight but occasionally a single fish weighs as much as a hundred pounds.[4] In the fall a double run occurs, bringing the silver and dog salmons. These species appear during the latter part of August or early in September and continue to run through November. The flesh of both remains edible throughout this period. Neither variety is large in size, the average weight for each being about six pounds. The humpback salmon, although found in this region, is present only in negligible quantities.

Varieties of fish other than salmon and steelhead were not overlooked although economically they were of minor importance. Among these were sturgeon, lamprey eel, whitefish, suckers, chub fish, and mountain, speckled and bull trout. Chub fish, *Semotilus* sp. (?), were caught principally during May; they ranged about ten or twelve inches in length. Two varieties of suckers, *Catostomus* sp., were obtained, known as black suckers and yellow suckers. The former were present in the river from April until fall; the latter did not appear until May. After June, however, neither kind was considered edible. Eels were taken during the second half of the year, but were not considered desirable food. Whitefish, *Mylocheilus caurinus*

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[1] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, page 25.

[2] This was the statement of my informants. Cobb says, in speaking of the steelhead, "In the Columbia River the spawning season is from February to May......," (*ibid.*, page 11).

[3] Two other runs of the chinook species enter the Columbia, one preceding the May run, and one following it, but in both cases the fish spawn in the lower tributaries of the river, seldom reaching the middle course (*ibid.*, page 8).

[4] *Ibid.*, page 7.

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[22] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[4] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke'təm). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June.
226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[4] See pages 34-35.

with rocks of white quartz.[4] In the early part of the season the salmon and trout appeared to be green as they passed over these rocks; later on, as the spawning progressed, their actual pigmentation became deeper, causing them to stand out clearly in contrast to the white bottom. It was occasionally necessary to remove the film or scum which soon collected on the quartz. This was accomplished by a diver who held himself down (when the depth of the water necessitated), by grasping a pole placed vertically in the water and held from above.

The sites for the second and third channels, to be used later in the season, were selected and the excavations made while the river was still low, thus eliminating the necessity of working below the surface of the water. The white rocks lining the bottom might be laid at the time the digging was done, or not until utilization began. In the former case the rocks had to be cleaned just prior to the use of the channel, for during the rise of the river discoloration inevitably occurred.

The spearing of fish as they swam up the channel was accomplished from a staging built from the bank to the inshore side of the channel. The platform of this staging was roughly triangular in shape, with one side placed directly above the inner edge of the passage and the opposite point resting on shore. Construction began with the building of two tripods, one for each end of the channel, to support the outer edge of the platform. These were made of stout saplings of pine and tied securely at the apex with withes of willow or the service berry bush. They were assembled on the shore, then raised and placed in position in the river. The bases were oriented as in the case of the platform itself. The apex of each support was left far enough above the surface to allow for the maximum height that the river would attain during the use of that station. The lower ends of the saplings were set in small pits and boulders were piled around to hold them in place. Two long poles, likewise of pine, were used to complete the foundation. One pole extended from the apex of each tripod to the shore, at which point it rested on the ground about two feet from the other. Upon these poles were laid slats or cedar, saplings and branches of various sorts, from the shore to the channel to serve as flooring for the platform. This completed the platform proper. However, the upper transverse pole of the staging was used also as a foundation for a weir to prevent the fish from swimming under the platform rather than through the runway. Small poles, usually of willow, three or four feet long, were extended vertically from this pole to the bed of the river at intervals of approximately a foot. With this as a base, a crude dam or weir was formed by gathering branches of bushes and driftwood and placing them haphazardly against the upright poles. A certain amount of tying was necessary to hold the brush fast, but since the weir formed an acute angle with the shore the current of the river helped to hold the loose material in position. When working from the top of the staging a forked stick was used to force the brush into place. A knowledge of the correct angle at which to place the weir (and hence, the upper horizontal pole of the staging) was essential for successful construction.

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[4] John Tom stated that the quartz was brought from the mountains for this purpose. This seems unlikely, however, for boulders of white quartz are plentiful along the Columbia.

226 Platforms were required only on the Columbia river and at certain points on the Spokane and Okanogan rivers. In smaller streams, such as the Sanpoil and the Nespelem, spearing was accomplished from the bank or by wading into the water. Spear fishing from canoes was practiced in the Columbia during the fall, especially for the white or silver salmon, but at that time of year the river is too low to permit the use of channels and staging.

Blinds were often built on the smaller streams to assist the spearman. A flat thatched roof was erected several feet above the water across a part or all of the stream. The fisherman stationed himself beneath this sun shelter. The moment a fish entered the shaded area it was temporarily unable to see, while the spearman's vision was aided by the shade, and thus he was enabled to spear the fish without difficulty.

Night fishing, both from staging and from canoes, was practiced with the aid of torches (tsi'kusxən) made from pine pitch wood.

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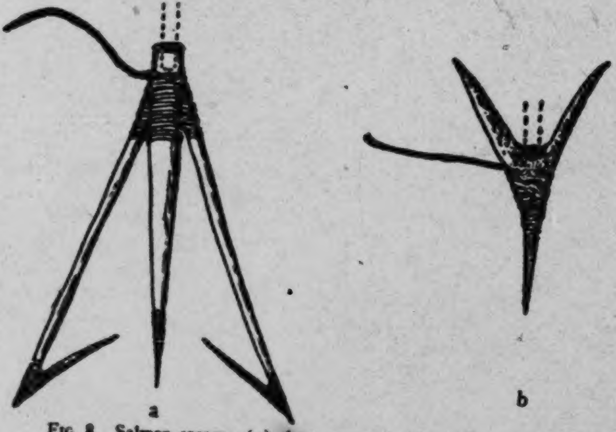

FIG. 8. Salmon spears; (a) three pronged, (b) single pronged.

A fishing station (χəlu·'sxəm) was the common property of the members of the settlement where it was located. Only one man at a time used the platform. Each man present at the fishing site was entitled to a turn and was privileged to retain the position until he had speared one fish, then the post reverted to another. Ordinarily each man had his own spear, but if a stranger were present and had none he would be supplied and allowed to take his turn with the others. Even though an individual were alone at a station he was seldom able to continue spearing for longer than about a half hour at one time because of the strain on the eyes from the reflection of the sun in the water.

FISH SPEARS

The common fish spear used for the smaller varieties of salmon was the single pronged type of bone and horn, called sxu·'łkən, (Figure 8, b). The foreshaft of the spear consisted of a V-shaped piece of horn a few inches in length. A socket for receiving the main shaft was hollowed in the fork. A sharp point of bone was attached to the head of the foreshaft, giving the whole the shape of a Y. 226 / 411 The point was made fast to the body by wrapping with cord of Indian hemp and the application of pine pitch. Pieces of bone suitable for use as spear points were obtained by heating in a fire a section of bone, preferably from the leg of a deer, until it splintered. Fragments of approximately the correct size were chosen and shaped with stone scrapers. Shafts were made of fir, selected for straightness and freedom from knots. In some cases poles seem to have been used after merely removing the bark and in other instances the pole was apparently split down the middle and each half scraped and worked until an elliptical cross section was obtained, one pole thus furnishing two shafts. The shaft was detachable from the foreshaft which held the point, but connected to it by a short cord. The end selected for attachment to the foreshaft was rounded and tapered to fit snugly but not tightly into the socket. The connecting cord was an extension of the one binding the foreshaft to the point. Two or three feet of slack was allowed between the point and the shaft. When a fish was speared the shaft left the socket and the fish could be played and drawn in by means of the cord and the shaft. The length of the shaft varied, depending upon the place at which it was to be used, from fifteen to twenty feet or sometimes more.

A large three-pronged spear (wi·'tcka) (Figure 8, a) was used for large salmon, principally the chinook. Its use was restricted to instances where an approximately vertical thrust could be obtained. It was therefore used extensively in fishing from canoes. The foreshaft consisted of a socket with three prongs; a center prong which was tapered and projected in line with the mainshaft, and two side prongs at angles of about thirty degrees to the center prong. The socket for the main shaft was hollowed in the large end of the middle prong, which was made of hardwood of any variety. The small end was tipped with a point of bone, obtained in the same manner as for the small spear. The two side prongs were of [137] ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* Max., (mutc'mutci'łpᵘ) a resilient wood; they were somewhat longer than the center prong, or about fifteen inches. These prongs were pointed and each was fitted with a single barb. The barbs were of bone and bound with cord of Indian hemp. Heavy cord of the same material was used to fasten the side prongs to the center one, and extended, as in the case of the small spear, to be attached to the main shaft. This shaft was similar to that of the small spear, both in shape and length.

TRAP FISHING

By far the most productive mode of taking fish, especially salmon and trout, 226 was by means of traps. Within Sanpoil territory the principal traps were located near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, at npui·'luxᵘ, and below the falls on the Nespelem river, at nspi·'ləm. The traps in the smaller streams, however, also produced very considerable quantities of fish. Usually only a single trap was placed in each stream, but in the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers sometimes two or even three traps could be profitably maintained. Kettle Falls, in Colville terri-

226 tory, was probably the most important fishing site on the Columbia river above The Dalles. Due to the proximity of the falls and the friendly attitude of the people, many of the Sanpoil camped there during the fishing season. The large trap constructed by the Spokane Indians near the mouth of the Spokane river was also of importance to the Sanpoil since many whose winter homes were nearby moved to this site for the duration of the summer.[7]

Several types of weirs (stəmu'ʼs), funnel traps (xuxuli·'kən), and the basket traps (t'səli"), and a unique elevated trap (pəpəni'p) were used, the choice of type being determined by the exigencies of the location.

COMMUNAL TRAPS

The weir was really a composite affair, consisting of two weirs (sntapi'us) and one or more traps. The principal forms assumed are described below. A variant, with a single weir, was used for small fish. Weirs were employed where the water was shallow and the stream bed firm. The most common salmon weir-trap (Figure 9) was composed of two parallel weirs extending entirely across the stream at right angles to the bank, and separated from each other by eighty or a hundred feet. In one of the inside corners formed by the downstream weir and the bank was placed a small rectangular trap into which the salmon were driven before they were removed from the enclosed area. Open willow fencing formed the weirs. The fencing was held in place by supports (sq̓uaiaxwa·ə'lukʷ) built in the form of a tripod and connected to each other by long poles (qəma'nki'łutən). In constructing the upper weir two or three of these tripods, depending upon the width of the stream, were first assembled. The size of the poles used in building the supports was determined by the depth of the water at the site where they were to be used, but averaged ten or twelve feet in length and six to eight inches in diameter. Only poles of cottonwood were used in the construction of the weir foundation.

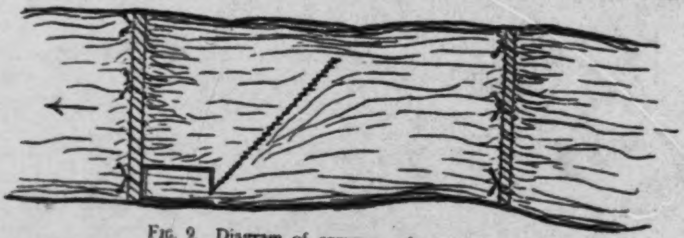

FIG. 9. Diagram of common salmon weir-trap.

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[778] This restriction, as related in the mythology, was dictated by Coyote when he first introduced salmon into the Sanpoil country.[8] Of the completed supports,

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[7] See page 19.

[8] Cottonwood and willow were practically the only trees growing on the banks of these streams. Moreover, cottonwood was easily felled, and light to handle.

one was placed on the bank at the edge of the water, one on the opposite bank, 226 and if a third was used, it usually was set at approximately the middle of the stream. Skilful workmen were required for this duty, since it often involved working in deep water. The cross poles connecting the supports were raised about two feet above the surface of the water. Sections of saplings were cut the necessary length to reach from the transverse poles to the bed of the stream and placed in this position at intervals of about twelve inches. In the meantime other men were occupied with weaving the fencing. Young branches of the Scouler willow, [187] *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (si·'lu, "young growth") were used exclusively for this purpose. The withes used for the weft were made flexible by twisting and rolling on the thigh; this task fell to the older men who were unable to take part in the heavier work.

The prepared weft elements were woven with the more rigid warps, by the 226 open twine method, into sections of the required width and a length of approxi- 285 mately twenty feet. These were called q̇laxe″. The sections were rolled up, carried to the site of the weir, and unrolled in upright position against the previously laid supports. Workmen, wading and swimming in the stream, securely fastened the fencing to the foundation. Care was taken to leave no open spaces between the bottom of the weir and the bed of the stream. A row of stones was laid along the bottom of the weir on either side, to anchor it in place. All apertures due to irregularities in the stream bed were filled. A weir was never located where the stream bottom was covered with large boulders, for such a situation rendered it impossible to close effectively all the holes below the weir. The fish were certain to find openings between the rocks that would permit escape. Likewise, a weir built upon a sandy stream bed was of no value, for the sands would soon wash out and leave holes beneath.

The lower weir was similar in construction to the main one, but smaller. It was less carefully constructed and extended only slightly above the surface of the water. At several points openings were left of sufficient size to permit a large salmon to enter. The two weirs thus formed a large enclosure in which fish accumulated during the night. In ascending the stream they would find their way through the openings in the lower weir but would be repulsed by the one above. Since all the efforts of the fish were bent upon travelling upstream to spawn, the smaller weir, though low and containing openings, was a sufficient barrier to keep them within the enclosure.

To facilitate removal of the fish from this large area, a basket-like trap (skᴇmuqu'al) (Figure 9) was built against the bank at one end of the lower weir. The usual size was three feet wide, six feet long and three feet deep. An aperture was provided in the end of this trap, and from that opening a deflecting barrier extended at an angle upstream until it reached within a few feet of the opposite bank. Thus the opening to the trap was at the point of a V-shaped figure formed by the barrier and the shore. When the large trap was to be emptied several men waded into the water and drove the fish into the small trap, the deflecting weir assisting them by directing them to the opening. Other workers clubbed the fish and threw them onto the bank as fast as they accumulated, thus avoiding piling

226 285 up of the fish and resultant loss from some jumping over the top in the confusion. Salmon billets were merely plain wooden clubs about sixteen inches long and two inches in diameter. It was always difficult to drive the last few fish from the large enclosure into the smaller one. Usually these were taken by spearing.

A second and more elaborate form of the large salmon trap substituted for the straight lower weir a V-shaped barrier (ɛtstəpa'χən, "wings"), with a small elevated trap (pəpəni'p) placed at the point of the V for collecting the fish. Thus the whole lower construction assumed roughly the shape of an hour glass (Figure 10, a). One side of the V was made longer than the other in order that the small trap might be fairly close to the bank, away from the heavy current of the stream. Four tripods were necessary for the construction of such a weir. One was placed near each bank and one at either side of the elevated trap. The weir, moreover, was woven with greater care than in the straight type. Only two small openings (səluxsi·'n) were provided, one in each side of the weir, for the entrance of the fish. These were made by spreading apart the willow elements until an aperture a foot or two in diameter was obtained. A space about one foot wide was left between the two sections of the weir. The small end of the elevated trap opened into this space.

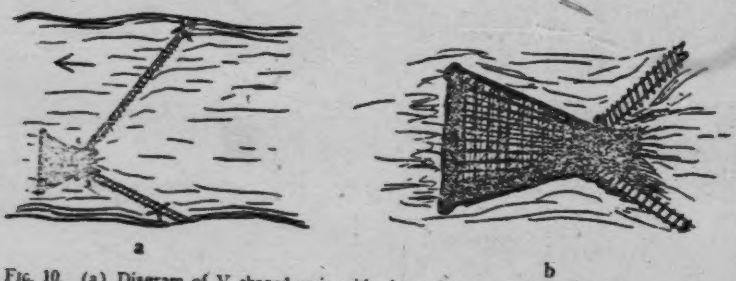

FIG. 10. (a) Diagram of V shaped weir with elevated trap. (b) Elevated trap enlarged.

The elevated trap (Figure 10, b) was a unique arrangement for collecting the fish and keeping them out of the water, so that there was no possibility of escape and no difficulty in removal. The base plan of the trap was triangular. The fish entered at the apex of the triangle, where the only opening in the trap was provided; this opening was made to correspond in size to the opening at the angle of the weir, and placed flush with it. The trap was woven of willow withes in open twining in the form of a basket. The distance from the apex to the base was three or four feet, and the base was of about the same length. Since the top was not closed it was necessary to make the basket deep enough so that the fish could not jump over the sides, usually about three feet. The width of the opening in the basket and in the weir was about twelve inches. The elevated trap was secured in the proper position at the outlet of the weir by four vertical posts, one at each end of the base, and one on either side of the apex. The basket was so fastened

to these supports that the bottom was just above the surface of the water. From the bed of the stream in the enclosure formed by the weir to a point several inches inside the small trap, and about a foot above the trap bottom, extended a stiff, tightly woven mat of willow, forming a sort of runway. This was anchored at the lower end with boulders, and elevated and secured at the upper end by a transverse pole, extending between the supporting poles of the trap. All holes except the narrow opening between the two traps were filled with rocks and gravel. Due to the barrier formed by the weir and the runway, the water rose somewhat in the area just above the weir opening, and poured through with considerable force, then fell through the openwork bottom of the elevated trap.

The upstream weir was made exactly as in the preceding description. The salmon, travelling upstream, passed through the holes in the lower weir, then attempted to swim through or jump over the upper weir. This was impossible but they continued their attempts until exhausted. In this state they were gradually carried back downstream by the current. Due to the shape of the lower weir they gravitated toward the opening leading to the elevated trap, whereupon they were swept through by the force of the water and found themselves upon the bottom of the trap, suspended above the water's surface. Return was impossible, since they were out of water, and because the runway overhung inside the trap. When the regular hour for collecting the fish arrived it was only necessary to lift them from the trap. The few which possibly remained inside the weirs were easily driven into the trap.

Still another type of small trap was a hemispherical basket with the straight side formed by a section of the upper weir. It was called skæmuqua'l'. It was placed on the downstream side of the weir, near one bank. The spherical portion extended two or three feet above the water's surface, but not as high as the weir. The diameter of the basket ranged around six feet. The framework consisted of a small tripod at the midpoint of the arc, and horizontal flexible willow poles bent around this tripod and fastened at either end to the weir. Against this was fastened a large willow mat as in the case of the weir. The salmon that attempted to jump over the weir at the point where the basket was located fell back into it and were unable to escape. Naturally, this trap was much less efficient than the one previously described. It was sometimes used in conjunction with one of the other types.

True basket traps (t'sali") proved valuable in streams and rivers where a waterfall of a few feet or more was available. These were rectangular baskets woven in the open twine technique from flexible willow branches. The top was left open but all sides and the bottom were made tight. In use, such a basket was hung at the base of the falls, a foot or two from its face, but with the bottom touching the water. When a fish made an unsuccessful attempt to jump the falls it would often drop back into the basket from which it could easily be taken. A support for the basket was provided, when the stream was not too wide, by felling a log from bank to bank, near the edge of the falls. From this log the fish basket was suspended by willow rope from each of its upper corners. At the larger falls, especially Kettle Falls, where immense numbers of salmon were taken by this method, much more elaborate apparatus was necessary for swinging the basket. The usual method was to project large poles or logs out over the falls by securing their bases in crevices in the jagged rocks at the top of the falls. Additional support for the poles was added, if necessary, in the form of willow ropes extending from the projecting ends to some point above. Notches were cut at the outer extremities of the poles to receive loops which were provided in the ends of the ropes supporting the basket. In placing the trap in position the ropes from which it was suspended were pushed out on the projecting logs until the loops slipped into the notches. Access to the trap was made possible by a ladder of willow bark rope. In removing the fish from the trap one end of a rope, which was suspended from above, was strung through the gills of several fish and tied. It was then hauled up by helpers at the top, the fish taken off, and the rope let down again. At Kettle Falls it was necessary for some one to be in charge of the trap at all times when it was in use. The volume of water going over the falls varies greatly from time to time during the day, the heavy surges carrying with them large amounts of driftwood. If this had been allowed to fall upon the trap it would soon have demolished it. To overcome this danger a heavy line was attached to the trap and extended to one of the numerous small rock islands. By means of this rope a watchman was able to pull the trap away from the falls when there was a possibility of its being damaged. At night, and at all other times when the trap was not being utilized it was pulled free of the falls and the line made fast.

PRIVATELY OWNED TRAPS

The funnel trap (xuxuli·'kan) was employed princiaplly in the smaller streams in conjunction with a small weir. It was constructed and operated by a single individual. In swift and turbulent water it was placed with mouth downstream and with small barriers extending on either side. Fish inadvertently entered the mouth of the trap in a blind attempt to get past the rough stretch of water. In smooth or shallow water a weir was first erected across the stream and the trap was placed just below this with the mouth facing upstream. The fish, upon finding progress impeded by the weir, eventually turned and swam about, some making their way into the trap. This form of trap was not used below rapids or falls. The mouth of the funnel was built approximately square. Willow poles connected the mouth with another square frame, much smaller in size, forming the opposite end of the funnel. These poles were six to twelve feet long, depending upon the length desired for the trap. The poles were fastened at equal intervals of a few inches around the edge of the square frame. The small end opened into a large basket, also built of willow saplings. The whole trap was anchored in place with heavy rocks.

Another individually owned trap was a diminutive form of the large combination weir-elevated trap (pəpani'p) described in the previous section, but minus the upper weir (Plate 3, Figure B). It was used principally for the smaller fish, such as trout, whitefish and suckers. The elevated trap was made identically as the one previously described. The mouth in this case, too, faced downstream.

The weir was built in the same shape, but much less carefully. The weir proper extended for only a few feet on each side of the trap. From each end of the weir to the bank a dam was formed of boulders and logs. The weir was made as usual but was twined at only three places. It was not set to stand vertically, but slanted somewhat, forming an obtuse angle down stream. 226/285

The owner of such a trap emptied it each morning and in the evening.

NETTING

Netting was the least important method of fishing practiced by the Sanpoil, but it was better adapted to certain conditions and seasons than either trapping or spearing. Where the water of the Columbia was turbid or rough nets (mu'lsman, au'xwian) were used to advantage, for they were not visible to the fish under such conditions. The dip net was useless, however, when the water became shallow. In the fall white salmon and dog salmon were taken in considerable quantities with seines. 226/286

Nets were used from natural ledges over the water or from specially constructed platforms. Sometimes net fishing was done from the regular spearing platform. All fish caught with a net were the property of the individual fisherman.

The common dip net used for salmon and suckers was called kwa'ī'x^{u} (Figure 11). It consisted of a hoop of willow or maple two or three feet in diameter, from which was suspended a bag-like net. At opposite sides of the hoop were fastened two poles about six feet long. These poles were bound together at the top, forming a handle in the shape of an inverted V. Fastened transversely from handle to handle, about four inches above the hoop, was a strip of netting six inches or more wide. A slack cord extended from the strip of netting to the point where the handles crossed.

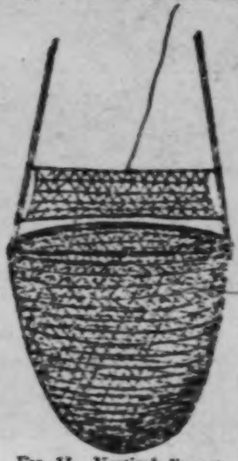

Fig. 11. Vertical dip net.

In use the net was submerged vertically in the water so that the cross net was at right angles to the current and well below the surface. The upper end of the slack cord was looped around the thumb of the fisherman and pulled tight. The net was held in this position until a fish struck the cross net. The fisherman was made aware of the presence of the fish by the increase of tension on the cord. Immediately he pulled the net upward with a sudden motion. The fish was thus ensnared in the bag net, and removed from the water.

The mesh size in the nets for salmon was two or three inches; for smaller fish such as suckers the mesh was usually about one-half inch. The depth of the bag net was about three feet for salmon, but much less for the smaller fish.

Another type of salmon net (Figure 12, b) was provided with a handle in the same plane as the hoop, and was used with a sweeping motion. The hoop

was of willow about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Across the hoop, but off center, was fastened a small pole of willow. One end of the pole which served as a handle was anchored to this cross piece; the handle was again fastened at the point where it crossed the loop. The handle was made preferably of cedar. The average length was six feet, the average diameter two inches. The net suspended from the hoop was similar to the one previously described. In turbid water this net was swept with a slow motion through the water in downstream direction. When a salmon was netted it was necessary to play it for some time before it could be lifted from the water.

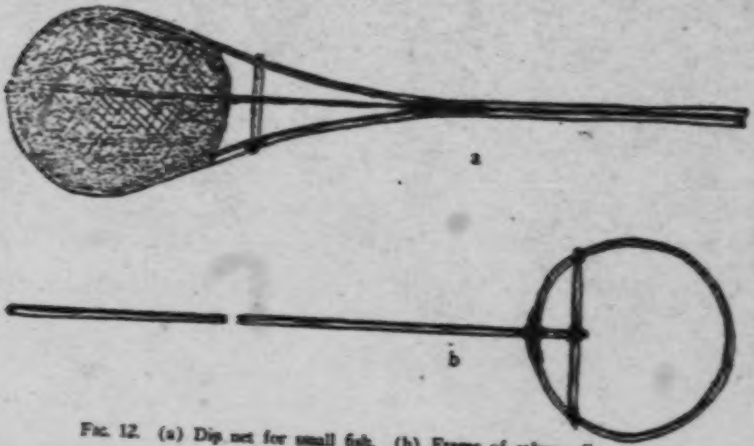

FIG. 12. (a) Dip net for small fish. (b) Frame of salmon dip net.

The third type of net (Figure 12, a) was used especially for eels, but also for small fish. Here again the net was of the same form, but the hoop and handle differed. The opening of the net ranged around two feet in diameter, and the depth averaged twelve inches. The hoop and the handle were formed by a single piece of willow. The withe was bent double and the ends were bound together, forming the handle. About half the distance from the handle to the hoop end a cross piece six or eight inches long was fastened to hold the two sides apart. A cord was attached to the hoop at the point opposite the handle and then stretched tightly and secured to the cross piece. This caused the doubled willow pole to open forming a hoop, and raised the extreme point of the hoop somewhat above the plane of the handle. When this net was used the cross piece was grasped in the left hand, the extending handle in the right, and the net drawn through the water.

The purse type of net was not known.

Indian hemp cord was used for making all types of nets.

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (łt'km·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. 226 286

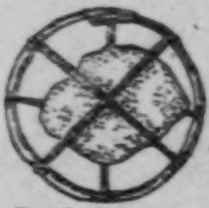

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. However, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch. 286 422

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory according to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 177 226 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[9] 226 624

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[9] See page 174-175.

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. [476] He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five [462] at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

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796 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'ləm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

226 539 773 796 Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[16] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amazement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[16] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger than I have ever seen." 226 539

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be dreaming." 773

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said. "You had better come down and see." 796

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[27] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[28] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[29]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the program set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time. 226 624 796

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[27] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[28] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[29] Told by Bob Covington.

226/462 796 While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annuus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[20] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

226 624 796 The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[21] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psam) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon" was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[20] See pages 34-35.

[21] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

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Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npui'lux*, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and dried the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

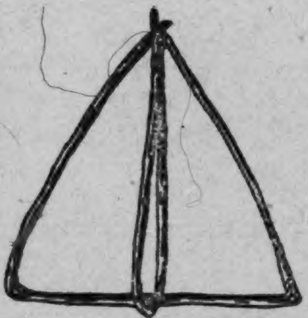

FIG. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

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The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

HUNTING

221/224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spι·'xəm). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221/224 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. 462 During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133/224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in sιnəká'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226/262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

181 721 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[551] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

721 The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[16]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 439 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation
might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange
for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeop-
ardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt,
too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material
gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the
maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from
the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that
might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snəká'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages
at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their
homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trad-
ing center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil
frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls
(Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snəqaie'tkʷ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[16] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distribution of the fish. 366
Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snəkä'ʼlt, sqasi'ʼlni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkᵘ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkᵘ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but 439
the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip, from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals, 439
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 579
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

~~[illegible]~~ 226
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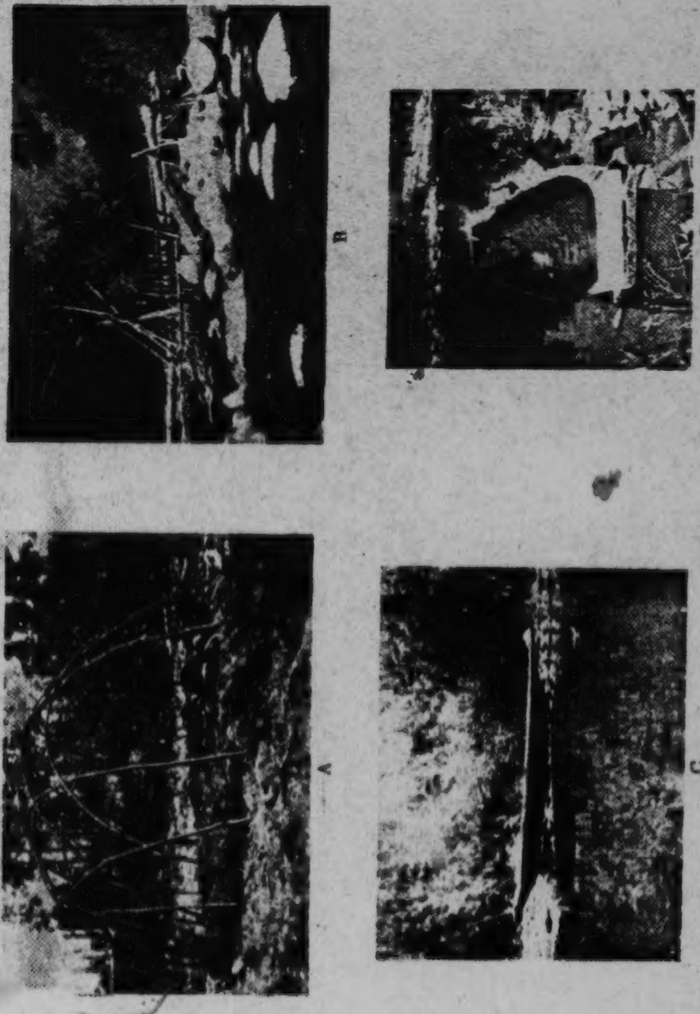

PLATE 3. (A) Frame of sweat lodge. Note fir boughs and stones (B) Small fish trap on the Sanpoil River. (C) Dug-out shovel-nose canoe, side view. (D) Same canoe, end view. Note repaired ends.

221 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for
deer were held in the fall..... In the
spring roots were dug, and the people return-
262 ed about June to the streams and speared sal-
mon.... In July began the season of digging
361 fresh camas, which continued indefinitely un-
til a sufficient supply had been accumulated.
After the great fall hunt, the tribe disband-
ed (each small group of related families
building its long lodge in a sheltered place
in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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1 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
2 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 246
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
4 Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

●226 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) O. nerka, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) O. kisutch, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

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622 The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such a time and place. This announcement usually occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

p. 12 (B)

227 position, their lower ends pushed firmly into the crevices between the rocks. Heavy chicken wire netting is laid along these, one edge of the strip of wire being fastened along the horizontal pole and the other edge flat on the bottom. It is curved downstream, so that salmon cannot work their way under it while ascending the river. A second strip of chicken wire forms the trap proper. One of its edges is wired to the top of the horizontal pole at the same place where the first strip is wired. The other edge is held in the air, about two and a half inches above the water level on the upstream side of the weir, supported by sticks about a yard long, which are nailed one to each tripod pole. The fish jump over the horizontal pole, and into this second wire, which is bent so as to form a pocket V-shaped in cross section. The fish will become jammed in this and are not able to flop out. They will jump because of the small waterfall, four or six inches high, made by accumulating leaves and other floating debris which collects in the first wire. In former times, in place of the wire netting, green stakes, one inch thick, were used; they were two or three inches apart, lashed with willow withes and little sticks. They were held in place at the bottom by rocks.

226 About twenty feet from shore a bulkhead or platform of stones is built, about ten feet square, where the spearsmen stand. Its upstream edge is in line with the weir. One reaches this from shore by stepping stones. Next to it the water is fairly deep (three or four feet) for a short distance, and over this an arbor of willow and pine boughs is built, also about ten feet square. On the downstream side this covering is built to the water level. Under it a lantern is hung at night so the spearsmen can see the fish; also for the purpose of dazzling them, for they are said to become immobile in its glare. The arbor is made so as to prevent the fish from stopping before they are within range of the spearsman.

227 In former times, when fish were plentiful, a trap was made at the center of the weir, at the apex of the upstream bulge. A hole about a foot wide was made here under the water, by removing several of the vertical pieces, and an enclosure built on the upstream side of the weir, supported by two extra tripods. This was at the deepest part of the stream. A horseshoe dip net was often suspended under water to one side of this passage, where the fish would congregate. When the trap was full the passage would be closed and the salmon speared, either from the main horizontal support of the weir or from canoes. Iron gaff hooks have been used recently for this. White stones might be placed on the bottom of the trap to make the fish more easily seen. This is also described by Curtis.

Another construction is described by Curtis.

"On the downstream side a single panel

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic. [825]

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on 226
during the first four days each year that
fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was 796
to keep the fish at the river shore until
daybreak (the first ones usually having been
taken at night), and then carry them up on
poles, actually spear poles, which were [482]
thrust into the gills and out through the
mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight
or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders.
They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves
to await butchering. The butcher is chosen [622]
by the head man as one skilled in the work
and deserving the distinction. He frequently
does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. 226
A transverse cut is made into the ventral
side at the base of the mandible, where the 796
gill slits are closest together, and another
transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base 252
of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to
the backbone. The head of the fish is then 788
bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

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by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh.

The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

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6 Mr. Post took part in the building of a weir and first-salmon ceremony near Malott. — L.S.

p. 15 (c)

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 15 (4), category 116.-- Analyst]

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. [521] Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listener: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalŭ´ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai´wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

● 226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai´wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai´wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalU´ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [773] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

P. 16 (B)

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coast tribes). 226 796 171

The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast. 226 796 825

Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish. 226 796 784 825

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

P.17(A) [7] Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony,]

mon from entering the trap of a person with 300
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the riv- 796
er, they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, 825
they would become strict again.

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of
trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The
fact that the men were naked while building
the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of ma-
ple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about
the end of the penis as protection from the
poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon [773]
creation myth, in which the first weir is
said to have been built by two bird sisters,
far down the Columbia River. Coyote took
this away from them and gave the same sort of
weir to the people all the way up the river
and its tributaries, saying that they should
obey his laws and follow his directions in
the building of weirs and catching of salmon.
One of these injunctions was that the men
were forever to keep weirs and fishing away
from the women. In this regard the tabu is
similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could
they be a survival from the hypothetical
days when men monopolised control over the
food, and subjugated the women? Are they con-
nected with fear of blood, associated with
women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ŏq'ŏmŭ´s) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they
sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the
larger catch was in May, when traps were set
at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old [462]
men: women dried the catch which was traded
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap. They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226 417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies. (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen. [433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wI'tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long trips were made for such fishing. Suckers 252 were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying, but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū´ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the roe, which was dried for winter use or smash- 251 ed up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or platforms. [462] This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usually only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

226
796 First fruits ceremonies were observed for suckers. The first nights' catch was roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

p. 18 (B)

for the suckers. 000

226 262 A small fish called sEsERē′ūs abounded in the creeks emptying into Omak Lake during the spring floods. These came from the lake to spawn. They were so numerous that they could be caught by hand in hundreds. Later in the season, before service berries were ripe, the fish was even better, having more fat; while they could still be caught in the hand, they were then not so numerous. The fish were dried on racks and later mixed with bitter root or service berries. Or the eggs were extracted and mixed with service or other berries. The latter dish (alone ?) was called xalū′ps, like that prepared from salmon, but unlike it this was not tabu to women at any time.

Trout (xōkōmē′na) were caught in late summer and fall, while descending the mountain streams to spawn in the lower creeks. Hooks and lines were employed, also traps like salmon traps, but smaller, from which they were usually lifted by hand. Small salmon trout were also taken with the dip net. They were sometimes dried in the sun for winter use. During the winter they were taken in the rivers, but only when other food was scarce, since they were then thin.

226 Fishing by hook and line was not common, and was carried on mostly by women and children for small fish. A pole was always used, of straight tamarack, cedar or fir, always peeled and smoothed. It was called qElhtEmnalōqtEn. The line, of Indian hemp, was tied to a little notch at the end; sometimes also passed down and tied again at the handle. Hooks were of crossed splinters of bone (usually deer ulna) wrapped together with sinew, sometimes one passing through a hole in the center of the other and wrapped (called qaqē′t and tĭtamē′n interchangeably). These splinters were shaped by cutting and grinding on a stone. A hole was bored in the hook for the line and a groove made on each side of the point where the bait, grasshoppers or worms, was tied on. A line was never held by hand alone. Bullheads were caught thus, as well as trout and other fish.

Ling or devil fish (spokōla′tc) were caught through the ice in wintertime in Lake Okanogan, that is, in Northern Okanagon territory. The hook was made by binding a bone point, one inch long, to the end of a piece of dogwood (about three inches long) which is strong and has no odor. A small fish is used for bait and Indian hemp for a line; also for binding on the point. The line is dropped to the bottom of the lake in deep water and its end tied to a cake of ice. When a fish takes a bait he swallows it completely, and so does not often get away. These fish were a palatable and valuable winter food. Usually they were boiled after skinning. They were not preserved, but eaten fresh.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 19 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

8 Cf. Teit, Thompson Indians, 246.[1]

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. They were not pounded or stored, but used as a tit-bit while they lasted. 252 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pI′tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi′Ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[18]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (ʍkokōI′na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River. 261 [796] 226

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI′tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p.29(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.
18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[1]

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226 ●
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know. That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent. 439
In early days, however, they travelled all
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty 437
boats going at a time. It took four days to get back, using long poles to go upstream. They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwä´ûs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatcni territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sö´xqûi).[10] If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in

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[10] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

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p. 75(A)

224 776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwist's grandmother, Sīkŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stârēs) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sīkŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sīkŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sīkŭntalŭqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

P-160 (A)

226 789 In the "very old days," long before Suszen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

726 789 In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many methods of employing power in war.

726 773 In a story told by David Isaac, the hero ktsasikwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." Ktsasikwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still leter in the tale, when ktsatsikwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and pre- 252
paring it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47]
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four 411
or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Salish**
Columbia
Wenatchi

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quantities of salmon, which were dried in the wind. Some oil was put up in fish-skin bottles or bags. Salmon pemmican was often put up in special woven rush sacks, and in others like those sometimes used for berries.[44] Some say a special kind of rush bag was used for salmon pemmican, but I did not obtain a detailed description. Cured salmon and other foods were cached in the ordinary pits or cellars, which were lined with grass or bark. Usually certain cellars were used solely for fish; while, roots, and the like, were stored in others.

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[44] A specimen of such a bag is in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, No. VI.M.80.

taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800. 177 223

FISHING—*Hooks.*—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. 226 The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.[172] Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.[173] Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.[174] This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.[175] Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,[176] while others were notched, grooved, or bored.[177] Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines.

Spears.—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,[178] used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.[179] The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,[180] appear to have been unknown. Fishing through holes cut in the ice was a common method used in winter. The fisher lay flat on a woven mat, with a robe or blanket over his head; he held the line with a fish lure in his left hand, and a three-pronged spear in his right, ready to strike. Fishing with bait and hook and line was also practiced through holes in the ice when the weather was not too cold. Large trout were speared on dark nights in the lakes from canoes by torchlight. As among the Thompson, the torches consisted of bundles of split pitchwood, and three-pronged spears were used. Eye shades of [293] several kinds were worn by the spearmen. (See p. 76.)

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[172] *a*, p. 253.

[173] See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156–158.

[174] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *b*.

[175] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *a*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, no. 9.

[176] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 234 *c*.

[177] See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 409.

[178] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, *k*, fig. 87.

[179] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 232; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 11.

[180] *a*, fig. 231.

Traps.—Fish traps were of several kinds, but I did not obtain detailed information regarding them. The screen trap described by Spinden was in use.[181] (Fig. 12.) A second kind of trap commonly employed was used chiefly in creeks when they were in flood. It appears to have been the same as the cylindrical trap of the Thompson with "heart," and was called *moo*, which is also the Thompson name. A third kind of trap, with a trapdoor composed of a row of slanting sticks, appears to have been the same as a common kind among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Nez Percé.[182] A fourth kind, said to have been circular (possibly cylindrical), was used only for small fish. A fifth kind was used, it seems, only for salmon in large streams. It was large, and had high walls. The top was open excepting at the ends, which were covered over to prevent fish from jumping out. These traps were made of coarser materials than others; they were

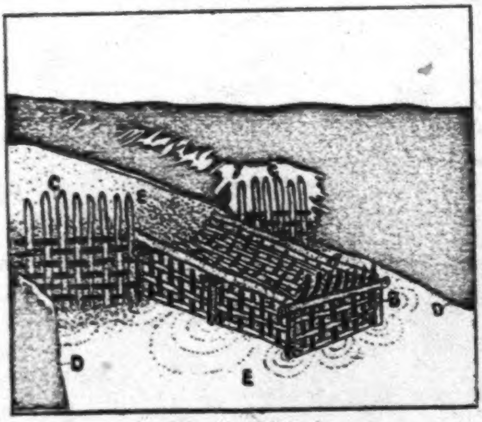

FIGURE 12.—Fish trap

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[181] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211. I have seen screen traps used by the Shuswap and Chilcotin in small, rather rapid streams and have often seen fish lying on the screens. The screens were somewhat larger than the ones used by the Nez Percé. They were made of willow rods fastened together with bark and withes. They were oblong, slightly depressed in the center, and tilted up at the lower end away from the stream. I am under the impression that some of them had low brush walls to prevent the fish falling off the sides. Some had corrals underneath to catch any small fish that worked through the screens. The whole creek was dammed and the water forced over the screens with great force.

[182] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 245 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211.

set in rocky places and fastened to stout logs, as a considerable volume 226 of water flowed through them. Men walked into them and clubbed the salmon. It seems they were used only on Spokane River. Weirs were commonly employed in conjunction with traps, and there were also simple weirs for stopping fish, thus facilitating spearing.

Nets.—Long nets were set in lakes, and ordinary bag nets were used for catching whitefish (*Coregonus*) and other fish from rocks and platforms on the banks of streams. Very large bag nets with long handles were used for catching a "sucker" which appears on the surface of lakes in calm, warm weather. The nets were dropped through the masses of fish from canoes. They were also scooped up with small bag nets into the canoes.[183] Bag nets were also set as 173 traps, as among the Shuswap,[184] and the fish were driven into them. 226 Bag nets were not used by the Coeur d'Alêne for fishing salmon, nor were they used in salmon fishing by the Spokan; but it is said that the Nez Percé used bag nets a great deal in capturing salmon in the rivers. It seems that all salmon were trapped, speared, or gaffed by the Coeur d'Alêne and also by most of the Spokan. It is said that the latter, in a few places on tributaries of the Spokane River, used large-mesh nets spread across the stream. These may, however, have been intended in large measure as weirs for stopping the fish rather than for catching them. The Coeur d'Alêne had no salmon in their own country, but salmon came close to the borders of their territory along Spokane River. Some Coeur d'Alêne bought what dried salmon they required from the Spokan; but large numbers of the tribe went to Spokane Falls and other parts of Spokane River where they fished salmon for themselves with the Spokan tribe. As the two tribes were usually friendly, this opportunity was generally available. It is said that no salmon could pass the falls, and therefore there were no salmon in the Coeur d'Alêne country. A long time ago (before the introduction of the horse, according to some also later) some of the Coeur d'Alêne were in the habit of trapping salmon in the mountains to the southeast, on streams which were northern feeders of the Clearwater. This was near the confines of the Nez Percé country. Long ago they also fished salmon at several points on the main Clearwater.[185] Although the Nez Percé claimed these places to be within their territory, they never themselves went there to fish. Long ago, some Coeur d'Alêne also fished salmon on the Graywater, and beyond Smeda, up to the mountains as far as the salmon went. No landlocked salmon frequented any water in the Coeur d'Alêne country; but trout of several kinds, whitefish, and several other kinds of fish were abundant. It seems that sturgeon also occurred.

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[183] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 526.

[184] *e*, fig. 242.

[185] My informant said "the main Snake River," but seemed to mean Clearwater River.

224 toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson [8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

222 The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

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224 The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

● 226 FISHING.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed [11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers. 226

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[8] 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. [9] 4, p. [illegible]. [10] See 4, pp. [illegible]. [11] See 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. [12] 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, 177
antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting 224
among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes,
were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. 226
Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes.

SEASONS.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pəskoei'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are— 805

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pəska'pts*	*ska'pts.*
Summer	*spa'ntsick*	*spa'ntsick*
Early fall	*stɛmalɛ'k*	*tɛmalɛ'k*
Late fall	*pəskoe'i*	*silwe'st*
Winter	*pəsil'stɛk*	*sil'stɛk*

224 never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they
*171 went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green
Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although
[177] they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive
224 prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they
[178] fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

● 226 FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead
*171 tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan.
[184] Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and
lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around
221 Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

926 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) O. nerka, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) O. kisutch, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

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622 The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such a time and place. This announcement usually occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

The head man was the first to move his family to the camping site, more families following day by day. The trap was communal: anyone could spear in it who wished, and anyone who was there would work on it. He would detail groups of men to make the preparations; some to cut poles of proper length, others to cut branches, twigs and strips of yellow bark for lashings; to make or borrow spears, canoes, apparatus for lighting, etc. As these assistants begin to arrive he cuts a small willow stick, while singing his power song, and lays it on the ground to signify the beginning. The others also sing if they have power songs. The head man superintends the whole construction, himself working here and there as he sees fit. 227 622

Poles of young pine trees are cut for tripods, each from ten to twelve feet long and four to five inches in diameter. They are hewn clean of all branches, the top yard or so cut off, and the butts sharpened so that they will stick in the bottom. These are not sharply pointed, but bluntly rounded, since no pole could be sunk more than a few inches among the rocks of the stream bed, and a sharp point would not present a large enough frictional area to hold firmly. Two of these poles are tied together about a foot from the tips and the third is tied to one of them two feet from the tips. Thus one of the three poles has two lashings, one a foot above the other. The lashing is of willow bark, wrapped around and around, and secured with half hitches. (Hay wire is used today.) The lashing is done ashore on the ground, and the tripods are then pulled out into the river to the site, either by pairs of men or a boy on a saddle horse with a lasso. In former days the head man carried the upstream pole of the three. He sights along the tripods which are already placed so as to get the next one aligned. Each one is placed so that the two poles whose lashing is the lower will be upstream and the third pole downstream of them. In former days the weir was built straight across the river, perhaps slightly curved with the convex side upstream. Today the Indians on the Okanogan River are allowed to put their weir only halfway across. So from this halfway point they run a wing straight downstream, which obviously helps to corral the salmon. The poles do not have to be worked down into the bottom, but are merely jammed between the rocks. In the eight or nine m.p.h. current they are quite stable, with their angles of inclination at about twenty-five degrees from the vertical. The tripods are about twelve feet apart, and the poles comprising each tripod are about seven feet apart at the water line, so there is a pole every five and seven feet alternating at the waterline. Power songs are sung at frequent intervals while this work is in progress. 227

Longer poles, of eighteen to twenty-two feet, are now lashed horizontally to the two upstream poles of each tripod, about eight inches above the water. One can walk along these easily. Sticks about two inches in diameter are lashed to this in a vertical position, their lower ends pushed firmly into the crevices between the rocks. Heavy chicken wire netting is laid along these, one edge of the strip of wire being fastened along the horizontal pole and the other edge flat on the bottom. It is curved downstream, so that salmon cannot work their way under it while ascending the river. A second strip of chicken wire forms the trap proper. One of its edges is wired to the top of the horizontal pole at the same place where the first strip is wired. The other edge is held in the air, about two and a half inches above the water level on the upstream side of the weir, supported by sticks about a yard long, which are nailed one to each tripod pole. The fish jump over the horizontal pole, and into this second wire, which is bent so as to form a pocket V-shaped in cross section. The fish will become jammed in this and are not able to flop out. They will jump because of the small waterfall, four or six inches high, made by accumulating leaves and other floating debris which collects in the first wire. In former times, in place of the wire netting, green stakes, one inch thick, were used; they were two or three inches apart, lashed with willow withes and little sticks. They were held in place at the bottom by rocks. 227

About twenty feet from shore a bulkhead or platform of stones is built, about ten feet square, where the spearsmen stand. Its upstream edge is in line with the weir. One reaches this from shore by stepping stones. Next to it the water is fairly deep (three or four feet) for a short distance, and over this an arbor of willow and pine boughs is built, also about ten feet square. On the downstream side this covering is built to the water level. Under it a lantern is hung at night so the spearsmen can see the fish; also for the purpose of dazzling them, for they are said to become immobile in its glare. The arbor is made so as to prevent the fish from stopping before they are within range of the spearsman. 226

In former times, when fish were plentiful, a trap was made at the center of the weir, at the apex of the upstream bulge. A hole about a foot wide was made here under the water, by removing several of the vertical pieces, and an enclosure built on the upstream side of the weir, supported by two extra tripods. This was at the deepest part of the stream. A horseshoe dip net was often suspended under water to one side of this passage, where the fish would congregate. When the trap was full the passage would be closed and the salmon speared, either from the main horizontal support of the weir or from canoes. Iron gaff hooks have been used recently for this. White stones might be placed on the bottom of the trap to make the fish more easily seen. This is also described by Curtis. 227

Another construction is described by Curtis.

"On the downstream side a single panel

•227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap." They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

● 227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226 417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies. (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen. [433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wī´tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

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501 used along the shore, especially on lakes. Paddlers usually knelt on grass in the bottom of the canoe. The steersman at the stern paddled mostly on one side, but the others paddled on both sides, shifting after every two or three strokes, according to Curtis."[1] Since the gunwale of the canoe was only a few inches above the surface the canoe often shipped water. This was emptied by tilting the canoe to one side and scooping out the water with the paddle.

171 Among the Northern Okanagon spruce bark canoes were abundant, some families owning 501 two. (David Isaac stated that dugout canoes were unknown until after the advent of the whites.) Their maximum length was fourteen feet, the maximum load four persons, but usually three. Both ends were rounded (David said sharp) and "turned down" for strength (i.e., the bark turned down inside ?). This canoe was made of a single piece of inner bark of the spruce, with ribs of bluewood, about six inches apart, whittled flat on the side next the bark shell and sewed with cedar root. A central longitudinal bar was put on the bottom over the ribs. The gunwale was reinforced by a rim of bluewood fastened with pitch and sewed to the inside of the shell. A single piece was used for each side if long enough; otherwise lengths were fitted together. In sewing on the various pieces, an awl of bluewood, fire hardened, was used. The outside of the canoe was coated from time to time with pine pitch spread with a firebrand. A coat lasted about ten days if the canoe was used frequently. A single strip of wild cherry root, which turned yellow, was sewed around the canoe (gunwale ?) for decoration. There were no thwarts. Men knelt in the bottom, using a paddle four feet long, its blade thickened down the middle, and without a cross-grip to the handle. Paddles were neither painted nor carved. About three days were required by two men to complete a bark canoe. (David said the last of these was made sixty or seventy years ago.)

The Lakes (Senajextee) were said to use white fir bark for canoes.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

Salmon Spears

● 227 One and two-pronged spears with detachable heads, and one, two, three and four-pronged spears with non-detachable heads were used for spearing salmon. The commonest was the two-pronged type with detachable heads. Shafts were of fir, from sixteen to twenty feet long, shaped to a uniform thickness. Fir was chosen because it was not only naturally straight, but would not warp nor become heavy when wet. The forward end was beveled to receive two foreshafts about eighteen inches long, of any kind of wood such as service berry, bound to the shaft

[1] [For footnote, see p. 56 (A), category 116.-- Analyst]

at a slightly diverging angle (Figure 22)." 227
Each foreshaft bore a head, made of two pieces of split deer horn or bone, sharpened at the point and bound together. Each head was attached to the shaft by a slack line. At their midpoints the foreshafts were connected by a firm line to prevent them from spreading when thrust into a salmon. All points of binding were first covered with melted pine pitch and then wrapped with Indian hemp cords. When casting or thrusting this spear, it was held horizontally above the right shoulder, the right hand grasping it with the thumb toward the butt end, so as to deliver a stabbing stroke downward. The left hand merely guided the shaft.

Nets

A conical dip net was used for chub, 227
eels, squawfish, and small salmon trout. Its 286
handle was a long peeled willow limb bearing a fork. The ends of the fork were lapped and lashed together to form the ring carrying the net. The net was laced to this ring with Indian hemp cord. The net itself was deep and conical. It was made with the aid of several gauges of cedar wood, whittled and rubbed very smooth (Figure 23). The description obtained is not wholly clear but seems to be as follows. Meshes were made in a continuous spiral around the net, working from left to right, and turning the fabric face for face with each new row of meshes added. To start the first row, which would form the apex of the net, a series of loops were made over a net guage. For the second row, the fabric was turned over so that the meshes now added faced in the same direction. Square knots were used throughout. The netting needle, or more properly reel, was

23 Washington State Museum, No. 2-327 a-c.

formed of two small sticks crossed at the 227
middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on 286
this figure-eight fashion.

Deer nets were made of hemp string by 224
hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight
feet high and as long as four hundred yards, 286
but were made in sections large enough for
one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, [462]
man the net.

Snowshoes

481 These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for

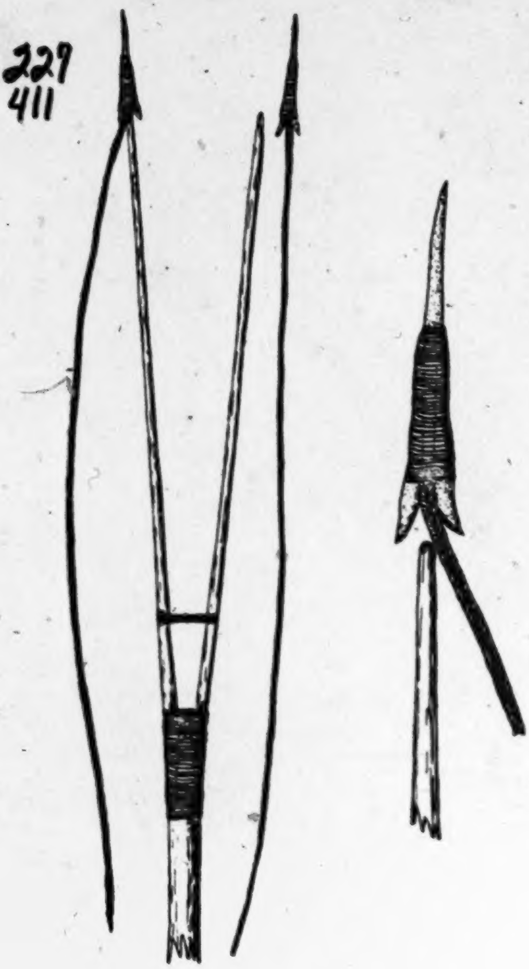

Fig. 22. Fishing spear (showing foreshafts and detail of head).

p. 57 (c)

481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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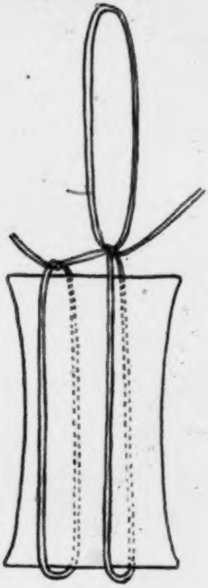

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

222
412
This was about two and a half feet long but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

285 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel.
531 (Fig. 26.)

*171 WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of
286 the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by
the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the
*171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of
[237] vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

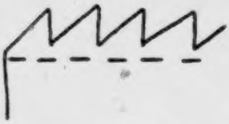
FIGURE 28.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope
283 were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp
being chiefly used. Most of the thread for
*171 sewing was of sinew taken from the backs
of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer.
294 Needles were little used, but sewing was gen-
237 erally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed.
Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon.
*171 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It
• 227 is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles
and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the
*171 Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all
the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead,
415 made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the
314 ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while
some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227● 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 [171]*

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[441]

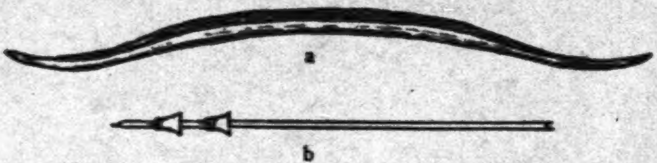

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[13]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237
322
411
Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nk^{u}) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuxwa'xailp^{u}), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətai'lp^{u}), was used in the manufacture of

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[13] See page 89.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

177/492 Pack saddles (wusuwa'xnukan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied [231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

484 501 Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

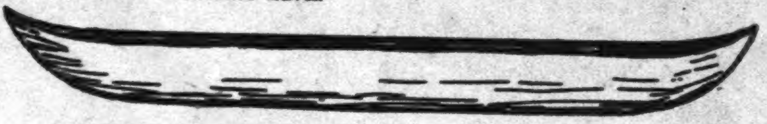

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

501 Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'lam) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (samuqui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231● 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 262 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERӗ'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

4‸ [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the 4‸
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 4‸

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power 224
was needed for securing fur animals as for
food, most men having enough general power; [777]
but if a man had poor luck he would dance,
sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck
would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa´p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231 ●

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224
the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was [784]
allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492]
pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes,
but with short legs. Their colors were 231
black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They
were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, 552
Trees, or more generally animal or bird names,
according to fancied resemblances in the
dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that prob-
ably only male dogs were named and always
for animals: cinq!alI´p, "coyote"; sinikstI´a,
"skunk"; ckámxI´ct, "bear"; kIlañna, "grizzly
bear." Every dog knew its name, but they
were called by saying "come here" or whistl-
ing or making a kissing sound. If a female 562
dog was lost, in chasing game or what not,
the owner would make a little digging stick 789
and say, "Come back: think about your dig-
ging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231
arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825]
to be able to converse with dogs,

231 It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. [435] None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now.

171 231 412 No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introduction and played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent.

The horse is called sink'tsaska´xa, or inkŭwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikŭwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

171 231 171 The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon.

177 231 171 For the northern bands we have the following information. In the days when Andrew Tillson's father was in his prime, that is, about 1850, they got horses in the Blackfoot country by fighting. (His father died, an old man, at the time Andrew was born, eight or ten years, probably more, before the Nez Percé war of 1877.) They had no horses before his father was born. Margaret Sersepkin, a Northern Okanagon now about ninety-two, said that as long as she could remember her father had horses. This would set the date about 1840-50. (These may have been obtained from a Hudson Bay Company post, for even when she was a baby, he hunted for furs to trade with the company.) She accompanied her husband Sersepkin to the Blackfoot country with a train of thirty horses when seventeen or eighteen, i.e., about 1856. Andrew also mentioned seeing his first horse at Kettle Falls about 1874. At that time they (customarily ?) went to the Wallawalla district by canoe to get horses from Indians and whites. He also rode there at the time of the Nez Percé war (1877). This may mean only that horses came into general use in the eighteen-seventies. Andrew further stated that when he was fifteen, i.e., about 1880-85, Sersepkin and Kâwī'sâlâqin began raising horses in numbers on the Okanogan River.

177 231 On the lower Okanogan, Old Harry said he first saw horses when he was about ten, not before, that is, about 1850. (He was

177 about ninety in 1930.) They were brought from the lower Columbia River by the Nez
231 Percé. His mother also got some from the northeast. Mary Carden mentioned travelling with horses when she was sixteen, about 1870, but her people had horses at least half a dozen years earlier.

In the central district, Lucy Joe was living near the present town of Okanogan about 1875 when her father brought the first horses of the district from "Portland." (She is now about seventy and was a big girl then.) She stated that they had no horses before the earthquake of 1872 (?).

231 Young coyotes, foxes, and wolves were caught and kept as pets for a short time, but they were apt to chew their ropes and escape. Young bear and deer were also kept.

Eagles were kept by many families. They were always captured as fledglings and reared in cages (?). Some men laid claim to eyries and prevented others going there. Eagles would eat only raw meat, and starved to death if given any other foods alone. They grew a new set of feathers every two months; only the long tail feathers were taken as a rule.

Magpies were easy to keep: their wings and tails were clipped. They stayed right in camp. Crows and geese were also taken as pets.

more. They were afraid in those days.

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate. 159 221 857

Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets. [231]•

Next they went to kalī′t'aman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō′ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō′ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

p.109(B)

757 278 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

847 278 Abortion was called cxēntst; simple miscarriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sinful, the herbs used in procuring it were kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect.

● 231 278 Distemper in horses was treated by fumigation with certain roots.

CHARMS

778 789 832 824 Though trees were not classed as male or female, some plants had sex, determined from the shape of the roots, especially sunflower and the plant from which love medicine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted another's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or płax̌) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 825 Parents often disciplined their children by telling them that the owl (snēna') or the night-hawk (kwaōwīl) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

008 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501
and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter
were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow
canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in
some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They
appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia
no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481
like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241).
Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks
were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231
Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177
1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very
few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large
bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and
plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time
running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with
horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken
before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have
had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579
much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231
other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves. 177

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some
claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said
that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well
supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their
neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first
horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The
families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most
of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them
later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556
appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different
families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great
quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The
Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[189] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[190] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwazt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[189] Thompson, a, fig. 242; Lillooet, k, fig. 91.

[190] a, fig. 241.

[191] a, fig. 243.

[192] a, fig. 227.

177 231 492 d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokan. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokan, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

177 492 Horse Equipment.—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.[193] The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[194]

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[193] *l*, fig. 8.

[194] *l*, figs. 4, 20.

places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent. 224

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting. [231]

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting. 221

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century: 173

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox̣* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox̣* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place 224

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. 173
The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog 224
drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily 251
buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to
the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When 224
the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the 482
valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen.

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7] [231]●

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts 224
of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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[7] a, p. 245 fig. 227.

CARRYING.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads. 482 231 ●

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant. 481

HORSES.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the 231 492 [173]

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[2] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].
[3] a, p. 257, fig. 241.
[4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid
● 231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was
very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long
492 sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the
horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking
sticks) as they went along.

492 **Horse Equipment.**—The Indians soon learned to make saddles
and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from
the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the
plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from
place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and
packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were
178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great
impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermar-
492 riage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transporta-
tion of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long
distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 **Trading and Trade Routes.**—Before the arrival of the horse,
484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in
part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive
waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported
on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable
articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after
horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them.
It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering
through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the
other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading
trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to
distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips devel-
oped into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest
trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was
487 in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville.
Both were important trading points before as well as after the intro-
duction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okana-
gon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was
easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head
of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry
their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap
Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central
point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona,
and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems
to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went
overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen
River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

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Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

[For information on the introduction of the horse to the Plateau area in general, see 7: Teit, category 116, pp. 350-351.]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222
824
Qa'puχa (hazelnuts).
Sul'stic (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stᵋtsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'lcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sᴇnamoχstci'nᴇm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hoxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkᴇn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shul'ᴇna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241
*171
AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

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*171
HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237]
● [231]
Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

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*171
Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1836, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

501 long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other
[177] tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been
[363] adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it
501 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the
*171 Spokan, *Sɛmtĕ'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

[178]
[179]
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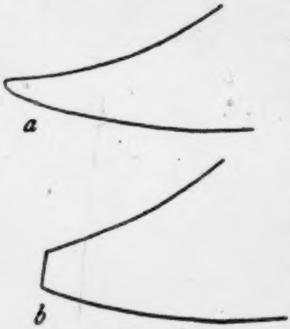

Figure 34.—Types of canoe bow. a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

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Dogs.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau
[262] and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made
[237] use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 Horses.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting. 000

I obtained the following information from Revais and others concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmtē'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tună'x̣e* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tună'x̣e* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tună'x̣e*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

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The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the

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● 231 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw
173 the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called
other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of
*171 the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs.
Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for
482 carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common
*171 method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflêches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflêches and secured by the same rope.
[177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type [1] similar to those of the Thomp-
[531] son, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] I, p. 12, fig. 8.

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together 171*
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding
positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 361
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231 ●
171*

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

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CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

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1. *Tcē'les keimi'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'ls keimi'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotilrä'tlxat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
531 three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew, forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The
shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

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Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

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Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iaks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[41]

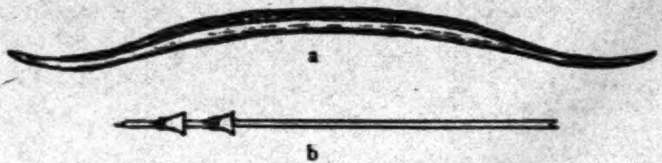

Fig. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[18]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

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411 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkʷ) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuxwa'xailpʷ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətai'lpʷ), was used in the manufacture of

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[18] See page 89.

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the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (pukhni'ip^{w}), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluq^{w} tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish. 050

The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

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Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow.

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[16] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'qᵘ on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (puspusani'ultan, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden [187] points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course.

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

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[16] Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skŭqŭlau´ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sI'ŭs, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

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252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open. 252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

● 237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes. 252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

854 [531] cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills.

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

411 Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] 1/^ The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] 1/^

237 322 411 The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

[321] Horn bows were known only by reference in tales.

000 Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew

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18 See Individual Life Cycle.

1/^ [For footnotes, see p. 53 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

283 [237] ● 411 Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled on the thigh by women. One end of the string formed a loose loop, the other was lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow was not in use the loop end was loosened and slipped down the bow. Great care had to be taken that the string be new and strong, for if it should break, the bow would snap from the tension of the sinew.

411 322 Arrows for hunting were about three and a half feet long, while war arrows were perhaps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was used for arrows, as the pliability of this wood when moist permitted easy straightening, and its stiffness and elasticity when dry made it admirable for shooting. A fairly straight piece of wood was selected, stripped of its bark and bent straight while heating it before a fire. The teeth were used as a vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench. Wrenches were also made of bone and horn. Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes arrows were straightened by weighting with flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing with a handful of service berry shavings or tough grass; never with a stone. Just below the nock the arrow was made thin to provide a better finger hold.

[237] It was feathered with three vanes of eagle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes were always parallel to the axis of the shaft. Each feather was split and the wider half discarded. The quill of the narrow and stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible, while being held between teeth and hand. The vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew from the back of a deer. One end of the chewed and shredded sinew was held in the teeth while the other was started around the arrow about three quarters of an inch below the nock, after pine pitch had been applied. The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft at one end under the sinew with the left hand while the arrow was rotated with the right, thus rolling the sinew around the shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had been wrapped on. The forward ends of the vanes were fastened in the same way. There were no grooves into which the quills were set; neither were they bound in the middle, but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211 were often decorated with paint to facilitate finding them in the bush and probably 531] also for identification.

411 531 Before the feathers were put on, a strip of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double spiral, about that portion of the shaft where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was smeared over this section and charcoal, red ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

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ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful [439]
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint
was mixed with water in the bowl of a moun-
tain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags
about four inches square. She named the fol-
lowing paints obtained from them: Enaqa′lsp-
EmEnū′laū, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red;
tū′l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rēōlaū', "yel-
low earth"; Enp'ōmūlaū', "brown earth."
Other clays obtained at Keller on the San-
poil River, "were not so pretty," since the
colors were duller. Here there was a dull
red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan
yellow, known by the names for light red and
yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ēIō′q'- 317
ētc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth,
since it was said also to have been applied
to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them
flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over
the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based
on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:

pItcqwI′ōcI′kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
ntla′pa′cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
ntqō[illegible]cElåq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
kēaqōsa′xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
nikōcwhēpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
kEłmixq!ō′tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:

nåq!ōtEqēōcEmIn, one span;
acI′ltEqēōcEmIn, two spans;
katEltEqēōcEmIn, three spans.

The stem, tEqēōcEmIn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:

nåkcqē′n'gst, one thumb broad;
acIlqē′nIgst, two thumbs broad.

p.69(B)

324 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A
412 heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a
bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing
237 bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other
blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with
324 flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 WORK IN BONE, WOOD, ANTLER.—Wedges for splitting wood
322 were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was
324 bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and
412 splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23-2[illegible]

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, [illegible]

[15] Field Museum 111957.

stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, 322
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for
incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone [17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 412
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of 386
them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *aäpl yu'tsaman* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *b*, pl. 6. No. 14.

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quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

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Skin Bags and Pouches.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[67]

[177]

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[67] c, fig. 36.

237 281 415 531 Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÊCHES.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflêches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflêches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

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sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflêches.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

[462]

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflêches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint.

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FLEXIBLE BASKETS.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[81] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these

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[81] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted
for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

251 343 417 Scaffolds.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes. [251]

251 322 343 Caches and Cellars.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

285 314 352 House Furnishings and Utensils.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. [513] If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. [237] For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 374
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415 Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. [484]
When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

ROBES.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281x
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160. [74] a, fig. 161. [75] a, pl. 18.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeûr d'Alêne

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used 281x
long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 294
came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other
bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. [314]
In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of
cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather 237
headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were 292
used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on 301
war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other

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eagles and of hawks and occasionally of flickers and other birds were fairly common. The headband itself generally consisted of a wide band of skin, often embroidered with designs in quill and bead work. Pendants of beaded strings, feathers, animals' tails, ermine skins, and twisted strips of otter and other fur-bearing animals were attached to the sides, and sometimes also to the backs, of many kinds of headbands. Some of the most common styles of headdresses were as follows:

1. Headband with a single eagle feather erect at the back.
2. Headband with two eagle feathers erect at the back.
3. Headband with a single eagle feather or two hawk's feathers erect at each side. This was considered a hunter's style, as among the Thompson.[100]
4. Headband with a single eagle feather erect in front.
5. Headband with two eagle feathers erect in front.
6. Headband with two eagle feathers in front slanting away from each other, or rarely having their butts crossed.[101] This was a shaman's style among the Thompson, but it seems it was not particularly so considered by the Coeur d'Alêne.
7. Headband set with eagle, hawk, or other feathers all round. The feathers were placed erect in some and slanting slightly backward in others. Each was attached independently and some distance from the next one.
8. Headband set with eagle feathers close together all round. They were placed erect and, like No. 7, attached separately. Sometimes they were made to slant slightly outward by use of a light hoop. Generally from 20 to 30 feathers were used. This style was called a "chief's bonnet" by many of the Thompson.[102]
9. Headband set with eagle feathers all round, erect, and so close together that they overlap. The butts only were attached to the lower part of the headband individually; the upper parts of the feathers were connected with a string so as to form a crown. This was the war bonnet or common headdress of the plains. It was claimed to be the best for windy weather and for riding. It became the common headdress after the advent of the horse, superseding entirely many of the others.
10. A feathered headband with streamers or feather "tails." The "tails" with feathers set horizontally were used only with No. 9. Those with pendent feathers, like a Thompson style,[103] were used with No. 8 and others. The tails were easily detachable, and in many cases merely an adjunct to the bonnet.
11. An eagle feather headband or bonnet with ermine skins pendent close together all round the sides and back. Ermine-skin ornamentation of this kind was used with bonnets like Nos. 6, 7, 8,

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[100] *a*, fig. 180.

[101] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 183, and Field Mus., 111767.

[102] Peabody Museum, No. 272.

[103] *a*, fig. 182.

237
292
301

and 9. Usually with the last named the ermine was put only at the sides.

12. A headband of twisted otter fur, about 2 inches wide, and often provided with from two to four long "tails" of the same animal.

Headbands like Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 very likely had some special significance, and probably were not used by everybody, but I did not clear up this point.

It seems that the headdress of the plains type became common after the Coeur d'Alêne became buffalo hunters. It appears to have been first copied from the Flathead tribes. Later some alterations of details took place from time to time through the influence of one tribe on another. In later days the Crow style was thought to be the handsomest and best, and all the tribes copied it. In still later days the Sioux style came into vogue, and many men of all the buffalo-hunting tribes copied it. It seems that the "tails" to bonnets with feathers laid horizontally (in pieces of skin or cloth) sticking out behind, or double, the feathers in the latter case sticking out to both sides, were adopted from eastern tribes. The thick ends of the quills were held in place by a thong which was passed up and down crosswise through a long piece of hide, so that a short stitch held down the butt end of the quill. A thin thread was also passed through the quills and they were often sewed down to the margin of the strip of skin. The feathers were attached either to one side or to both sides. "Tails" like these were generally used only on dress occasions and in dances.

Headdresses of animals' skins set with horns were common. Buffalo, antelope, 2-year-old buck deer, mountain ewe, etc., were used. The tips of the horns were sometimes pierced, and small tufts of hair of natural color or dyed were attached to them.[104] In later days red cloth, colored yarn, and ribbon were sometimes used. The sides of these headdresses, and sometimes also the backs, were set with fringes or pendants of skin, hair, strips of fur, feathers, or ermine skins. The last named were most frequently used, the entire skins being attached. Sometimes only the backs with the heads and tails were used, and sometimes the skins were twisted into strings. The long, twisted strips of otter, fisher, or other fur attached to some were wrapped here and there with fur of a different color, or with beaded strings, hair tassels, or feathers. Headdresses made of head skins of buffalo or grizzly bear were also used. The eyeholes were sometimes painted red or had a large bead set in each. Some headbands or caps made of the head skins of black-tailed deer, mule deer, white-tailed deer, and elk, were used by hunters. They retained the ears, which stood erect. Other caps were made of head skins of animals like coyote or wolf.[105] The animal's tail was some-

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[104] See Thompson specimen, Field Museum, 111956.

[105] See Thompson, a, fig. 178.

237 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed
292 and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of
301 large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé [107]
285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown
294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé [108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or
294 less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.

[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

[108] *b*, fig. 4.

[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were
made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] a, fig. 191.

[111] a, fig. 194.

[112] c, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] c, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] c, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] c, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] c, fig. 25 and p. 60.

[443] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
177 also common. White was the usual color for the background; light
blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

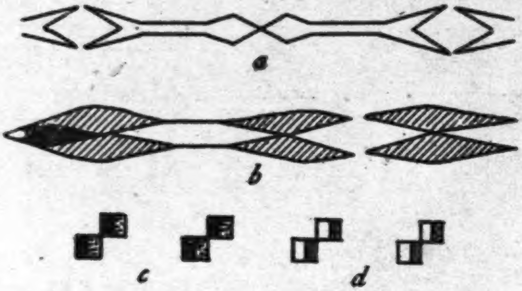

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

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[117] See Coeur d'Alêne bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alêne, No. 1.

[118] See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

301 321 325 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones.
237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 321 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the
[171] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the
[304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mᴇtsᴇmᴇtsĕ'ᴇlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 301 321 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length,
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 301
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened
around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to
the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young
men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat
differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132]
It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes
attached to the hair of men.

ARM RINGS.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of
dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were
held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered
skin have already been mentioned.

COMBS.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

TWEEZERS.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 412
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and
of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were
used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and
appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135]
In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the
oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

HAIRDRESSING.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least
20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

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Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'x̣we* (Thompson: *stse'x̣wc*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stststsemeqtsc'nɛm.*
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacɛm.*
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*x̣o'x̣lp.*
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pa'qoi.*
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sa'tc'ɛtct.*

The *Opuntia* (*sx̣u'wênâtc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

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TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

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Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

222 237 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 Preservation of Vegetal Foods, Cooking, Dishes.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mô'smen* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ämxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cak[illegible]

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.
[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.
[147] *a*, pp. 235-237.
[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alène

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxxʷ*,[d] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i'ˀt* was applied to them. 123 204

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcxnalxwᵉ* ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[122] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tclen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ätse'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[122] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

237 411 set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tcɛn* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

237 283 411 Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

411 524 Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

285 531 *171 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

286 *171 [237] WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

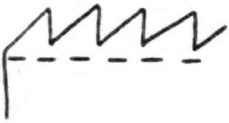

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 283 *171 294 237 *171 227 TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 *171 WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 415 314 BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

361 *171 [313] of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

342 *171 221 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, 342 *171 178 [592] [285] [237] and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent [484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north [531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 *171 314 [184] Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. 352 *171 Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. • [237] Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. [372] Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 281 Clothing (pls. 3,A4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. [184] Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. [184] Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 126, pattern No. 9 (p. 142); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 142, figs. 83, 85; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111660-111668.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 126, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and 291 other tribes. 171*

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of 531 clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and 291 by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk 171* teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially [178] supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on [237] men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes.

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[10] Id., pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111909.

buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

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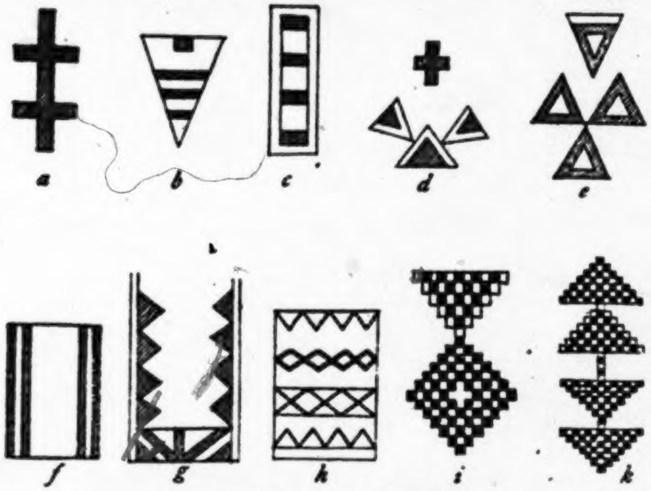

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

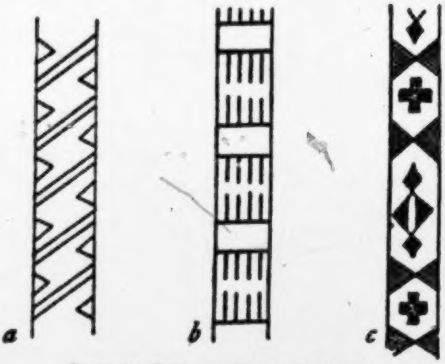

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

Personal Adornment.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally.

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[12] See Field Museum, 111690-111698, 111909, 111782, 111783.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qa'puχa* (hazelnuts).
824 *Sɛl'stic* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stetsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Mɛ'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'χwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sχnamoχstci'nɛm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hoχta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkɛn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shɛl'χna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

501 [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it 501 *171 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Szmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make [178] [177] → certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

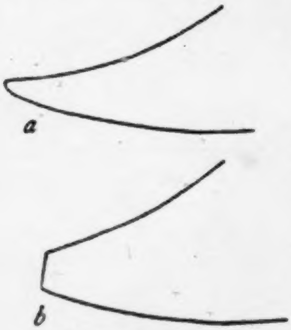

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow. a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171 → **Dogs.**—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the [262] [237] same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 **Horses.**—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.) 000

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the
Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of
the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan
country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse
at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla,
and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to
Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days
along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237] ●
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned.
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725]
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The
Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some
of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

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by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

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Food.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

Roots

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl	*sx̣a''ulutx̣wa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ëtx̣wa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *e'lx̣wa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'it'ɛm.*

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[141] See p. 192.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[416] 177 221 Furthermore, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe, [621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 241 621 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[illegible] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were 157 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like 622 qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[illegible] a, p. 2[illegible].

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qe'puẕa* (hazelnuts).
824 *Sɛt'stc* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stɛtsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Mɛ'lctc (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sɴamoɣstci'nɛm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Haxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkɛn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shɛt'ɛna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

• 241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[1]

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[1] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1836, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

221 226 462 776 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 462 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 85 776 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsa'tsa'ttα'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kət', "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. 796 There was one welcome break in the monotony of the season. 221 The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

285 [illegible] 342 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 351 352 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 352 354 591 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 342 422 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 768 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It
was called ta'"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 482
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven.
The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or
nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in
width. It was called npultəma'xun. Small square bags for holding household
articles and trinkets were termed ntutumasti'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth
than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [137]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of
a bush called ququpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark,
qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a
short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized
and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloqəlke'n) were utilised extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285
raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313
be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk.
The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314
was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251
U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log 285
a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about
four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 314
to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the 415
midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large num- 285
bers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314
above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots,
the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrap- 415
ping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and
slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqa'istən). Indian hemp was [132]
used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches.
The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [331]
sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

FISHING

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Throughout the year fish was relied upon as the principal article of sustenance by the Sanpoil, as well as other peoples along the Columbia river. Salmon, *Oncorhynchus*, (ənasi'ulkʷ), and steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, (xumi'nə'), were caught in large numbers each summer, a portion to be used as fresh food at the time but the greater percentage to be dried and stored for winter consumption. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia;[1] enormous numbers of these fish ascend the river each year for the purpose of spawning. Of the five species of salmon which frequent the Columbia and its tributaries all but one reach the portion of the river which flows through the Sanpoil country. These are the chinook or king salmon, *O. tschawytscha*, (ənti·'tix), the silver or white salmon, *O. kisutch*, (stsuwɪ'n), the humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, and the dog or chum salmon, *O. keta*, (ki'su'). The fifth species, the sockeye or blueback salmon, *O. nerka*, is seldom found farther upstream than the mouth of the Okanogan river, which is below Sanpoil territory.

Salmon is present in the middle Columbia from May until November. Some are still to be found even later in the winter, but the flesh is hardly edible, due to deterioration after spawning. Steelhead trout run from early March until July.[2] The steelheads found in this area vary from ten to fifteen pounds in weight and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following the steelheads is the summer or chinook run of salmon, occurring during May, June and July.[3] The chinook is the largest of the salmon; those found in the Columbia average twenty-two pounds in weight but occasionally a single fish weighs as much as a hundred pounds.[4] In the fall a double run occurs, bringing the silver and dog salmons. These species appear during the latter part of August or early in September and continue to run through November. The flesh of both remains edible throughout this period. Neither variety is large in size, the average weight for each being about six pounds. The humpback salmon, although found in this region, is present only in negligible quantities.

Varieties of fish other than salmon and steelhead were not overlooked although economically they were of minor importance. Among these were sturgeon, lamprey eel, whitefish, suckers, chub fish, and mountain, speckled and bull trout. Chub fish, *Semotilus* sp. (?), were caught principally during May; they ranged about ten or twelve inches in length. Two varieties of suckers, *Catostomus* sp., were obtained, known as black suckers and yellow suckers. The former were present in the river from April until fall; the latter did not appear until May. After June, however, neither kind was considered edible. Eels were taken during the second half of the year, but were not considered desirable food. Whitefish, *Mylocheilus caurinus*

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[1] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, page 25.

[2] This was the statement of my informants. Cobb says, in speaking of the steelhead, "In the Columbia River the spawning season is from February to May......," (*ibid.*, page 11).

[3] Two other runs of the chinook species enter the Columbia, one preceding the May run, and one following it, but in both cases the fish spawn in the lower tributaries of the river, seldom reaching the middle course (*ibid.*, page 8).

[4] *Ibid.*, page 7.

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[221] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[4] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke'təm). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June. 226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavate[illegible] a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[4] See pages 34-35.

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Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npui'lux^w, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and dried the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

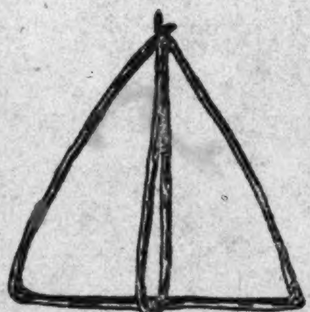

FIG. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

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The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

251 was never made of pine wood, but rather of cottonwood, willow, birch or cedar. If pine had been used soot would have accumulated on the salmon and the flavor would have been undesirably affected.

Not only salmon was dried, but fish of any species and eels were sometimes so preserved. However, no other fish but salmon was ever dried in any considerable quantity.

Each family dried its own fish.

251 348 Salmon was stored as soon as it was taken from the drying racks. The heads and flanks were placed in separate storage bags, usually made of tule,[22] which were of a standard size, about twenty by thirty-six inches. Sometimes the bags were lined, and layers of fish separated, with dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus* L.), to keep maggots away. When filled the bags were closed by sewing. The average weight of a well filled bag was approximately a hundred pounds. Salmon roe was wrapped in salmon skins which were then sewed up, and stored on elevated platforms. The roe decayed somewhat with time but in such a state it was considered more desirable food. Salmon oil was not stored in skins.

Both storage houses and elevated storage platforms (stxala'ks) were used. The former were ordinarily situated on islands in the Columbia; the latter were erected at the sites of the winter camps. The houses consisted of four walls made of logs laid horizontally one upon the other and secured in place by vertical posts sunk in the ground. The inside of the enclosure was lined with tule mats. The bags were deposited within the enclosure, then covered over with planks or poles on top of which stones were piled.

Elevated platforms for storage were supported by four posts sunk in the ground, one at each corner. The planks or poles forming the platform itself rested upon transverse poles extending between the supporting posts. The platforms were high enough to walk under. Around each of the four posts, at a height of four or five feet, were tied several prickly pears (*Opuntia polyacatha* Haw.) to keep mice and other small climbing animals from reaching the food. When bags of food were stored on elevated platforms they were covered with large tule mats. The snow which always accumulated added a further protective covering. Not only dried salmon, but other preserved foods such as meat, berries and roots, were stored on the platforms and in the storage houses.

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[22] Or, later, parfleches. For a description of the storage bags and parfleches, see pages 37, 93-94.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This
281 made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

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251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

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888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

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415 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[a] 177 281 415 531

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs. 251

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called sınlauq̣u', "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement. 281

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

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[a] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration, passim.*

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221 in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222 short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462 year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming 621 from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222 was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited 481 day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624 gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222 This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412 of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222 where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482 emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222 been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251 future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222 made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of trans- 482 porting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

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be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

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1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'łps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nłakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'χukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'tχwa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tləm). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwɪla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'łpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (ṗuli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi· This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smɪtsuná'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potáto, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̇waq̇wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'iukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

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16. txaia'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (siake'ɬpᵘ). The berries (skukasa'ɬaq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'ɬpᵘ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'ɬpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣ia'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqᵘ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun.

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (səá'p̓t'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly.

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23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kᵘ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (t̓əqe'mtəqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sədγsi'lpᵘ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpuləkəni'lmulxᵘ, "wide leaved plant"; pȧ'lpuləkən, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mɪtca'kᵘ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la·'la'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stəkətcuxwi'lpᵘ, the tree; sti'ktcᵘ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saχasilkəlmɪ'lxᵘ, "good bush"; səχa'slukᵘ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yəγkə'lpᵘ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (sxu·'səm, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

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34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (ənti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takn). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'nȧ, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkȧ' p^{ə}, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Petasites speciosa*, (χoχti'lp^{ə}, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus poderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulp^{ə}). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

42 Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxlowi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[3] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137
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43 suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44 Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵘ). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45 Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (q̣e'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46 Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkä'lpᵘ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47 Pine Lichen (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48 Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49 Woolly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti''wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. [272]

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[3] [illegible] page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sástəm, "spear wiping plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in the same manner as the preceding one. 197 272 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 257 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[3] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[3] See page 76

252 323 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 271 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

221 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for deer were held in the fall..... In the spring roots were dug, and the people return-
262 ed about June to the streams and speared salmon.... In July began the season of digging
361 fresh camas, which continued indefinitely until a sufficient supply had been accumulated. After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

• [251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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[1] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
[2] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 248
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
[4] Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic. [825]

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 71.

251 417 a foot apart, on which were laid the pieces of salmon. The other type of rack was square, twenty feet on a side, often employing trees for corner posts. In both cases, the sticks bearing the flesh had to be set in place with the aid of forked sticks, for the rack had to be seven and a half to eight feet high in order to prevent animals from stealing the meat. Bits of bush might be placed over it to keep off the sun, and a small fire of dry willow or alder wood, which was not pitchy, kept going underneath if the weather were moist, if the flies were bad, or if the people were in a hurry to move on. Generally it took about two days and nights to dry the salmon, but it was watched carefully so as to be dried the optimum amount, more being constantly set up wherever there was room. The dried fish was stored in sacks of hemp or tule, about as large as burlap bags, placed in arbors and later in caches.

Dried salmon would last only one year: it became wormy after that.

If taken in winter the fish (mostly silver salmon) were hung in the eaves of the house. If they were caught too quickly for this they were allowed to freeze. They could not then be dried and stored, but had to be eaten fairly soon, and they had practically no taste. The dog salmon which was picked up dead was treated similarly.

252 Small amounts of salmon pemmican were prepared by pounding the dry flesh on flat rocks with large pestle-shaped stones or mauls. Tule mats would be spread out next to the rocks to catch the crumbs. No berries or roots were mixed in, but oil was added, which helped to seal the fish from the air.

Fresh salmon was cooked only by roasting: dry salmon might be roasted or boiled. Roasting consisted of placing the flesh near a glowing fire, usually with a splint of wood run through it for support, and if it were fresh and juicy, with a receptacle underneath to catch the dripping oil. Boiling was accomplished always by use of hot stones in buckets, usually of bark. The stones were moved with fresh green sticks. Fish which had been smoked could not be roasted but had to be boiled, whereas fish dried in the wind could be roasted.

Methods of preparing salmon heads were cited by Mary Garden as follows. (1) The head might be roasted to keep for several days. Having been cut off back of the gills and slit from mouth to throat, the flesh inside was cut into strips, and a stick pushed through the whole transversely to hold it flat. This was set on a spit beside the fire and turned from time to time. (2) To dry the head for storage, it was cut and skewered as above, and hung to dry. (3) Sometimes these were boiled for immediate consumption. Eyes were always eaten, but not uncooked.

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long trips were made for such fishing. Suckers 252 were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying, but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū'ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the roe, which was dried for winter use or smashed 251 up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or platforms. [462] This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usually only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

226 First fruits ceremonies were observed for suckers. The first nights' catch was 796 roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

p. 18 (B)

Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. 224
They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, 782
not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick."

PREPARATION OF DEER

When a deer was killed in the woods, it 224
was carried to camp if possible. To do this
a slit was made between the bone and the 482
tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck.

If too many deer had been killed to be 224
carried to camp, which was frequent, they
were skinned in the woods. The head and the 251
four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in [482]
the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces."

In preparing the deer in either case 224
the blood was always saved, for the Indians
tried never to waste any of the edible parts 251
of any animal, even in times of plenty. To
do this the intestine was taken out as soon 262
as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all

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11 Teit, Thompson Indians, 248.

p. 21 (A)

the blood possible, and this was all poured 224 in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by warriors, if they had the power of a deer- 251 killing animal, but more frequently service berries were cooked in it, or it was added 262 to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer time, even though it clabbered in the heat. The intestine was hung up near camp until all the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the 251 hills the meat would be dried there, at any time of the year. It would then be lighter to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the [462] deer while women cut the meat into slabs, several inches square and three-sixteenths of an inch thick. If there was much meat, a [417] structure similar to the salmon rack would be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed 251 at permanent camps (sEnxaówI'ltseten). These 417 had four uprights, were five to six feet long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

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251 417 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 262 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 784 825 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had [783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

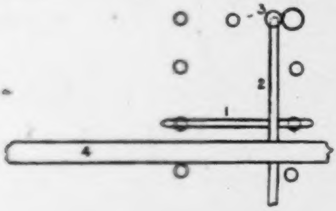

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 [624]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stəmi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [585] 825

252 wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. [774 825]

231 262 Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food.

262 224 136 No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13]

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

222 824 In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year.

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

222 251 ● 824 The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage,

1 [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[13] For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1

[14] Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.

[15] Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1

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or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for summer consumption. 222

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Today the fresh berries are boiled and eaten with sugar, though in the old days they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. 222 Dried berries were never cooked alone; usually they were mixed with bitter-root and 252 boiled, often also with salmon, which was separated when served and placed on mats. A 824 special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never mashed. The dried berries were sweet and thus very desirable for mixing with the many bitter foods.

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō'sum, 222 were gathered the last part of June and the first of July. They were dried two or three 251 days on tule mats, then sacked and stored, but were sometimes used fresh. They were prepared by first being soaked in hot water half 252 an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft, then stirred vigorously with the foam berry 824 mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root basket, until they foamed up like the whites of eggs. Dried service berries might be added for sweetening before soaking, the berries being very bitter. Grease will prevent the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, prepared in the evening when friends call, and eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berries were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanI'q or swà'enI'k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (χaχ'χa'I'I) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka'lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stI'q'-tsū), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

222 251 252 824 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in these containers, handfuls were spread on a rock to dry. After several days they were stored in tule sacks for winter use. They were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (łaza), (9) strawberries (tq!ëmtqEm), and (10) thimble berries (palpŭ´lEqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skŭlī´s) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spī´tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexöRI´pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa´I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[4-62] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

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en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIū´p·^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

[342] (15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxūlō´sa, white round camas at Waterville; I´t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka´ūōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

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(16) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else.

(17) A root (stákcI'n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmdrata), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called cûl'x^{u} (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklō'kûm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden).

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (poaI′k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūI′x^{u}), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with sEma′rata, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (toōkōlō′sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsI′n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō′wI) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flames had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

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(25) A root (^{t}sIms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

A root (xEnasta'tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsI'xwI) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsI'xwI'^{tn}. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamÛ'n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qûaqûaqÛnI'lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mI'ktÛ) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mÛ'qÛak'n.) The women used a beater (klepta'n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

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[1] [See figure 24 on p. 58(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and 222 perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not •251 even moistened, and was regarded as a delicacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

252 824 (30) Choke cherries (tlŏxtla′$x^{\breve{u}}$) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers. They might be treated like service berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwall′p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use.* It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aŭ′q!ŭ) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks put in the bottom, and on this was laid two inches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

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* [For footnote, see p. 28 (c), category 116. --Analyst]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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16 The process among the Okanagon was described by one of the Wilkes party in 1841 (Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 434) – L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 28 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. They were not pounded or stored, but used as a titbit while they lasted. 252 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pI´tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi´Ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[17]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokōI´na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River. 261 [796] 226

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wi´tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.
18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[1]

STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251 417 The arbors (kōōka'os) might be built anew or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251 415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

171 The account of Teit differs essentially:

251 "The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251 415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

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[19] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 234.

P. 31 (A)

251 415 before winter, were preferably kept in buckets of cottonwood bark which were cached. These were made in two pieces: a round bottom piece and a cylindrical wall sewn up with a single seam. The bark was cut very thick (one to one and a half inches) so that no supports were needed. It could be peeled off the trees with comparative ease in June, when the sap is plentiful. A cover was woven of tall "horse-tail grass" (qEtsö's). Leaves and rocks were laid on this cover. These baskets were made in the same manner as those of birch bark (see Material Culture).

[417]

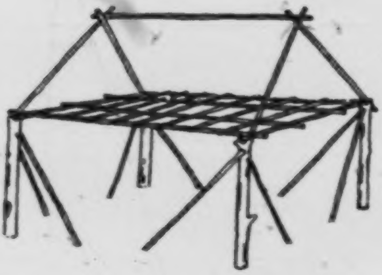

Fig. 2. Frame of storage arbor.

Storage barrels, or rather tubs, of wood were reported by one informant, Suszen. Lucy Joe, who was exceptionally well-informed, had never heard of them. These varied in height from one to three or four feet, and the diameter from nine inches to three feet. Any kind of wood was used which was free from knots, preferably cottonwood and least preferably pine, because of its pitch which flavors the food. A cylindrical section was dried for a month or so, then the inside burned out by placing coals in it and scraping out the charcoal and partly burned wood with a stone adz. This operation limited the size to four feet, for it would be difficult to manage the fire any deeper. To determine the wall's thickness, they were thumped; no holes were bored. The cover was always of wood, overlapping the rim and fitting tightly, or the gaps stuffed.

A hide might be thrown over it, held down by rocks. These barrels were never decorated. They were used for all foods intended to be kept over a month: if for a shorter time, baskets or sacks were used. Only one food was placed in each barrel, lest the tastes mix. Their special advantage over baskets and sacks lay in that insects and rodents could less easily get at the food.

251 As winter came on the supplies were removed from the arbors to rock shelters or pits, usually nearer the winter villages. The pits (ŭlakI'n't) were from six to sixteen

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qöqanī´ɬhᵘ, "cracked hilltop."

251 262 342 352 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (xalī´na) built one on each side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

[For context of footnotes, see p. 32(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

252 262 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow. 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

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p.32(A)

[20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.

[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.

342 285 of horizontal ribs, so that tge space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

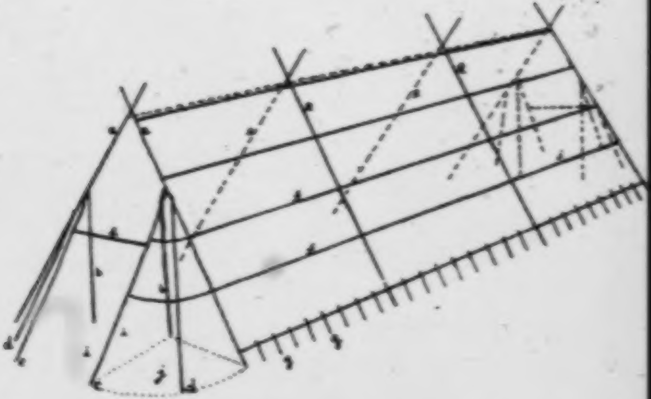

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

[55] Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3). In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

342 592 Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

314 415 able and the seed. Few were over two feet high. Such buckets were used for fetching water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 ●251 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the like were used for storing berries, etc., and were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 415 Vessels of clay, such as were made by the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 [832] Flageolets were used principally in courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and preparing 252
it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47] 411
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Sal[illegible]n**
Columbia
Wenatchi

quantities of salmon, which were dried in the wind. Some oil was put up in fish-skin bottles or bags. Salmon pemmican was often put up in special woven rush sacks, and in others like those sometimes used for berries.[48] Some say a special kind of rush bag was used for salmon pemmican, but I did not obtain a detailed description. Cured salmon and other foods were cached in the ordinary pits or cellars, which were lined with grass or bark. Usually certain cellars were used solely for fish; while, roots, and the like, were stored in others. 226 251 ●

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[48] A specimen of such a bag is in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, No. VI.M.80.

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent 251
lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343
keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered
with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against 417
the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching
skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for
drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251]
camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other
tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251
in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322
used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat,
roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping 343
outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms
built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower
limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of
poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were
not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were
used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant.
Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among 285
other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where
people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 314
rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to 352
some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to
cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine
boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts
one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials
were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed
mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often
blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of
bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains
or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged
on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins,
bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth
down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed
on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests.
Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513]
a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire.
If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire.
Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room.
Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or
sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials.
Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237]
as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose. No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves, consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

222 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used,
237 as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrap-
314 ers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying
412 string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mó'smxn* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ämxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

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[145] See Kamloops, *b*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235-237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

252 **Preservation of Animal Foods, Cooking.**—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. 251 Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,[152] and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men [484] having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. 251 This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way.

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[152] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 2.

Sᴇᴀsᴏɴs.—The Coeur d'Alêne recognize five seasons—spring 221 (*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsaq*), late fall 805 (*stc'e'ᴇd*), winter (*sitsitk*^{w}).

Months and seasonal employments.—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *stc'e'ᴇd* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *sqwa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'ĕqwe'panᴇ* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stcᴇnā''rᴇmᴇn*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winds blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *.skwaxkwaxhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yaltsk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *sᴇla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa''aq*^{w} ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

224 A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back ~~again~~, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

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"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343 boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir 342 was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352 skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use. In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes 342 had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling. Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of the whites.

SWEAT HOUSES.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343 as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings were earth-covered.[9]

CELLARS.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—Household utensils consisted principally 415 of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352 materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo, sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251 methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and water were in no way different from those which obtained among the Thompson.

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[9] See Thompson, e, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

415 It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many
●251 spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 281 **Dress.**—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common

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[11] See Ottawa collection, Nos. 135, 137.

[12] See Thompson, c, p. 204, fig. 150.

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. 126, a juniper-bark spoon.

222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 411 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] 6, p. 242, fig. 222.

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. 173
The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog 224
drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily 251●
buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to 224
the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When
the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the 482
valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen. [201]

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts 224
of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which mi[illegible] come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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[7] a, p. 248 fig. 227

415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
178 generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
*171 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[222] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing
[412] to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to
buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
178 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
*171 with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[415] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather
[407] the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in
a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other
Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

221 796 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones [860] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were [855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 512 252 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning 512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

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Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

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The temporary mat hut (sapı'a'ïlᵉ) was utilized during the summer while moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

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At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat houses, (sıntouuqwı'łtan, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures. These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish.

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This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsɑtsa'pax^{u}), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xlakat'cɑ'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [352] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This
281 made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of
251 willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and
[825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and
888 kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps
251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently,
415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

222 251 482 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 222 251 252 262 1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'lps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'χukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my 137
informant. It was a root of the shape of i'tχwa, but about half the size;
gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tləm). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root 251
two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The 252
flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in 262
equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass.
The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness
which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities.

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwɩla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'łpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (ṗuli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'ṇəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smɩtsuná'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potáto, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̇waq̇wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'iukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

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16. tx̣aia'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa·'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (siake'łpʷ). The berries (sk̓ukasa'laq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'łpʷ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'łpʷ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣la'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

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21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqʷ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun.

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (saa'p̓t'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly.

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (t̓əqe'mt̓əqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sədγsi'lpʷ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpulakəni'lmulxʷ, "wide leaved plant"; pá'lpulakən, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mıtca'kʷ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la·'lə'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stıkətcuxwi'lpʷ, the tree; sti'ktcʷ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saqasikelmı'lxʷ, "good bush"; saxa'slukʷ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yeγki'lpʷ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (sp̣u·'sam, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

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34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (anti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takn). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'ná, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkà' pᵘ, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Pedasites speciosa*, (x̣oẋti'lpᵘ, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus poderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵘ). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

42 Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xlowi'lp^{u}, "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[2] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137 222 237 252 262

43 suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44 Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulp^{u}). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45 Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (qe'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46 Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkà'lp^{u}, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47 Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48 Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49 [illegible] Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti"wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. [272]

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[2] See page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (əp'kanu'sástəm, "spear wiping plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in the same manner as the preceding one. 137 [272] 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 257 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[3] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[3] See page 76

FOOD PREPARATION

252/262 To the notes on the preparation of food products for consumption included with the preceding descriptions, certain other details and some generalizations may be added. Cooking methods included boiling, pit roasting, ordinary roasting, steaming and parching. Meat and fish were prepared either by boiling or by roasting before an open fire. The former method was by far the more common. Dried salmon or meat was boiled to restore the lost moisture, even though it were to be roasted later. Pit roasting was reserved for the preparation of fresh vegetable products or vegetables mixed with fruits, and possibly for bear meat. If food cooked in the pit were to be used immediately no further treatment was necessary; if first dried it could not then be used until boiled. Another method of cooking fresh vegetables for immediate use was steaming, already described.[1] Seeds alone were parched, and since there was only one seed of importance used, that of the sunflower, this was the least important of cookery methods.

Cedar root coiled baskets of elliptical shape (xləkət'cı'n)[2] were used for boiling food. Stone vessels or pottery were never so utilized. The water in which the food was to be placed was caused to boil by adding stones heated in the camp fire. Water-worn round boulders were used for this purpose. They were removed from the fire to the water with wooden tongs. Most boiled foods were of the consistency of a stew, or often as thin as soup. Macerated berries or roots were often added to dried fish which was being boiled. Dried vegetable cakes were immersed in broth of meat or salmon until softened.

Pit roasting was a method of "fireless" cooking. A pit about three feet in diameter and two or three feet deep was excavated. In the bottom were placed heated rocks. These were covered with a layer of bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn, var. *pubescens* Underw., (tsuqtsuqma·'lpᵉ, "cedar plant"), which had been immersed in water. Next the food was placed in the pit and covered with another layer of wet bracken. Then the removed earth was piled over the pit and sometimes a fire was built on top. The food was allowed to remain in the earth oven for one to three days before being removed. Water was never poured into the pit. Often two or three women cooked in the same oven, in which case each wrapped her food separately in ferns. Camas which had been cooked in the earth oven was prepared for storage by mashing in a wooden mortar, forming into cakes or balls and drying.

Salmon and fresh meat were often roasted by holding over the open fire on long sticks. The sticks were sometimes stuck in the ground at an angle. Pine lichen was moistened and covered with hot ashes to cook it quickly. Turtles were also cooked in the coals of the camp fire, being placed there on their backs, alive.

Pemmican was made in various fashions, some of which have been already mentioned. Pounded service berries, pounded dried venison and deer tallow were kneaded together to make one of the popular varieties. Pulverized dried salmon

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[1] Page 99.
[2] See pages 35-3

252 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with
262 fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from
271 streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

251 417 a foot apart, on which were laid the pieces of salmon. The other type of rack was square, twenty feet on a side, often employing trees for corner posts. In both cases, the sticks bearing the flesh had to be set in place with the aid of forked sticks, for the rack had to be seven and a half to eight feet high in order to prevent animals from stealing the meat. Bits of bush might be placed over it to keep off the sun, and a small fire of dry willow or alder wood, which was not pitchy, kept going underneath if the weather were moist, if the flies were bad, or if the people were in a hurry to move on. Generally it took about two days and nights to dry the salmon, but it was watched carefully so as to be dried the optimum amount, more being constantly set up wherever there was room. The dried fish was stored in sacks of hemp or tule, about as large as burlap bags, placed in arbors and later in caches.

Dried salmon would last only one year: it became wormy after that.

If taken in winter the fish (mostly silver salmon) were hung in the eaves of the house. If they were caught too quickly for this they were allowed to freeze. They could not then be dried and stored, but had to be eaten fairly soon, and they had practically no taste. The dog salmon which was picked up dead was treated similarly.

252 Small amounts of salmon pemmican were prepared by pounding the dry flesh on flat rocks with large pestle-shaped stones or mauls. Tule mats would be spread out next to the rocks to catch the crumbs. No berries or roots were mixed in, but oil was added, which helped to seal the fish from the air.

Fresh salmon was cooked only by roasting: dry salmon might be roasted or boiled. Roasting consisted of placing the flesh near a glowing fire, usually with a splint of wood run through it for support, and if it were fresh and juicy, with a receptacle underneath to catch the dripping oil. Boiling was accomplished always by use of hot stones in buckets, usually of bark. The stones were moved with fresh green sticks. Fish which had been smoked could not be roasted but had to be boiled, whereas fish dried in the wind could be roasted.

Methods of preparing salmon heads were cited by Mary Carden as follows. (1) The head might be roasted to keep for several days. Having been cut off back of the gills and slit from mouth to throat, the flesh inside was cut into strips, and a stick pushed through the whole transversely to hold it flat. This was set on a spit beside the fire and turned from time to time. (2) To dry the head for storage, it was cut and skewered as above, and hung to dry. (3) Sometimes these were boiled for immediate consumption. Eyes were always eaten, but not uncooked.

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

226 796 [482] [622] First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on during the first four days each year that fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was to keep the fish at the river shore until daybreak (the first ones usually having been taken at night), and then carry them up on poles, actually spear poles, which were thrust into the gills and out through the mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders. They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves to await butchering. The butcher is chosen by the head man as one skilled in the work and deserving the distinction. He frequently does it himself.

226 796 252 788 Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. A transverse cut is made into the ventral side at the base of the mandible, where the gill slits are closest together, and another transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to the backbone. The head of the fish is then bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 15 (A)

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The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 • 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. [521] Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listener: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū´ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai´wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long trips were made for such fishing. Suckers
252 were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying, but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū'ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the roe, which was dried for winter use or smash-
251 ed up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or plat-
[462] forms. This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usuably only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

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796 First fruits ceremonies were observed for suckers. The first nights' catch was roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

251 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking 417 the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, 262 the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai´ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

● 252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. 784 During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were 825 dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had [783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

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224 in its fur so that it could be pulled out. Women might tie a thong to the end of the digging stick and drag the ground hog out when he bit on the thong.

Ground squirrels (skŭqŭlau'ta) were hunted by boys with bows and arrows, and by older people for sport when there was nothing else to do. They were not trapped, but occasionally they were forced out of their holes by pouring in water, and killed with sticks. Men or women would burn off the fur, clean them, and roast them on spits. Mary Carden mentioned a similar hunting procedure and mode of preparation for a rodent called p'sI"us, perhaps the same.

223 Ducks and geese were taken in the spring when they were moulting, by simply wading through the swamps, throwing stones at the stragglers and occasionally shooting them. Large parties of people might round up whole flocks, killing adults and young birds together. They were roasted on sticks and kept for only a few days. During the fall migration they might occasionally be stalked, but the birds were hard to hit and cost too many arrows, since the Indians preferred losing one to getting wet in recovering it.

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252 Large quantities of eggs were collected by small children and older girls. They were cooked by building a fire in a hole, taking the embers out and pouring in enough water to extinguish the coals, then putting in the eggs and covering them with earth. It took fifteen or twenty minutes. No stones were used. Most of these were eaten while hot: they were kept only two or three days. Eggs were never eaten raw.

223 Other birds were taken: grouse of several varieties, magpies, prairie chickens, robins, even crows. They used string snares, bows and arrows, and the sling mentioned above: mostly the work of boys. The fool hens (Franklin grouse) and prairie chickens were caught only (?) by women, who hung a noose of Indian hemp from a stick directly in front of the bird. It would put its head into the noose, and was killed by crushing or cutting off the head. Similar nooses were set in the sagebrush at the level of the birds' heads, or fastened to stakes and propped open.
252 Birds were roasted or boiled; the livers, hearts and gizzards were used, but not the kidneys. The heads might be boiled for soup, with the brains in place. Fool hens heads were eaten by pregnant women to make the child "good." Fledglings were also taken from the nest to be roasted. Birds were not baked in clay.

237 Long feathers were used for arrows, particularly grouse feathers, and the down used for stuffing. The wings of large birds served as brushes.
252 Birds were butchered in a stereotyped manner. After being plucked, both breasts were cut off, including the

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. 252 ● Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the [774 animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of 825] the meat would do this.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. 231 They were never selected and fattened deliberately, 262 though the French traders used to buy them for food.

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. 262 Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. 224 No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to 222 gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. 824 One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year.

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending 222 on the weather and the degree of ripeness 251 of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the 824 ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage,

[For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the

14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.

15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of

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or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for summer consumption. 222

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Today the fresh berries are boiled and eaten with sugar, though in the old days they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. 222 Dried berries were never cooked alone: usually they were mixed with bitter-root and 252 ● boiled, often also with salmon, which was separated when served and placed on mats. 824 A special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never mashed. The dried berries were sweet and thus very desirable for mixing with the many bitter foods.

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō′sem, 222 were gathered the last part of June and the first of July. They were dried two or three 251 days on tule mats, then sacked and stored, but were sometimes used fresh. They were prepared by first being soaked in hot water half 252 an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft, then stirred vigorously with the foam berry 824 mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root basket, until they foamed up like the whites of eggs. Dried service berries might be added for sweetening before soaking, the berries being very bitter. Grease will prevent the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, prepared in the evening when friends call, and eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berries were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanI′q or swá'enI′k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (xax'xa′I'I) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka′lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stI′q'tsū), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

222 251 252 824 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in these containers, handfuls were spread on a rock to dry. After several days they were stored in tule sacks for winter use. They were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (łata), (9) strawberries (tq!ĕmtqEm), and (10) thimble berries (palpŬ´lEqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skŬlI´s) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spI´tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexōRI´pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa´I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[462] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

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en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIū′p·^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

(15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this [342] trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxūllō′sa, white round camas at Waterville; I′t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka′ūōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

(16) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else.

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(17) A root (stákcI'n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmśrata), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called cūI'xᵘ (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklō'kūm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden).

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (poaI′k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūI′x^{u}), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with sEma′rata, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (toōkōlō′sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsI′n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō′wI) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flemes had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

p.27(B)

222 251 252 ●824 (25) A root (^{t}sIms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

A root (xEnasta´tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsI´xwI) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsI´xwI'^{tn}. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamû´n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qûaqûaqûnI´lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mI´ktû) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mû´qûâk'n.) The women used a beater (klepta´n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

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[1] [See figure 24 on p. 58 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not even moistened, and was regarded as a delicacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

(30) Choke cherries (tlöxtla′x^{û}) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers. They might be treated like service berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwalī′p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use."[1] It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aû′q!û) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks put in the bottom, and on this was laid two inches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

[1] [For footnote, see p. 28 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 28 (B)

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts 222
were left in the sun for the rest of the day
and stored for winter in tule sacks. 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they 252
were gathered from the fallen cones. They
were not pounded or stored, but used as a tit-
bit while they lasted. 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kia panter and (34) pI′tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi′Ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.″

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in 261
winter, or when they had neglected gathering
because of preoccupation with the Dream
dance, the people used other sources, accord- [796]
ing to their proximity. Mussels (skokōI′na)
were of first importance. Large beds of
these were found in the Okanogan River every 226
three or four miles, of which the two best
known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek
and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is
three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River.

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI′tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 For medical plants, see the section on religion.
18 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 236-39.1

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qôqanī´łhᵘ, "cracked hilltop."

251 262 342 352 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (x̣alī´na) built one on each side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

[1][For context of footnotes, see p. 32(B), category 116. --Analyst]

•252 262 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow. 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

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p. 32(4) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.[1]
[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.[1]

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

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796 First f-uit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot." 1/A The ceremony was called cqEpō'mnsimm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would toe; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skūm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

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796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SūlpEqē n after a dream." 1/A His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

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796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

1/A [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

● 252 A piece of dried cedar wood, about
twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end
412 for half its length, served as food stirrer
when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

Brooms were made by tying the stems of
412 several branches together, such as white
sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird
356 (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush
clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-
size, and were heated on a crib of sticks
354 which was fired from below.

Sticks for handling hot coals, stones,
and the like were made of a hard, relatively
noninflammable wood, such as dogwood. A pair
were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their
[531] round handles being about three quarters of
an inch through. The handle was decorated
with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.

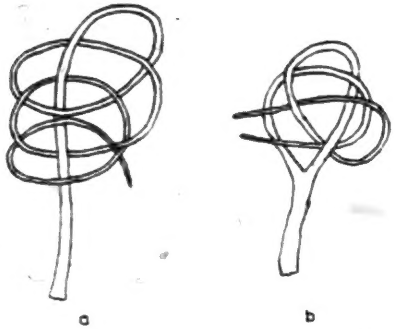

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulne, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

over the rim from the inside, and pierces 285
(from the outside) the stitch that has been
skipped. The elements of the foundation bun- 415
dle are cut off one by one at the rim so
that the foundation coil tapers to an end
and the edge of the basket is even.

Imbrication was the only mode of decor- 171
ation. This was done with a kind of grass
called slEkö´stIa, which was picked in the 415
Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This 285
was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. Ac-
cording to Boas[28] the home of imbrication 531
seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade region, the Okanagon having received the trait about the time of the coming of the whites.

Cooking baskets were always set into 252
the ground for stone boiling. They were not washed out but scraped witn the fingers, which were promptly licked.

Twined bags with round bottoms resem- 285
bled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[24][1] These
were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine 415
bark (qëts!asEnI´m), or with tule warps and willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag was described as follows. The bottom was first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when

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[28] Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

[1] [For footnote, see p.63(D), category 116.-- Analyst]

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and preparing 252 it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222 tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224 same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47] 411 was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornam[illegible]d with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224 fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear, marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226 had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226 Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226 Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves, consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'ẋwe* (Thompson: *stse'ẋwe*).	137
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contoria* or *murrayana*).	*stẋisamoẋtse'nɛm.*	222
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.		262
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacɛm.*	
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*ẋo'ẋɛlp.*	
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery).	*pɑ'qai.*	
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sɑ'lc'ẋtct.*	

The *Opuntia* (*sẋu'wɛ̃ndɑ̈c*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

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TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

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Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

222 237 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 Preservation of Vegetal Foods, Cooking, Dishes.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mô'smɛn* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ămxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

about an inch thick and of two sizes—a large size, from 1 to 2 feet in length; and a small one, of about the size of the hand. Camas was mashed and kneaded into cakes of various sizes, most of them large. *Alectoria*, and sometimes also camas, was cooked in pits until it became a paste, which, when cooled, was cut into bricks or cakes of various sizes. As among the Thompson, bone knives were used for cutting these cakes. Long ago *Alectoria* was generally cooked by itself; but in later times it became the custom almost invariably to cook and cake it with wild onions. As stated already, *pi'wia* roots were first cleaned in bags, being beaten with sticks or struck against a flat rock (p. 49). Large cakes of camas, etc., were dried on frames made of slats or split pieces of wood, similar to those used by the Thompson for drying cakes of berries on.[149] The slats were woven together with bark, or occasionally with thongs, or other kinds of string. Hazelnuts and nutlets of the yellow pine were usually eaten raw. Nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis* were cooked in hot ashes. Soups or thick gruels were made by boiling root cakes or dried roots, either of a single kind or of two or more kinds together. Service berries were generally spread on mats (often tent mats were used for the purpose) and dried in the sun. When cured, they were stored in bags. Often the fresh berries were mashed in baskets with wooden pestles like those of the Thompson,[150] and made into cakes, which were dried on layers of grass spread on frames elevated on scaffolds of poles. Fresh berries of *Crataegus* were boiled in baskets and spread on thick layers of grass. A thin layer of berries was spread first, and then juice poured over it. When partially dry, the process was continued until the desired thickness of cake was obtained or the contents of the basket used up. Sometimes *Crataegus* and chokecherries were mashed with pestles in mortars or on large flat stones, made into cakes, and dried, in the same manner as service berries. Often stone pestles and stone mauls were used instead of wooden ones, because of the large hard stones in these berries. It seems a number of forms were used.[151] Hand hammers were also used. Berry cakes and berries were also spread on small mats woven of the large leaves of a plant called *k'wa'sk'wzs*, which grows near lakes. Chokecherries, huckleberries, bearberries, and sometimes raspberries and currants, were simply dried without other treatment. Service berries and huckleberries were sometimes boiled, and then eaten; or, like fresh raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, chokecherries, they were sometimes mashed and eaten without boiling. All kinds of berries were also eaten fresh as gathered. At the present day sugar is added to some of them, especially to fresh mashed berries. Thick soups were made of dried berries and roots boiled together.

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 e; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

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[149] *a*, fig. 215.

[150] Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64a.

[151] Compare Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 1.

252 PRESERVATION OF ANIMAL FOODS, COOKING.—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. 251 Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,[152] and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men [494] having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes

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[152] See Blackfoot, c, fig. 2.

222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 411 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. 241, fig. 222.

262 835 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 326 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [940] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

252 262 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 271 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

261 The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultramontana* Wats., (skukuwi'lpᵘ), which were present in abundance, and which could be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise.

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indi- 173
rectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall 261
of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early
part of the nineteenth century.[3] The second was a severe earthquake which came 731
in November, 1873.[4] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows:

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called 159
> it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches 173
> deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the
> whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except 261
> in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many
> people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And 731
> the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more.
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[3] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[4] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day and stored for winter in tule sacks. 222 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. They were not pounded or stored, but used as a titbit while they lasted. 252 824

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kǐa panter and (34) pī′tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwī′Ina, *Opuntia*?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[18]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokŏī′na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River. 261 [796] 226

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wī′tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[a] [For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[17] For medical plants, see the section on religion.

[18] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[a]

000 trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

224 [787] Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself.

261 ● Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa′ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation.

731 There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites,but it seems to have been frequent before that.

261 How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen:

776 The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it.

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to 342
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəni'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctitə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared
with those who had had to remain. 888

FISHING

Throughout the year fish was relied upon as the principal article of sustenance by the Sanpoil, as well as other peoples along the Columbia river. 226 Salmon, *Oncorhynchus*, (ənəsi'ulkʷ), and steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, (xumi'nə'), were 251 caught in large numbers each summer, a portion to be used as fresh food at the 262 time but the greater percentage to be dried and stored for winter consumption. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia;[1] enormous numbers of these fish ascend the river each year for the purpose of spawning. Of the five species of salmon which frequent the Columbia and its tributaries all but one reach the portion of the river which flows through the Sanpoil country. These are the chinook or king salmon, *O. tschawytscha*, (ənti·'tix), the silver or white salmon, *O. kisutch*, (stsuwı'n), the humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, and the dog or chum salmon, *O. keta*, (ki'su'). The fifth species, the sockeye or blueback salmon, *O. nerka*, is seldom found farther upstream than the mouth of the Okanogan river, which is below Sanpoil territory.

Salmon is present in the middle Columbia from May until November. Some are still to be found even later in the winter, but the flesh is hardly edible, due to deterioration after spawning. Steelhead trout run from early March until July.[2] The steelheads found in this area vary from ten to fifteen pounds in weight and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following the steelheads is the summer or chinook run of salmon, occurring during May, June and July.[3] The chinook is the largest of the salmon; those found in the Columbia average twenty-two pounds in weight but occasionally a single fish weighs as much as a hundred pounds.[4] In the fall a double run occurs, bringing the silver and dog salmons. These species appear during the latter part of August or early in September and continue to run through November. The flesh of both remains edible throughout this period. Neither variety is large in size, the average weight for each being about six pounds. The humpback salmon, although found in this region, is present only in negligible quantities.

Varieties of fish other than salmon and steelhead were not overlooked although economically they were of minor importance. Among these were sturgeon, lamprey eel, whitefish, suckers, chub fish, and mountain, speckled and bull trout. Chub fish, *Semotilus* sp. (?), were caught principally during May; they ranged about ten or twelve inches in length. Two varieties of suckers, *Catostomus* sp., were obtained, known as black suckers and yellow suckers. The former were present in the river from April until fall; the latter did not appear until May. After June, however, neither kind was considered edible. Eels were taken during the second half of the year, but were not considered desirable food. Whitefish, *Mylocheilus caurinus*

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[1] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, page 25.

[2] This was the statement of my informants. Cobb says, in speaking of the steelhead, "In the Columbia River the spawning season is from February to May......," (*ibid.*, page 11).

[3] Two other runs of the chinook species enter the Columbia, one preceding the May run, and one following it, but in both cases the fish spawn in the lower tributaries of the river, seldom reaching the middle course (*ibid.*, page 8).

[4] *Ibid.*, page 7.

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[221] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[3] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke'tan). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June. 226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[3] See pages 34-35.

Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence. 411

Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary. 411 224

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water. 411 789

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food. 262 825

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 166 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [841] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] CL, page 108.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcməm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

222 251 482 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 222 251 252 262
1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'l i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'łps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwənt'u'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

5. Camas (?), (sa'xpukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'txwa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tlam). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwəla'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkă'lpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (p̓əli·'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa·'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smətsună'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potáto, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̓waq̓wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'iukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

137 222 251 252 262

16. txais'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (slakᴇ'lp^{u}). The berries (slkukasa'laq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'lp^{u}). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (x̣lox̣lowi'lp^{u}, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (x̣lox̣la'ux̣) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqʷ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun. 137 222 251

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (saà'p̓t'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly. 252 262

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (t̓aqe'm-t̓aqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sadγai'lpʷ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpulakani'lmɪxʷ, "wide leaved plant"; pà'lpulakan, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mɪtca'kʷ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la·'la'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stɪkatcuxwi'lpʷ, the tree; sti'ktcʷ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (sapastkelmɪ'lxʷ, "good bush"; sapa'stakʷ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yɛykai'lpʷ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (sqa'tcan, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth.

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222
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34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (sati'tumsipa). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw.

35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takm). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stsmo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (sxwi'i'nt, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annuus* L., (waywayikt'p', "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Petasites speciosa*, (sɔxti'lp', "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sta'tkalp'). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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42 Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xlowi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[3] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137 222 237 252 262

43 suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44 Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵘ). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45 Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (qe'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46 Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkā'lpᵘ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47 Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48 Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49 Woolly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti''wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. [272]

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[3] For medicinal use see page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sistəm, "spear wip- 137
ing plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in [272]
the same manner as the preceding one. 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the 251
stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[2] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[2] See page 76

FOOD PREPARATION

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To the notes on the preparation of food products for consumption included with the preceding descriptions, certain other details and some generalizations may be added. Cooking methods included boiling, pit roasting, ordinary roasting, steaming and parching. Meat and fish were prepared either by boiling or by roasting before an open fire. The former method was by far the more common. Dried salmon or meat was boiled to restore the lost moisture, even though it were to be roasted later. Pit roasting was reserved for the preparation of fresh vegetable products or vegetables mixed with fruits, and possibly for bear meat. If food cooked in the pit were to be used immediately no further treatment was necessary; if first dried it could not then be used until boiled. Another method of cooking fresh vegetables for immediate use was steaming, already described.[1] Seeds alone were parched, and since there was only one seed of importance used, that of the sunflower, this was the least important of cookery methods.

Cedar root coiled baskets of elliptical shape (xlakat'cı'n)[2] were used for boiling food. Stone vessels or pottery were never so utilized. The water in which the food was to be placed was caused to boil by adding stones heated in the camp fire. Water-worn round boulders were used for this purpose. They were removed from the fire to the water with wooden tongs. Most boiled foods were of the consistency of a stew, or often as thin as soup. Macerated berries or roots were often added to dried fish which was being boiled. Dried vegetable cakes were immersed in broth of meat or salmon until softened.

Pit roasting was a method of "fireless" cooking. A pit about three feet in diameter and two or three feet deep was excavated. In the bottom were placed heated rocks. These were covered with a layer of bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn, var. *pubescens* Underw., (tsuqtsuqma·'lp^{e}, "cedar plant"), which had been immersed in water. Next the food was placed in the pit and covered with another layer of wet bracken. Then the removed earth was piled over the pit and sometimes a fire was built on top. The food was allowed to remain in the earth oven for one to three days before being removed. Water was never poured into the pit. Often two or three women cooked in the same oven, in which case each wrapped her food separately in ferns. Camas which had been cooked in the earth oven was prepared for storage by mashing in a wooden mortar, forming into cakes or balls and drying.

Salmon and fresh meat were often roasted by holding over the open fire on long sticks. The sticks were sometimes stuck in the ground at an angle. Pine lichen was moistened and covered with hot ashes to cook it quickly. Turtles were also cooked in the coals of the camp fire, being placed there on their backs, alive.

Pemmican was made in various fashions, some of which have been already mentioned. Pounded service berries, pounded dried venison and deer tallow were kneaded together to make one of the popular varieties. Pulverized dried salmon

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[1] Page 99.
[2] See pages 35-3

252 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

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271 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (s·tamťukui'ltxʷ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival.

152 861 843 The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come.

262 [578] 843 There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish.

784 843 Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair 881
in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden.

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, 787
guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting 881
a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded dur- 262
ing each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutən) in a small hut of tule mats 841
somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied
during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A 881
virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating 784
woman (sku·'kantcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues 841

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

SEASONAL ROUND

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The foods utilized by the bands of the lower Okanogan River were typical of those found among northern plateau Indians generally. They took every variety of fish and game, root and berry that was available; also moss, seeds and the cambium layer of pine trees. Very little camas grew in the valley and no kouse, but the former root was well known through trade and special trips to camas grounds. Since the activities of collecting and preserving varied continuously with the seasons, the material will be presented in calendrical sequence. There are two main seasons, the sedentary winter and the nomadic summer. The latter was spent in camping, sometimes for several weeks, to obtain salmon and deer, but for much shorter intervals for other foods.

In winter the bulk of the people were in the villages, living in the tule long-house or the underground house. A number of families from each band were generally scattered through the hills; usually those who did not lay in large supplies and depended more on winter hunting and fur taking. Hunting for furs became more frequent after white contact. Such families were visited frequently by young men sent by their chief to bring them food if needed. Game was soon scared from the vicinity of winter villages. If food was scarce men would go on long hunting trips, singly or in pairs. But game was thin and poor until summer.

Bears were taken in March and April, when they first came from their winter quarters and were still fat. Overnight trips were not generally needed except for grizzly bear hunting in the mountains, one of the few trips when women did not accompany the men.

During the last three weeks of April the fish locally known as suckers were running in the Okanogan, and families from the whole valley went to the falls in McLaughlin Canyon (twenty miles below Oroville) to work traps. They would remain a week or two, gathering and drying enough to last until the first salmon runs in June. The run of steelhead trout at this early season was not so important, but at Keller and other places considerable numbers of people used to gather. From here some people went directly to the summer salmon camps, particularly those at Oroville and Kettle Falls.

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When several bands came together at a fishing site they camped separately and the chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After fishing all day they might come together in the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races. The chiefs might meet to pass about their pipes and compete in showing off.

During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were made in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

p. 11 (B)

221 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for
deer were held in the fall..... In the
spring roots were dug, and the people return-
•262 ed about June to the streams and speared sal-
mon.... In July began the season of digging
361 fresh camas, which continued indefinitely until a sufficient supply had been accumulated. After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) *Oncorhynchus tschawytscha*, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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[1] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 70-71.
[2] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 246
[3] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 71.
[4] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, 4.

mon from entering the trap of a person with 000
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the riv- 796
er, they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, 825
they would become strict again.

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262 ●
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of
trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon [773]
creation myth, in which the first weir is said to have been built by two bird sisters, far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ōq'ōmū´s) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they
sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the
larger catch was in May, when traps were set
at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old
men: women dried the catch which was traded [462]
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

p.17 (B)

for the suckers. 000

A small fish called sEsERē'ūs abounded in the creeks emptying into Omak Lake during the spring floods. 226 These came from the lake to spawn. They were so numerous that 262 they could be caught by hand in hundreds. Later in the season, before service berries were ripe, the fish was even better, having more fat; while they could still be caught in the hand, they were then not so numerous. The fish were dried on racks and later mixed with bitter root or service berries. Or the eggs were extracted and mixed with service or other berries. The latter dish (alone ?) was called xalū'ps, like that prepared from salmon, but unlike it this was not tabu to women at any time.

Trout (xōkōmē'na) were caught in late summer and fall, while descending the mountain streams to spawn in the lower creeks. Hooks and lines were employed, also traps like salmon traps, but smaller, from which they were usually lifted by hand. Small salmon trout were also taken with the dip net. They were sometimes dried in the sun for winter use. During the winter they were taken in the rivers, but only when other food was scarce, since they were then thin.

Fishing by hook and line was not common, 226 and was carried on mostly by women and children for small fish. A pole was always used, of straight tamarack, ceder or fir, always peeled and smoothed. It was called qElht-EmnalōqtEn. The line, of Indian hemp, was tied to a little notch at the end; sometimes also passed down and tied again at the handle. Hooks were of crossed splinters of bone (usually deer ulna) wrapped together with sinew, sometimes one passing through a hole in the center of the other and wrapped (called qaqē't and tItāmē'n interchangeably). These splinters were shaped by cutting and grinding on a stone. A hole was bored in the hook for the line and a groove made on each side of the point where the bait, grasshoppers or worms, was tied on. A line was never held by hand alone. Bullheads were caught thus, as well as trout and other fish.

Ling or devil fish (spokōla'tc) were caught through the ice in wintertime in Lake Okanogan, that is, in Northern Okanagon territory. The hook was made by binding a bone point, one inch long, to the end of a piece of dogwood (about three inches long) which is strong and has no odor. A small fish is used for bait and Indian hemp for a line; also for binding on the point. The line is dropped to the bottom of the lake in deep water and its end tied to a cake of ice. When a fish takes a bait he swallows it completely, and so does not often get away. These fish were a palatable and valuable winter food. Usually they were boiled after skinning. They were not preserved, but eaten fresh.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 19 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

8 Cf. Teit, Thompson Indians, 246.[2]

224 782 Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick."

PREPARATION OF DEER

224 482 When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck.

224 251 If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. [482] It would be all wrapped in the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces.[11]

224 251 262 In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all

[11] Teit, Thompson Indians, 248.

p. 21 (A)

224 251 262 the blood possible, and this was all poured in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by warriors, if they had the power of a deer-killing animal, but more frequently service berries were cooked in it, or it was added to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer time, even though it clabbered in the heat. The intestine was hung up near camp until all the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains sccoped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

251 [462] [417] If a large killing had been made in the hills the meat would be dried there, at any time of the year. It would then be lighter to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the deer while women cut the meat into slabs, several inches square and three-sixteenths of an inch thick. If there was much meat, a structure similar to the salmon rack would be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

251 417 A different drying rack was constructed at permanent camps (sEnxaówI´ltseten). These had four uprights, were five to six feet long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

251 the thinner the meat is the better it will
dry. After two or three hours of smoking
417 the meat was allowed to remain on a similar
rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done fre-
262 quently because of the flies, the fact that
it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-
baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first
784 three days of the fall hunt women could not
eat the ribs of the deer unless they were
825 dried. None of the inside parts could be
eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had
[783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare
their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of

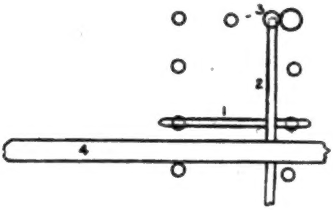

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 ● [624]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsômi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [595] 825

224 up simply the bare skull. Hallowell,[12] who also says that no ceremonial treatment of the 825 bear's carcass was practiced in the Plateau area, makes note of this fact. The greatest criterion of manhood was killing a bear, particularly a grizzly. Stories are numerous of heroes who killed bears unaided, the best of them by stabbing with a knife.

224 A "small mountain goat" (yàlI'kwûlEkEn), quite possibly an antelope since this is somewhat out of the mountain goat range, was hunted in the Waterville - Coulee City region in the spring.

Small game was taken at all seasons, and while not sought at great distances, still it formed a large item after big hunts. Generally it was a sport for boys, or a diversion for women, between berrying and root-digging. Men took part only in big drives, such as those held while the women were digging -- as in the Columbia River country. There was no ritual behavior for small game, such as the women's tabus, the rituals of butchering salmon and deer, etc.

Rabbits came foremost. Cottontails were taken by small spring traps set in their trails, with piles of brush for them to jump over so they would land on the trigger and noose. The springs were bent saplings, two inches in diameter. Rabbits (spa'p'kônten) also were shot by small boys with bows and arrows. On favorable ground boys drove them through the sagebrush towards men with rabbit sticks. These were straight sticks about one inch thick, of willow or service berry wood. Jack rabbits were hunted with sticks, bows and arrows, and boys might use a form of sling.

[262] Rabbit meat was roasted or boiled, but never dried or preserved, although plenty of rabbits were killed. The fur was used for caps but was not strong enough for mittens.

The sling was an Indian hemp cord one or two yards long and one quarter inch thick, one end wrapped about the little finger two or three times, and the rest all wrapped around a large smooth stone about one inch in diameter. The string was jerked back at the end of the throw, sending the stone spinning toward the quarry. This was also used in hunting birds.

When beaver houses were located, the entrance tunnel was dug away back to the bank of the stream; then stakes were driven close together in front so that the beaver could not escape. Sticks were then driven down into the various houses to force the beaver to rush out, on which they were stabbed with sharp stakes.

Ground hogs were shot with the bow, or a short pole of service berry wood was thrust in the animal's den under a rock and twisted

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

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[12] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*, 73, 142.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 262 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

1/A [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the

14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.

15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1/A

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824
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LIST OF PLANT NAMES

Berries

1.	Service berries, sI´a	Possibly Teit's[1] sI´a, Amelanchier alnifolia (Nutt)
2.	Red foam berries, sxō´sem	sχō´sEm, Shepherdia canadensis (Nutt)
3.	Black thornberries, cxwanI´q	sχwanI´k, Crataegus rivalaris (Nutt)
4.	Red thornberries, χaχ'χa´I'I	
5.	Huckleberries, stEka´lqx	stêχê´llk, Vaccinium membranaceum (Dougl)
6.	Willowberries, stI´q'tsu	sti´ksχu, Cornus pubescens (Nutt)
7.	Blueberries	
8.	Raspberries, łała	χlā´la, Rubus sp.

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[1] [For foot note, see p. 29(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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9. Strawberries, tq!ëmtqEm		tEkel'mkem, Fragaria californica (C and S)
10. Thimbleberries, palpŪ'lEqxn		
11. Bearberries, skŪlI's		
12. Red berry, tatka; grows high in mountains; not important		

Roots

13. Bitterroot, spI'tlum	Possibly Teit's	spI'tlam, Lewisia rediviva (Pursh)
14. Small onion, walqwIŪ'pᵗs		yekiyu'kEpa, Calochortus macrocarpus (Dougl)
15. Camas: Black round camas traded from Idaho, I't'xwa White round camas dug at Waterville, tsaxŪlō'sa White camas with long bulb, ka'Ūōs		ē'txwa or I'txwa, Camassia esculenta
16. Big onion		
17. "Potato," a bitter bulb, stākcI'n		stoxtci'n, Lilium columbianum
18. "Yellow Bells," sEma'rata		
19. "Carrots," sklō'kŪm		
20. A root, ṗcaI'k		cxwi'kEm, Sium lineare
21. A bulb, cŪI'xᵘ		s-hwe'ᵘxᵘ, Erythronium grandiflorum
22. A root "white camas ?), tcŪkōlō'sa, (perhaps comes from Waterville, above)		
23. Tiger lily bulb, stExtsI'n		stoxtci'n, Lilium columbianum
24. "Parsnips," mIcō'wI		
25. A "parsley," ᵗsIms'ne'lqʌ		smitsemā'lkᵘ, Peucedanum macrocarpum (Nutt)
26. "Potato," skwEnqŪInEm		skwenkwI'nEm, Claytonia sessilifolia
27. "Radish," xEnxEx		xa'nExan, Cycopus uniflorus

Other Plant Foods

28. Pine cambium, tsI'xwI	Possibly Teit's	tse'xwe or tsŪ'xe, Pinus ponderosa
29. Sunflower seeds, mI'ktŪ		mI'kto, Balsamorrhiza sagittata
30. Choke cherries, tlōxtla'xᵘ		xlo'x.łox, Prunus demissa (Walpers)
31. Black moss, skwalI'p		skolē'p, Alectoria jubata
32. Pine nutlets, sq!aŪ'q!Ū		sqa'uku, Pinus ponderosa
33. Fungus, kEa'panter		
34. Fungus, pI'tlixk'n		
35. Fir tree, tsqIlxp		
36. Early bud, cwa'ya (See No. 21, its root, which is eaten)		s-hwe'ᵘxᵘ, Erythronium grandiflorum

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qōqanī´ẖhᵘ, "cracked hilltop."

251 262 342 352 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (xalī´na) built one on each side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

[1] [For context of footnotes, see p. 32(B), category 116. --Analyst]

252 262 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow. 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

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p. 32(4) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.[1]
[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.[1]

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell _you_ to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

animals told their human wards not to eat 776
certain parts of their bodies, for example,
the brisket. Such restriction applied only 784
to cases in which the guardian animal had
been killed by the individual who had its 262 ●
power. Subsequent failure in hunting was
the penalty for breaking them. Other rules
for the disposal of game — especially of
deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure
specific information on other animals — depended
on the idea that the good will of the
game must be preserved, and that the spirit
of an animal whose carcass had been properly
treated would be reincarnated in the same
form for the benefit of future hunters or
fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed,
all of the flesh must be properly consumed,
and women must not come close enough
to contaminate the kill. Violation of these
rules offended the animal and led to its
scarcity. They have been discussed in more
detail in the section on hunting.

If a menstruating woman came too near a 784
man who had power, he punished her by prolonged
menstruation. When he finally "took 776
pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her
a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing
it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over
here and take this." He went away; she came
and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man
approached the women's menstruation hut too
closely, he lost his power. During a woman's
ten-day confinement there after childbirth
her husband should not touch her or the
child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

The spirits became very angry at disobedience 776
and if the offense were repeated
they might desert their wards entirely. By
failing to obey his power, one might incur 784
the worst physical afflictions; might become
ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or 753
good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune.
Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased
condition to such negligence, having
not paid proper regard to his father's power
which had become his own. Lucy Joe says
that Michel did not comply with his power's
command to dance and sing — except when
drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions
of a shaman who had tried to cure
him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1] the spirit 796
commanded the individual to distribute
gifts among the people and to give his first 776
winter dance. It is not clear whether he
always fulfilled both commands at the same 787
time. He probably did, for gifts were always
exchanged at the dances and we heard of
no specific case in which this was done for 431
the same reason on other occasions. I shall
therefore discuss these gifts later on, among
other phases of the dance.

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct 776
of the individual after the dream. As soon 787
as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang
his power song, in which his family might 574

[1] [Cf. 142(A). cat[illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

304 531 by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

137 221 241 262 FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl.	*sχa''ulutχwa* (Thompson *ski'ẽn* raw, *ĕtχwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *s'lχwa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh.	*sp'it'ɛm.*

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[141] See p. 192.

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3. (Probably *Lomatium kaus* Wats.? or (*Peucedanum cous* Watson).	*pl'wia.*
4. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a yellow flower and a round and rather flat root.	*p'ăxʷp'ᴇxʷ.*
5. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small round root.	*tu'xwa.*
6. *Allium* sp., possibly *geyeri*	*sistc.*
7. *Allium* sp., probably *cernuum*	*qwᴇli'wile* (Thompson *kolă'wa, kala'ua*).
8. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a tall white flower and a small round root.	*st'ū'qom.*
9. Probably *Daucus pusillus*	*mô'smᴇn.*
10. *Claytonia* sp	*sqwă'tᴇm.*
11. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a small flat root.	*la'q'ămxʷ.*
12. Probably *Fritillaria pudica*	*tc'a'wᴇx̣* (Thompson *tcă'wᴇx*): *Lilium columbianum.*
13. Probably *Sium lineare*	*mă'tsᴇmᴇts.*
14. Root of an unidentified plant said to have a white flower and a large long root, and just one leaf which grows on top of the water.	*sqeigᴇts* (Thompson: *Opuntia s'qᴇqᴇ''z*).
15. Probably *Cnicus undulatus* Gray	*marĕ'opa.*
16. Root of an unidentified plant	*pitcelu'sa.*

My informants claimed that the roots of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* and *Balsamorrhiza hookerii* were not eaten, although one or both of these were used by the Flathead. Also they said that the roots of *Lilium columbianum* (Hanson) were not eaten, although this root is much used as a food by the Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, and others. *Lewisia rediviva* did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but was plentiful in Spokan territory, where Coeur d'Alêne parties went to dig it.[142] The *pitcelūsa* grew only on the borders of the Nez Percé territory, and parties went there to gather it. Some of the unidentified species used by the Coeur d'Alêne may be the same as some of those used by the Nez Percé.

BERRIES

Latin name.	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Amelanchier* sp. (service berry or June berry).	*sla'q.*
2. *Prunus demissa* Walpers (chokecherry or black wild cherry).	*ta'x̣lᴇx̣* .
3. *Prunus* sp. (red wild cherry)	*t'ᴇcile'pa.*
4. *Sambucus* sp. (elderberry)	*stsă'qᴇq* (Thompson: *tsĕ'kuk*)
5. *Crataegus* sp. (black hawberry)	*sx̣o''naic.*
6. *Crataegus* sp. (red hawberry)	*kwăla.*
7. *Cornus pubescens* Nutt. (red willow berry).	*stitcisxʷ.*
8. *Rubus* sp. (raspberry)	*nx̣ală'tsĕ* (Thompson: currant *laă'za, zlaă'za*).

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[142] *b*, pp. 203, 204.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alène

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222
262

9.	*Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry).	*po'lpolqᴇn.*
10.	*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry).	*mᴇ̈tsu'q* (Thompson: *mᴇ'.tcuk, mᴇ'tcak*).
11.	*Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble).	*ti'lielslumx*ʷ (Thompson: *tl'tsl.ûm.*
12.	*Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)	*si'i't'ēmēlps.*
13.	*Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)	*ya'ricᴇn.*
14.	*Ribes* sp. (wild currant)	*tsē'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *tsä'l.za*, Okanagon *.sisē'res*)
15.	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry).	*sx̣o'sᴇm* (Thompson: *sx̣ō'sᴇm, shō.'zᴇm*).
16.	*Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry).	*stsa'qom* (Thompson: service berry *.stsa'gum, .sts'ō'gom*).
17.	*Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry).	*stäcō'* (*sik*).
18.	*Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry)	(*sᴇn*) *paqpaqa'x̣ᴇn.*
19.	*Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry)	*stä'qln.*
20.	*Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape)	*squä'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.skä'u*, roseberry *s.kôkwä'u*).
21.	*Arctostaphylus uva-ursi* (bearberry)	*i'lic* (Thompson *ä'ik, äi'ᴇk*; raspberry *.säitsku, .sei'tck*).
22.	*Rosa* sp. (roseberry)	*tsᴇxwtsᴇxwᴇxwoiye'pä* .

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Sorbus sambricifolia E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	*wa'x̣e'ēlp.*
Lonicera involucrata	*.sa'mpaqᴇn.*
Juniperus, two sp. (juniper berry).	
Symphoricarpus racemosus Mich. (snowberry).	*st'ᴇmst'ᴇmne'*' (*lx̣ᴇn*) ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	*täixpēēlp* ("black plant") (Thompson: *sta'ptapt*, black; *stētēpūza* Ribes, sp.).

SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokan.[a]	*k'e'puxwa* (Thompson: *.qapux*).
Nutlets of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*)	*stsxicē'tcs'* (Thompson: *.stsikk*).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine (*Pinus albicaulis*).	*sowi'stic.*
Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*, one or two sp., possibly also seeds of *Helianthus* sp.	*mi'icio* (Thompson: *mi'kio*).

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[a] Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'ẋwe* (Thompson: *stse'ẋwe*).	137
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stxtsamoẋtse'nəm.*	222
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.		262
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwaeəm.*	
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*ẋo'xlp.*	
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pa'qai.*	
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sa'tc'xtct.*	

The *Opuntia* (*sẋu'wèndtc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of 222
Heracleum, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, 252
peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with 412
hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When 222
most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally 237
employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes 314
and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some 412
were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

224 411 made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

136 284 *Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

[262] The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

224 The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

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[5] c, p. 244, fig. 225.

[6] c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

101
201
[262]
[184]
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4 171

that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

Names Given by Them to Other Tribes.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tɛmeiā'*, *Lemeiā'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snẓ̣laml'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sikwē'pɛ*, *Sikwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukɛtɛmɛ'xᵘ*, *Nkɛ'tɛmɛ'xᵘ*, *Nkɛtɛmē'*, *Lä'kɛtɛmɛ'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sɛmilkɛmi'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcɛnākī'*, *Otcɛnāqɛi'n*, *Otcɛnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npoī'lɛɛ*, *Snpōī'lɛẓɛx* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sẓōēīlpi*, *Sẓoēī'lpi* (said to be derived from *sxoī'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcɛtɛtɛ* or *Sɛnai'tcɛtɛtɛ* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpɛskwā'use*, or *Snpɛskwē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Sɛkɛiā'use*, *Sɛkɛiē'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Stci'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sɛtomktɛkɛ'lix*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Ska'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkᵘ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qaqa'tɛn* by the *Tunā'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sɛlkwā'la'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sāha'ptɛn*, *Sahā'ptɛnɛ* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sɛtomktɛkɛ'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from skell ("above, up country or to the north") and *ɛs'ulkᵘ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 252, note 6.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

501 [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it would seem to be the older type of the two. 501 *171 The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sɛmtł'use*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. [178] [177] → In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

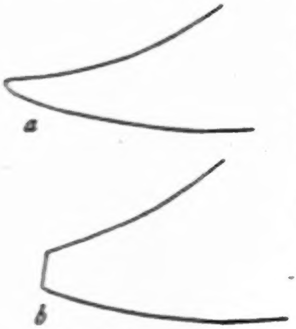

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171 → DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau ● [262] [237] 000 and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'χe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

221 796 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones [860] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were [855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 512 252 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning 512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

264 461 512 house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen in bed by men who were still up.

515 The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called stifa'tlam, "little canoe," 322
in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415
canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were
small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in
the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were
used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'mən). 321
It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322
a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow,
the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn 415
spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used
for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531]
incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were
scratched with a point of flint.

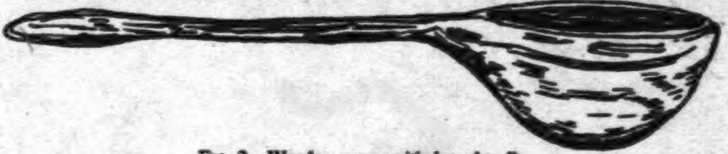

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were sub-
stituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285]
hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264
was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415
mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The
members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons,
but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322
made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324
stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

224 264 825 It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and predatory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14]

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS AND BIRDS

177 224 Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home.

224 The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path.

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the

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[13] See page 92.

[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
364 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cook-
324 ing and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the
352 implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been
415 noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsıtsa'-
314 paxʷ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups,
415 berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic.
484 Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xlǝkǝt'cı'n; water containers, ǝmǝmi'l'xmǝn. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce
285 roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or
314 three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working
415 with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were
[321] used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in
[330] the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

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415
its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281
323
415
[136]
A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

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415
Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323
524
Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[274]
[324]
Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (snta·"min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɪ'ksmən) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called sfita'tlam, "little canoe," 322
in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415
canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were
small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in
the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were
used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'mən). 321
It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322
a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow,
the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn 415
spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of
horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches
long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot
water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening
the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end,
which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through
which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used
for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531]
incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were
scratched with a point of flint.

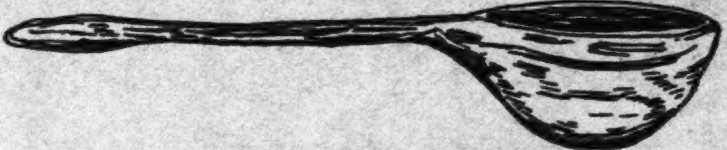

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which
served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint
knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were sub-
stituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285]
hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264
was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415
mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The
members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons,
but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322
made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324
stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaxami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large 322
logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden 324
mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the 412
hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk [137]
was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length, served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

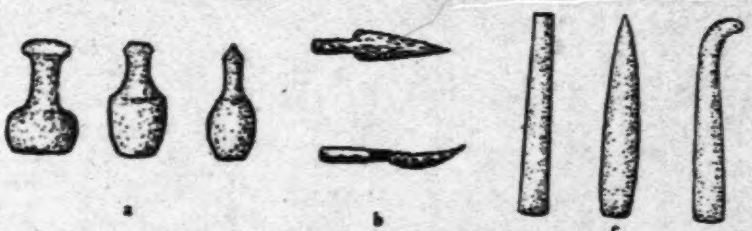

Fig. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372
The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'limən) itself was perma- 412
nent; the seat or hearth (xu'ləkup) was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukə'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while 372
travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

The skin was then ready to be stretched upon the scraping frame (Plate 5, Figure A). This frame was formed by two poles set vertically in the ground about five feet apart, with two transverse poles lashed to them, one near the ground and the other about five feet above. Holes were pierced at intervals of about six inches around the entire edge of the skin. The hide was first fastened to the top pole and allowed to dry for a time, then the bottom was lashed tight to the lower pole. Next the sides were fastened to the upright posts. The lashing consisted of a buckskin thong tied to the post, passed through one hole in the skin, around the pole, through the next hole, etc. As the skin was scraped it stretched, necessitating occasional tightening of the lashings. 281

Upon the scraping and rubbing depended the pliability and thickness of the skin. A thick skin could be greatly enlarged in size by long working. To hasten drying during the working a fire was built on the ground on either side of the frame except on very hot days. The fires required careful attention, for too much heat dried the skin too fast, necessitating re-soaking. Scrapers (Plate 2, Figure F), were made of granite schist which was fractured by heating. Fragments two to four inches across were used. The working edge was rounded and sharpened. A wooden handle about two feet long and an inch or two in diameter was provided. [324]

The scraping process occupied considerable time, sometimes several hours. Occasionally skins, especially small ones, were tanned without the use of a frame. The worker wrapped one end of the skin around her right knee, pressed it against the ground, and pulled it taut with her left hand. In the right hand she used an unhafted stone scraper. At intervals she held the skin near the fire to hasten drying. A third method was to fasten the hafted scraper in a rigid position by thrusting it in the ground or fastening it to a tree. The skin was then moved over the scraper. This method was less popular than the preceding two. Finally, the simplest manner of tanning was by rubbing the skin between the hands for several hours. This was most practical for very small hides.

If a light colored hide was desired the tanning was completed with the scraping or rubbing. Ordinarily, however, smoking was added to enable the skin to better withstand dampness and wetting. Buckskin intended for moccasins was invariably smoked. For this purpose a small pit was dug in the ground over which a tripod was erected (Plate 5, Figure C). The skin was sewed loosely together so that it might be slipped over the poles of the tripod. In the pit, which was a foot in diameter and half again as deep, a slow fire of rotten pine or cedar was built. Occasionally other woods were used. Both sides of a skin were smoke treated. The time required depended entirely upon the texture of the skin, but averaged perhaps four hours. Some skins, especially those to be used for moccasins, were twice smoked. That is, after the smoking of the two sides had been completed in the usual fashion, the process was repeated, but for a shorter period of time.

Finally, the outside edge of the skin, where the holes had been punched, was trimmed off, for it always became badly torn during the rubbing; and any other holes that had appeared during the tanning were patched with pieces of buckskin sewed on with sinew.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai'wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai'wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalŭ'ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [775] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

224 twigs which move the trigger," so that the spring is released. In general. Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 286 [462] Nets (spinpI´nia) were made occasionally of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?] long, but only eight feet high, since the deer could not see them to jump over them. They were stretched between trees and shrubs and the deer driven into them so that their horns and feet became entangled, when they were shot. Women prepared the hemp string and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of convenient weight to pack, and tied together. Teit reports that nets among the Thompson were generally made of the bark of Apocynum cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on the snow was hard enough to support the weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone, singling out the freshest track they could find and following it persistently. This work demanded much strength and endurance. Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then rain for a while to melt the surface, then cold to make the crust. They usually carried a sack tied to their belts containing dried [264] meat and roots. In starvation times they would eat game in the bush, though it was customary to bring everything to camp first.

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis*[1] for the interior Salish:

> "As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

000 Men might sing in the sweathouse before

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[1] [For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst]

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might
●264 share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.[18]

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with
831 the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'Âmemtö´lă^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831
836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

[18] See also Social Organization.

p. 118 (B)

cooking was done by women: it was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose. 462

This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day: 512

The women arose early;in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in the river. Soon the meal was ready;this the family ate off tule mats spread on the ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kŭlĕnsŏ´tn; some old man would ask for help for them all through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits. 512 264 [782]

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

During the day the people might be busily engaged either at camp or away from it,or 512 521

p.123 (B)

To return to Cecile's description: Dur-
343 ing the summer women's activities, as berry-
ing, digging food, preparing skins, and so
461 forth, made such a place unnecessary. While
they erected the house collectively any
512 woman who was visiting might make use of it.
Here they spent the greater part of the day
weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets
and the like, leaving in the evening only
when it was time to prepare the evening meal,
the principal meal of the day. Each one had
her regular place in the house where she
kept her materials. This house was called
snɛlˊmEn, "place to weave."

343 In this connection it must be noted
that Suszen described a somewhat similar
house for girls, but this was mentioned by
857 no other informant and Dave explicitly de-
nied its existence. The girls' house
868 (Ûlakiˊm) was evidently a small underground
lodge, and as such, found only in the perma-
nent settlements. Here the girls went
through the day, being instructed by some
old woman in the making of bags, baskets, bead-
work, mats, and all the other women's manu-
factures. Girls first went when seven to
nine years old and continued until they had
learned everything. "It was just like
school. They would have no time for learn-
ing after they were married." Girls were
thus kept from running off with boys and
learned what was useful. Attendance was ir-
regular, depending upon what work awaited
them at home. Some girls slept there. The
house was usually near a berry patch so the
girls could get something to eat. There was
nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with
each other a great deal. They travel to-
gether, go for a stroll together, and sit to-
gether in larger groups. They seem never to
misunderstand one another. The father would
not often ask his son to do anything; both
seemed to see what was to be done and there-
upon do it in equal degree. This applies
equally to small boys. They were rarely
given orders; practically never created a
[888] disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no for-
mal respect was paid to older people.

Harsh words and unkindness appeared to
578 be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs.
There was great tolerance on the very few oc-
casions when it was needed.

At table they were not ceremonious. One
•264 never hesitated to take the last piece on a
platter even if by so doing his neighbor
would get none. No one suffered from too
little to eat, but he might not get any of
his favorite dish. There was no complaint
in such a case, nor any sign of disappoint-
ment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?": a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculiarities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa′st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n·kwEskwEtsI′n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TEx̣aI′lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TEx̣a'pI′ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522 571

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 166 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [944] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

252 372 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 271 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better then what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qöqanI´th^{u}, "cracked hilltop."

251 In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (x̣alI´na) built one on each
262 side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled
342 as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was
352 taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

252 Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that
262 soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow.
● 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

[1] [For context of footnotes, see p. 32 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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p. 32(4) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.[1]
[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.[1]

796 535 776 Rock because a myth was associated with the place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 522 One of the shamans presiding at the dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 535 ● [271] 791 In an interval between performances, if the congregation was thirsty they made a noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

42 Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xlowi'lpᵃ, "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[3] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor. 137 222 237 252 262

43 suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44 Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulpᵃ). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45 Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose, (qe'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46 Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkā'lpᵃ, "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47 Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48 Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49 Woolly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti"wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking. [272]

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[3] For medicinal use see page 221.

50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sástəm, "spear wip- 137
ing plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in 272
the same manner as the preceding one. 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the 251
stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[8] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

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[8] See page 76.

551 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'ɛ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'pelsxmɛa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulenł'ne* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Tiłtslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tesxmɛxł ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iálelxmi' or *Yólelxmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

● 276 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[424] [324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[4]

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[4] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[10] 622

623 624 All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections.

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoon, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order. 276 623

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect. After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were 622 692 695

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[10] See pages 69-71.

524 157 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu's, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'xum, "chief"
Queen	tcqilumi'hux", "feet"
Flush	sqais'?, (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulxux'n, "full house"
Straight	yuxtctu', "straight"
Straight flush	yuxtctusqais'?, "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kahli'li, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc.	mu'sus, "four alike," etc.
Pair	kali'us, "pair"
Two pairs	ssls'lux", "double"
High, low, jack and game	kamusu'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa'sam, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stcuxts'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snmalxalsqus'pulstam, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta-qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	sis'sum, "we count"
"I raise you"	kuxuxstcs'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	ts'muxstcs'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (smu'ux") was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

276 ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gath-
517 ered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular ([illegible]) and elbow ([illegible]) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

515 The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought
and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gather-
517 ing place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few
782 persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

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[7] See page 54-55.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe. 276 ● [562]

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?). 276 316 439

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold. 276 324 [531] [462]

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs. 276 623

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then 314 [137] 276

P. 65(B)

314 276 put into buckskin bags and pulverized by rubbing the sides of the bag together. The tobacco was then stored in another bag. One informant, Suszen Timentwa, stated that the tobacco was pulled up by the roots, dried for ten to fifteen minutes over a fire, then stored in tight cedar-root baskets. He also stated that it was kept moist by putting in the basket fresh roots or grass, but on another occasion denied this. It seems improbable that the tobacco plant was rooted up, as this would destroy the supply, but it

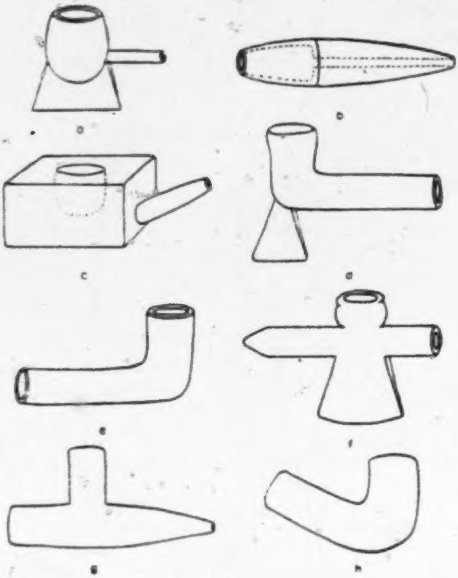

Fig. 34. Types of pipes.

was said to keep better intact. (This was in fact contradicted by other informants.)

"Kinikinik," properly bear berry (Arctostaphyllos uva-ursi [L.])[1] was mixed with tobacco just before being put into the pipe in the ratio of two parts of kinikinik (skûlsû-łmEn) to one of tobacco. Sunflower leaves were substituted for tobacco, as also a plant called cqElûxcma'nûc (which grows by streams) and the dried pulverized root of xa'cxa'c. (The last named was also used to revive unconscious persons.) All three were mixed with kinikinik. Not so sman'xû, a "grass" growing near Riverside, which was smoked alone. [278]

276 Formerly the pipe, tobacco, and kinikinik were carried in two separate bags worn at the waist. These bags were made by women for their husbands according to the latter's

p. 66 (A)

[1] [For footnote, see p. 66 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

276 specifications. They were about six inches wide by nine inches long, but varied greatly in size. They were sewed up on one side, perhaps fringed at the seam, and were closed by a draw-string at the top. They were decorated with porcupine quills. A shaman's pouch was painted on both sides. In more recent times they used a single long bag, about the length of a stocking, open at both ends, and separated into two parts by a seam across the middle. Tobacco and pipe were kept in one compartment, kinikinik in the other. A Wenatchi woman shaman was seen with a cloth bag of this type knotted several times in the middle to keep the compartments separate. One informant stated that the bag was sewn down the middle: whether this means longitudinally or transversely is not clear. These bags were fringed and decorated with quill work, though modern cloth bags were undecorated. Tobacco bags were made of ground-hog skin, buckskin, and, in later days, other materials. Otter hide was used by chiefs and other wealthy men, "strong men" who were able to (permitted to ?) make fire with the fire drill.

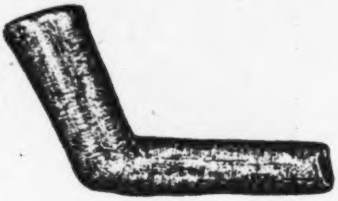

Fig. 35. Stone pipe.

276 791 In former days the only women who smoked were shamans. Smoking always accompanied a shamanistic curing ceremony. A man shaman had a special ceremonial pipe decorated with his power animal, in addition to his ordinary or secular pipe. No other person was permitted to smoke the shaman's ceremonial pipe.

PREPARATION OF MATERIALS

Tanning

281 Deer skins were tanned by women. If the skin was not to be prepared immediately it was hung, hair side under, over a pole tied between two trees until dry, then stored away. When ready for dressing the skin was soaked in a stream for several days. The wet skin was then laid over a log leaned against a tree and the hair scraped off. This log, prepared by a man, was about six inches in diameter and about five or six feet long.

●276 [1] [For context of this footnote, see
314 p. 66(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

32 Identified by Mrs. Martha Flahaut of the Washington State Museum. [1]

p. 66 (c)

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings. Such men were not criticized by the people. 554 In later days, anyone can wear such a headdress, but the chief's is always the most 622 ornate. The woman skü'mált has no special dress, but she is better dressed than any other woman of the band, and always wears a [304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higun,"*[1] bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."*[1]

292 622 The Kartar chief, on special occasions, wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the seams and carries a fan made of the wing of a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

● 276 622 The new chief of the Kartar band is always given the tribal pipe which belonged to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special frirged buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sinaĭ'östn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaĭ'ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his oldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce [165] the chief's wish to everyone. These forms of appointment seldom occur since most men die a violent death.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 96 (B)

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaŏta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued
this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or
painted a picture of the animal in question. [531]
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert
worker in stone, who received a price for it. [324]
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

In more recent times, at any rate, the 778 post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called cəl'acxIn, which were carried [177] individually by the dancers. Mary Carden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow.

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.[1] People never smoked them while actually dancing, 796 but shamans watching the ceremonies passed 276 them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. Only those who had taken a 791 leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit.

[1] [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

p.147 (B)

524 A common Indian children's game of "staying sober" was played at any season. A group of children faced one child and attempted by pointing and ridicule to make the child laugh. As soon as a player laughed or smiled he was counted out and another child took his turn at keeping a straight face.

SMOKING

276 Adults, both men and women, smoked alone for pleasure at any time. It was commonly indulged in after the heavy meal of the day. In groups, a pipe was often handed around from person to person, but no ritual was involved; such smoking was purely social. The right to smoke, however, was delayed until after a young man or woman had acquired supernatural powers and had been instructed in a vision to sing at the winter dance. They might then be as young as ten or eleven. After this the smoker invariably used a pipe whenever his special powers were invoked, but he had also the privilege of smoking for his own enjoyment. Some old people with power smoked very early in the morning or late at night while others were asleep, so that no one would walk behind them while they were so occupied. Formerly the same pipe was used for ceremonial smoking and for pleasure. At present cigarettes are smoked at social gatherings. The stone pipe, carefully preserved and carried by every shaman, is restricted almost entirely to ceremonial use.

Kinnickinnick (skŭlsŭ′łmEn or ckElci′t-łmilEx) was smoked. Informants stated that it was never used unmixed, but did not remember what was used for the mixture before commercial tobacco became common. The leaves and fruit of the bear-berry (skŭlI′s) were dried, crushed, and smoked in pipes. A plant called sma′nxŭ, apparently a species of *Nicotiana*, was formerly abundant and was smoked unmixed. At present it grows only near Riverside. A white root (xacxac) was pounded fine, dried, and mixed with tobacco to make it mild.

Pipe bowls were carved of steatite with thin reed tubes about five inches long set into the side. The specimens seen were small inverted cones or cylindrical in shape. None were carved in animal shapes, and no symbolic meanings were attached to their decoration.

276
788 Smoking was a feature of all ceremonies, and ceremonial smoking was essential whenever a shaman paused to "think about his power" during a cure, when the leader of a gambling team wished to give supernatural assistance during a game, or when a hunting leader sought to invoke his special power during an expedition. In no case does there seem to have been any idea of a smoke offering to particular spirits.

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 193(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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16 On the construction, see Material Culture.[1]
17 On this see Religion.[1]

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around."[1] Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,"[2] it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were seperate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 515

½ [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

PASTIMES AND SMOKING

Many games and pastimes were the same as among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and other tribes. A favorite summer rendezvous for horse-racing and playing games was at Moses Lake. In later days some of the Umatilla and Spokane went there to meet the Columbia. 524

SMOKING AND PIPES

Smoking-ceremonies were in vogue, and stone pipes were made in large numbers. It seems that the common kind of pipe in use long ago was tubular. The bowls of some were long, and of others short. Wooden stems were used with all. Pipes were ornamented with raised rings, flanges, and incised lines filled with red, white, and yellow paint. The most valuable pipes were of a semi-transparent greenish soapstone, similar to those of the Thompson Indians. Pipes of catlinite were also highly prized. Other colors of pipe-stone were white, gray, brown, black, and mottled. It is said that the elbow shape of pipe was common, at least at the end or in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Some pipes had small "hatchets" underneath the shank, close to the elbow.[30] These were occasionally perforated for attachment of ornaments and charms or used for strings by means of which the stem or mouthpiece was attached to the pipe. Simple bowl-pipes were also used. Some of these were similar in shape to short tubular pipes, except that the small end was closed, and the mouthpiece was set into the side instead of the small end.[31] Others had the bowl projecting upwards at right angles from a square base or platform which was bored for the stem.[32] The disk-shaped pipe[33] was fairly common among the Columbia Salish, as well as among the Sanpoil and Okanagon, but as far as I know, it was not used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Revais or some other informant told me that it was also used by the Nez Percé and Cayuse. Bowls of a few pipes were carved in human and animal forms. The tobacco appears to have been the same as that of the Thompson and Okanagon. The kinnikinick used seems to have been bearberry-leaves and red-willow bark. Pipes were occasionally made of antler, wood, and clay. 276

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[30] See Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, fig. 306; Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley*, fig. 113.
[31] See Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 275.
[32] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 113; Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 273.
[33] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 107-109.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of 314 other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use 321 among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[295] They generally had six holes. 534 The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving [204] signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[296] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

Pipes.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago 276 women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose [437] countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

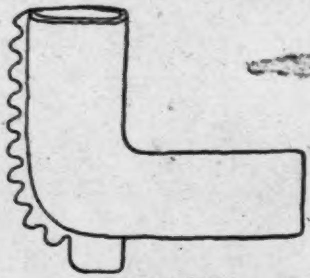

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

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[295] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[296] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Twins.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and
844 childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short
time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were
probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially
as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the
tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke
845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed
that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of
any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with
bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or
powers.[297] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart
from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had
[772] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne
name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought
that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among
other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman
who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again,
and no other children before or after.

854 Carriers or Cradles.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[298] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[299] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[297] See Thompson, a, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, e, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, k, p. 263.

[298] a, p. 306, fig. 280.

[299] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 225, 226.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[1] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe[2] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[1] See g, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.

[2] See i, figs. 107-109.

000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'ɫ* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'pelsxmxa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulent'sa* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Tiñtslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tsesxmxzɫ ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iáleixmí' or *Yóleixmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

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*171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

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*171
127 Slavery.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276
*171 Smoking.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red [439] and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was 276 common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe 788 was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often *171 pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool 276 on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, *171 probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

755/757 snake, the hair around the point where the fangs entered was singed off. This is the nearest approach to cauterization that I have recorded for the Sanpoil.

757 Surgical practice included removal of growths over the eye by an abrasive process, the lancing of boils and the removal of warts. The operation on the eye was accomplished with the aid of a small piece of bone that had been exposed to the weather for a long period of time and had become porous and rough. Such bone fragments were easily found by searching the fields. After a suitable piece of bone had been obtained it was heated in the camp fire "to kill any insects or bugs that might be in the fissures." A tiny piece was then broken off and used to scrape or abrade the surface of the lens capsule where the opacity existed. The operation required great skill and a steady hand, or the actual lens capsule would have been injured, resulting in permanent blindness.[3]

After horsehair was available warts were removed by holding a long hair taut between the two hands and moving it back and forth at the base of the wart until it cut through. Sometimes a large wart was removed by tying a horsehair around the base and gradually tightening the knot until the hair cut through. Warts were thought to disappear if rubbed with a porous bone until bleeding started.

Boils were opened by piercing with a thorn or a sharpened stick. To hasten healing the suppuration was forced out with a stick broken from the marker over a grave. After being used it was thrown back onto the grave or in the fire.

Limb joints swollen with rheumatism were blackened with charcoal. The rheumatic pains were admonished to "go to someone better off."

A bit of deer horn was placed in the mouth to relieve a toothache.

Bear grease was rubbed on sores, after being chewed and rubbed between the palms of the hands.

White clay from the banks of the Columbia river was mixed with water and drunk to relieve indigestion.

[278] A poison, which caused acute convulsions followed by death, was made from a plant called ini'xʷ by crushing it, mixing with water and boiling.

The following list represents that part of the native *materia medica* about which I was able to get more or less detailed information and specimens. I have not been able to arrange the list according to any consistent system of classification, either botanical or utilitarian, for although in the case of some plants a single part, such as the root, was used, and for a single purpose, many had various uses, and the several parts of other specimens were all used, either for one or more purposes.

A specimen of each type was obtained in the field for purposes of botanical identification. Some of these were identified in the herbarium of the Washington State Museum; the greater number was classified in the herbarium of Washington State College. A few of the specimens were unidentifiable.

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[3] Even with great care, however, it seems that the chances of avoiding serious injury to the eyeball must have been small, to say nothing of successfully restoring the eyesight. But Bob Covington insisted that he had known personally of two operations, both of which had been successful.

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27[illegible]
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1. Common Sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwinqwinəmənı'ɬpʷ, "blue brush"). This plant is one of those most commonly found in the territory of the Sanpoil, and perhaps the one most extensively used for medicinal purposes. A tea was brewed from the pulverized leaves and stems and used for the treatment of severe cases of the common cold and la grippe.

   A stronger tea, used in treating indigestion, biliousness and tuberculosis, was made from the tips only of the stems and a few seed pods. Sweating was customary preceding and following the drinking of the potion. Furthermore, these infusions acted as laxatives.[4]

2. Common Sagewort, *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Jeps., (naqənəqati'ɬpʷ, "ill-smelling bush"). A few leaves were placed in the nostrils and permitted to remain there for about an hour to relieve a cold in the head or a headache.

   Pulverized leaves of this sagewort were sprinkled on sores to hasten their healing.

3. Dragon Sagewort, *Artemisia Dracunculus* L., (tsitsiaqi'ɬpʷ, "squeaking bush"). Roots of this sage were steeped in cold water to obtain a brew which was used in the treatment of colds.[5]

4. Purple Sage, *Ramona incana* (Benth.) Dougl., (snık'nıkı'taqi·'n). This was another herb popularly used in the treatment of the common cold, or for any illness of a general nature. The potion was made by boiling or steeping the leaves in water.

5. Antelope Brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən, "grease wood"). The berries of this plant were crushed and mixed with water to form a concoction for the treatment of constipation or hemorrhage.

6. Rabbit Brush, *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (Pall.) Britt., var. *speciosus* (Nutt.) Hall, (papa·'ləmıɬpʷ, "buckskin brush"[6]). A smudge produced by burning this brush was considered effective in curing horses of distemper. A few pieces of brush were placed in a container, lighted, and held below the horse's nostrils.

   Also, the branches and leaves were pulverized and mixed with water to form a paste-like substance which was rubbed on horses to protect them from horseflies and gnats.

7. Buckbrush, *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh, (we·'γənıɬpʷ, koli'tkiɬpʷ). This brush was utilized in the preparation of a powder for use on sores or wounds. After removing the bark the sap wood was scraped away, then dried and pulverized. Grease or oil of any kind was rubbed on the afflicted part and the powder sprinkled on top of it.

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[4] For non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 36.
[5] For a non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 76.
[6] So termed because of its use in smoking buckskin.

8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wá·'lək, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. 137 278 757

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itakən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (əp'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (x̣ax̣a'iipʷ). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̇ots-q̇otso'iá'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.

    It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

    The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. [847
    A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion.

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.(12) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [415]

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tubercolosis.

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[9] See page 135.

[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

[illegible]7
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17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores.

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes.

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sot'si'amt, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakai'lpᵉ, "humped-up plant," pi'ï'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (pətspətsəmɛ'kuł, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵉ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tul'tul'ti'lpᵉ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (χoχti'ľp", "cut-off bush"): Th roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, t form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful parts, sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultic in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hai wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (χoχo'i'ľp"). The stickers and outer covering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split into fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color, which was used for colds.

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stamtamani'i'ľp", "gravebush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

[515]

Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

[362]

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis lingusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓ataásuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'χpoχilp", "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̓iq̓i'tani'ľp", "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xloxwi'lpˣ, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 137 278 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilpˣ). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (staptəpsa'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətəmatsi'lpˣ). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (tuptəpəla'u'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [757]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sua'tkulpˣ). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nqˣ). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 153.

[20] Identification not certain.

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38. An umbelliferous species, (álápi'spas). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

39. tcuqtcuqti'łpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

[841]

40. məsmasaiu'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[21]

41. təstcu'sləmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulquləni'łpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

[303]

43. χa'sχəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805

The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soq̓e'imən ł'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'łutən..........	"time that it snows"
kfsa'fsa'łtə'n..........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kəł..............	"time that it is white"
skənı'γumən..........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpstctitə'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'χumən...........	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən..........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[21] Cf. page 134.

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411 531 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design in natural color on pigment[21]

411 321 324 Arrows for shooting small game were not provided with stone heads but were simply sharpened to a point. War arrows and those designed for large game were fitted with bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in [463 778] the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'Ístin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 ●278 789 [821] Arrows for both war and the chase were sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning. The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connected with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the [825] Colville did. The distinction is doubtful. A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsátsExûnt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow [754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

314 276 put into buckskin bags and pulverized by rubbing the sides of the bag together. The tobacco was then stored in another bag. One informant, Suszen Timentwa, stated that the tobacco was pulled up by the roots, dried for ten to fifteen minutes over a fire, then stored in tight cedar-root baskets. He also stated that it was kept moist by putting in the basket fresh roots or grass, but on another occasion denied this. It seems improbable that the tobacco plant was rooted up, as this would destroy the supply, but it

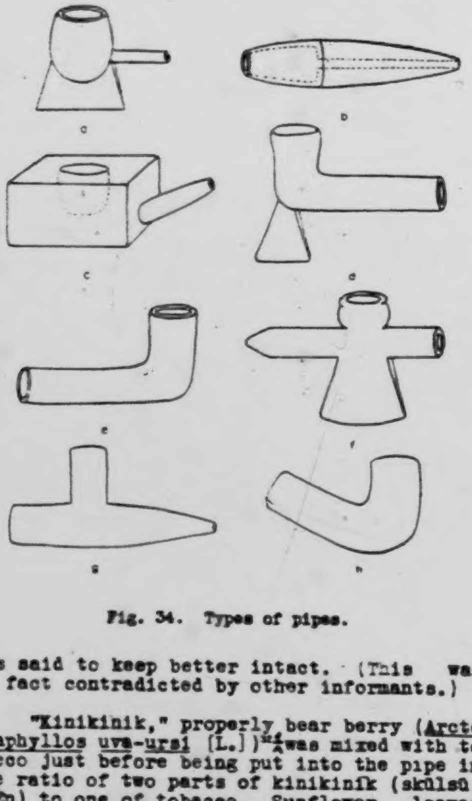

Fig. 34. Types of pipes.

was said to keep better intact. (This was in fact contradicted by other informants.)

"Kinikinik," properly bear berry (Arctostaphyllos uva-ursi [L.])[1] was mixed with tobacco just before being put into the pipe in the ratio of two parts of kinikinik (skûlsû-ɬmEn) to one of tobacco. Sunflower leaves were substituted for tobacco, as also a plant called cqElûxcma′nûc (which grows by streams) and the dried pulverized root of x̣a′cx̣a′c. [278] (The last named was also used to revive unconscious persons.) All three were mixed with kinikinik. Not so sman'xû, a "grass" growing near Riverside, which was smoked alone.

276 Formerly the pipe, tobacco, and kinikinik were carried in two separate bags worn at the waist. These bags were made by women for their husbands according to the latter's

[1] [For footnote, see p.66(C), category 116. -- Analyst]

For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entăq'qūI'nIk was dried, steeped in water, 757 and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; if confined to his bed, 278 whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ĕntăktăkqwaIn^{xū}) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. X̣ax̣aĕ'lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called x̣waIt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds.

Tuberculosis (xqExōhōm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. [753] Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning.

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqălqălstsI'm, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcĕx̣tcūx̣tcq!ĕlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci'nūk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the [787 smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this 825] disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered.

p. 165 (B)

757 278 For "summer complaint" (perhaps sunstroke), called cintca'xqē'n, symptomized by headache and bleeding at the nose, a plant called tEwatē'wa ("wild peppermint" in the local English) was administered.

For stomachache the roots of a plant called t'sIt'sIxa'Ilp were boiled and the infusion drunk. Water in which rock sagebrush had been steeped was also drunk for stomach trouble.

Headache (cqē'lqin) was treated by binding "some kind of a weed" against the temples and stuffing it into the nostrils. Michel said that "any weed" was used for this; Johnnie stated that one sometimes used red willow (ctiktikstcxwI'lph). Also the root of a plant called xwa'It was chewed.

For constipation the following remedies were taken internally: tea made from the grass called xaxalahō'pc, or the bush known as tēptēpcalqūh; water from Omak Lake or Goose Lake.

Swooning, fits and other losses of consciousness or control were treated by burning the root of a plant called xacxac and blowing the smoke on the patient. A fragrant fir bough (mErIłp) was also used to revive one who had fainted.

Nose bleed (ckwatsks) was treated by bathing the back of the head with cold water.

To boils was applied the foul juice from a smoker's pipe or a poultice of hot pine pitch.

Sores were treated by applying warm rocks or dirt.

Skin irritations caused by poison ivy were smeared with the milky sap from a broken stem of sumac.

For wounds, a weed called xaRxARIEmA', which was something like pigweed, was mashed, dampened with water, made into a slimy paste, and applied as a poultice. Buckskin bandages were also used. Wounds on the skull were treated in the same way, no trephining or cautery being practiced for them.

Though many shamans knew how to set bones, it was not a professional art and relatives of the patient usually performed it. Flat splints were bound to the broken limb with buckskin bandages. Sometimes the pulp of the inner bark of the red willow or the pine was placed on the limb, which was then wrapped tightly with a small twined tule mat and held in cold water for as long as the patient could bear it.

Sore eyes were bathed in water from Omak Lake.

Toothache (snEk!ēlIc, from k!ēlIc, "it

6 See Individual Life Cycle.

757 278 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

Abortion was called cxĕntst; simple miscarriage was cxênt. Since abortion was sinful, the herbs used in procuring it were kept secret. Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect. 847 278

231 278 Distemper in horses was treated by fumigation with certain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male or female, some plants had sex, determined from the shape of the roots, especially sunflower and the plant from which love medicine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted another's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter. 778 789 832 824

Love medicine (plax or pɫaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 825 Parents often disciplined their children by telling them that the owl (snĕna') or the night-hawk (kwaŏwīl) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

770 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lel-el-el-el!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *171 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtain-
*171 ing good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or
other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad
luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind,
• 278 poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to
*171 a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which
she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another
method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[192] [1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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[152]

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 [A26] [324] Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Barsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (snta·''min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɛ'ksmən) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon 372 or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks.

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321 A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished [illegible] with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412 They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4. a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281 three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415 were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4. b).

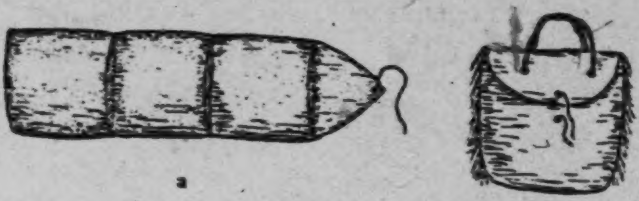

FIG. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283 thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322 basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412 inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281 pages 93-94. 415

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 286 291 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presumably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 286 291 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis, [137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̣atsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (taqux'sqaləstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqai'stan), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The [283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always 286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two 294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlakwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were 281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front 286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg- 291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

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Extensive use of buckskin characterised the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kililxwa'lntxantan) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

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Foot wear in the form of moccasins (spaɛ'pi'xan) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the [531] other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

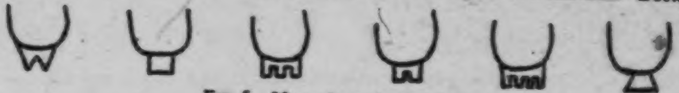

FIG. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

281 291 531 Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sqwa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'takan) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (sknálkwá'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 281 291 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'á'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

177 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which
281 was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superim-
291 posed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed
together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'å'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its
origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be
certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical
seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around
the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight
inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[530] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo
skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most
301 of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian
531 spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the
776 wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special
ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

262/825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261/826 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[11]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224/483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [941] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224/281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[11] Cf., page 108.

224 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut 281 off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

776 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were con- 251 structed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the 888 wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps 251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, 415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

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Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes varying from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, pampama·'ks, means "folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16.

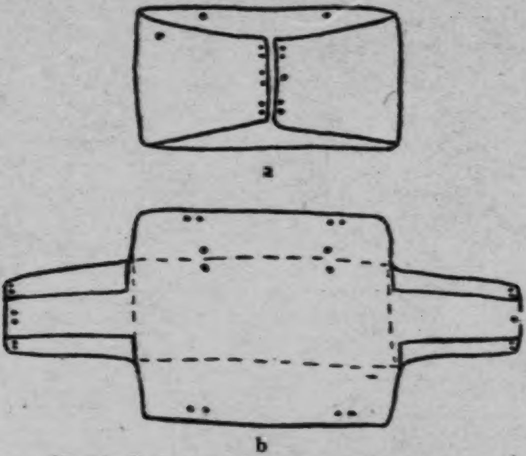

Fig. 16. Parfleche patterns: (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

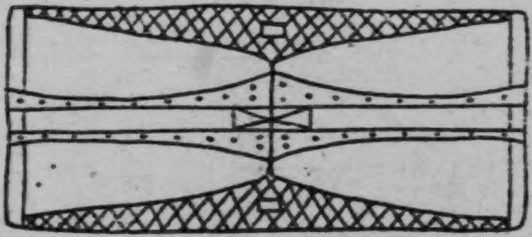

Fig. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[illegible] 177 281 415 531

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs. 251

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called snlauqu", "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement. 281

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

[illegible] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration*, *passim*.

The skin was then ready to be stretched upon the scraping frame (Plate 5, Figure A). This frame was formed by two poles set vertically in the ground about five feet apart, with two transverse poles lashed to them, one near the ground and the other about five feet above. Holes were pierced at intervals of about six inches around the entire edge of the skin. The hide was first fastened to the top pole and allowed to dry for a time, then the bottom was lashed tight to the lower pole. Next the sides were fastened to the upright posts. The lashing consisted of a buckskin thong tied to the post, passed through one hole in the skin, around the pole, through the next hole, etc. As the skin was scraped it stretched, necessitating occasional tightening of the lashings. 281

Upon the scraping and rubbing depended the pliability and thickness of the skin. A thick skin could be greatly enlarged in size by long working. To hasten drying during the working a fire was built on the ground on either side of the frame except on very hot days. The fires required careful attention, for too much heat dried the skin too fast, necessitating re-soaking. Scrapers (Plate 2, Figure F), were made of granite schist which was fractured by heating. Fragments two [344] to four inches across were used. The working edge was rounded and sharpened. A wooden handle about two feet long and an inch or two in diameter was provided.

The scraping process occupied considerable time, sometimes several hours. Occasionally skins, especially small ones, were tanned without the use of a frame. The worker wrapped one end of the skin around her righ knee, pressed it against the ground, and pulled it taut with her left hand. In the right hand she used an unhafted stone scraper. At intervals she held the skin near the fire to hasten drying. A third method was to fasten the hafted scraper in a rigid position by thrusting it in the ground or fastening it to a tree. The skin was then moved over the scraper. This method was less popular than the preceding two. Finally, the simplest manner of tanning was by rubbing the skin between the hands for several hours. This was most practical for very small hides.

If a light colored hide was desired the tanning was completed with the scraping or rubbing. Ordinarily, however, smoking was added to enable the skin to better withstand dampness and wetting. Buckskin intended for moccasins was invariably smoked. For this purpose a small pit was dug in the ground over which a tripod was erected (Plate 5, Figure C). The skin was sewed loosely together so that it might be slipped over the poles of the tripod. In the pit, which was a foot in diameter and half again as deep, a slow fire of rotten pine or cedar was built. Occasionally other woods were used. Both sides of a skin were smoke treated. The time required depended entirely upon the texture of the skin, but averaged perhaps four hours. Some skins, especially those to be used for moccasins, were twice smoked. That is, after the smoking of the two sides had been completed in the usual fashion, the process was repeated, but for a shorter period of time.

Finally, the outside edge of the skin, where the holes had been punched, was trimmed off, for it always became badly torn during the rubbing; and any other holes that had appeared during the tanning were patched with pieces of buckskin sewed on with sinew.

281 Pelts tanned without removing the hair were never immersed in water. The tissue remaining on the skin was scraped away while it was green, with the use of the same log and bone scraper previously described. The tanning agent was applied by sprinkling. After this had thoroughtly soaked in the hide was scraped and rubbed until dry and pliable. The frame was not used except for very large pelts.

462 Skin dressing was exclusively woman's work.

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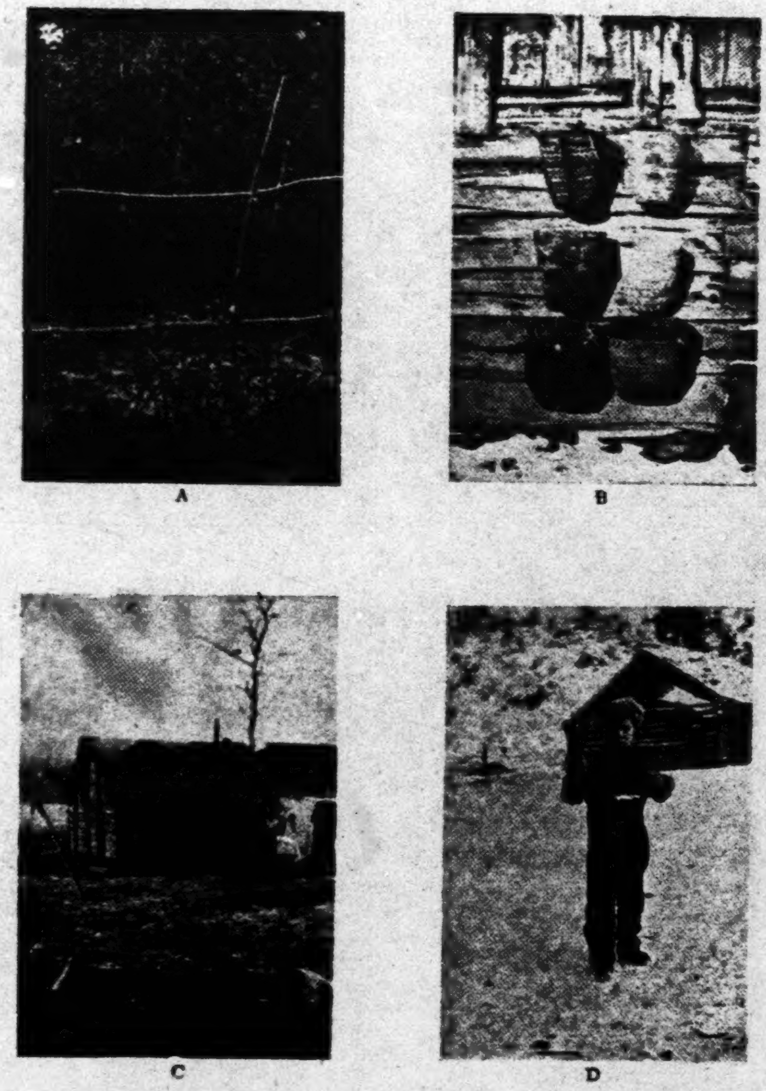

A B C D

PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 281 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEkɛ·ɛ'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

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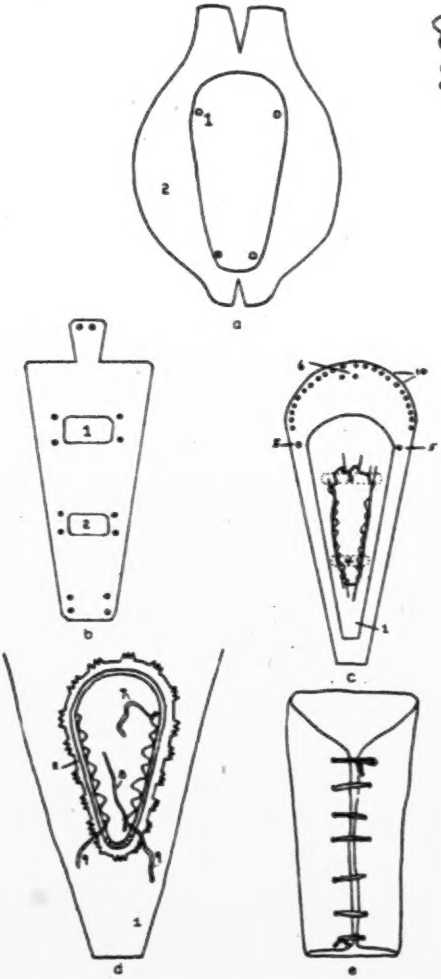

Fig. 17. Cradle types and patterns (a, infant's first cradle; b, old trapezoidal type; c, recent oval type with pouch; d, detail of the pouch shown in c; e, sack for use at night).

p. 51 (A)

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 These (called pEnpEnaˇ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were

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laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon.[1]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

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415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29).[1] Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 62 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[27] Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

276 specifications. They were about six inches wide by nine inches long, but varied greatly in size. They were sewed up on one side, perhaps fringed at the seam, and were closed by a draw-string at the top. They were decorated with porcupine quills. A shaman's pouch was painted on both sides. In more recent times they used a single long bag, about the length of a stocking, open at both ends, and separated into two parts by a seam across the middle. Tobacco and pipe were kept in one compartment, kinikinik in the other. A Wenatchi woman shaman was seen with a cloth bag of this type knotted several times in the middle to keep the compartments separate. One informant stated that the bag was sewn down the middle: whether this means longitudinally or transversely is not clear. These bags were fringed and decorated with quill work, though modern cloth bags were undecorated. Tobacco bags were made of ground-hog skin, buckskin, and, in later days, other materials. Otter hide was used by chiefs and other wealthy men, "strong men" who were able to (permitted to ?) make fire with the fire drill.

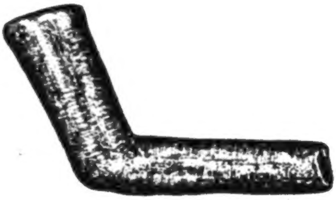

Fig. 35. Stone pipe.

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791 In former days the only women who smoked were shamans. Smoking always accompanied a shamanistic curing ceremony. A man shaman had a special ceremonial pipe decorated with his power animal, in addition to his ordinary or secular pipe. No other person was permitted to smoke the shaman's ceremonial pipe.

PREPARATION OF MATERIALS

Tanning

●281 Deer skins were tanned by women. If the skin was not to be prepared immediately it was hung, hair side under, over a pole tied between two trees until dry, then stored away. When ready for dressing the skin was soaked in a stream for several days. The wet skin was then laid over a log leaned against a tree and the hair scraped off. This log, prepared by a man, was about six inches in diameter and about five or six feet long.

The bark was removed and the log beveled at the upper end to rest flat against the tree. After the neck of the deerskin had been scraped, it was tucked in between the end of the log and the tree so that the skin was draped over the log with the legs hanging. The hair was then scraped from the rest of the skin with a downward motion always in the direction the hair lay. Women made their own scrapers of the fibula (?) of a deer, naturally sharpened on one edge, but further sharpened with a stone knife. The articulations at the ends of the bone were not removed but were wrapped with buckskin or sinew where it was grasped. The parts of the skin were scraped in the following order: the neck, forelegs, back, and finally the hind legs. On a large buckskin a thin layer immediately under the hair, probably the pigment layer, had to be removed to leave the hide smooth. The long hair of a hide taken in fall or winter was often cut short before scraping. After the hair had been removed, blood was washed from the skin in clear water until it was white. The skin was then hung up to dry with the hair side down. A woman who wanted to prepare her buckskin quickly would scrape off the hair while the skin was still fresh. This was more difficult than after the skin had been dried and soaked.

After drying, the skin was soaked for one or two days in a basket containing a mixture of water and deer brains. The brains had been previously buried in the ground until decomposed; which took over a week. One brain was sufficient to tan two skins. While soaking, the skin was worked from time to time with an edged stone and rubbed between the hands to aid the softening process. The skin was then wrung nearly dry. For this process the neck end was wrapped around a post or a small tree and turned back so that the end was caught in the folds of the skin. The skin was then twisted once counter-clockwise and the hind legs similarly wrapped around a stick. Holding the stick in both hands and pulling, the tanner then twisted the skin counter-clockwise as far as possible, until it knotted itself up against the tree. After being left for a few minutes until all the water had dripped out, it was untwisted and tied on the stretching frame with cords of braided Indian hemp about one-quarter inch thick.

The stretching rack consisted of a pole tied near the ground between two saplings about six feet apart, and another pole tied about five feet above it, thus making a parallelogram about six feet wide and five feet high. If a small skin was to be dried the frame was shortened by tying a vertical pole to the horizontals to give the desired length.

Holes for a cord to pass through were made with an awl about two inches apart all around the edge of the skin. Any tears in the skin were tightly sewed up before stretching. The skin was always stretched with the flesh side toward the operator and the neck toward the right. The two corners of the neck and the ends of the hind legs were tied tightly to the four corners of the frame. The ends of the forelegs were tied to the upper and lower bars and the tail to one upright. Then a long length of quarter-inch Indian hemp rope was tied to the upper horizontal with a half bow knot and passed alternately through a hole in the skin and over the bar until the skin was tightly laced to the frame all around. As the skin stretched during the scraping, the rope was tightened. The edges of the skin were scraped with a stone scraper held in the hand; for the larger surface the scraper was attached to an eighteen-inch handle. The operator held the scraper in both hands and, standing sideways facing either the neck or the tail of the hide, scraped toward herself. The scraping process was continued until all the flesh was removed and the skin left soft and white. This required several hours.

The final step in the tanning process was the smoking of the hide. A circular pit about eighteen inches in diameter was dug in the ground and a fire of two or three heavy sticks was built in it. When this had burned to coals, pine cones, rotten fir wood, and dry willow broken into small splinters were put on the coals to produce a dense smoke over which the skin was left all day. This gave the buckskin a strong yellow tinge, desirable for moccasins. For gloves and other articles calling for a white skin, only dry willow splinters were used in the smoking. Formerly the skin was laid over a dome of green poles, like a sweat house frame, built over the fire pit. Three skins were smoked at once so as to cover the entire dome. This method was replaced at least forty years ago by another. In the modern method the softened skin is trimmed all around to an even edge, folded along its longitudinal axis with the flesh side in, and sewed up from the neck to the end of the hind legs, thus making a sort of bag with the opening at the hind end between the tail and the hind feet. The skin is then hung, opening down, from a horizontal pole tied between two trees, directly over the smoke hole. A broad band of cloth sewed to the open end of the skin and fitted to the edge of the fire pit caught all the smoke and directed it into the skin.

Skins to be tanned with the hair on were stretched tightly about three inches above the ground by stakes driven through holes in the edges of the skin. The skin was moistened with water and the upturned flesh side was scraped with a handleless stone scraper. As the skin became loose the pegs were moved so as to tighten it. No deer brains were used in this process.

The implement used for scraping the flesh from the drying skin was a flat rounded stone. Figure 21 shows the outline as traced from a specimen: only one edge was prepared for scraping, that to the left. A flat weathered slab taken from the river, perhaps an eighth-inch (?) thick, was laid on coals until the heat split it along its lines

● 28 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

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314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (spēl´tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was re-
[439] served for their own use, but the bulk was sold to the Thompson.

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 68 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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33 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 66, 219, 231.[1]

p. 68 (A)

BAGS

Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parflèches and square 281
hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use
with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian- 531
hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which 285
other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

WOVEN CLOTHING

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some 291
called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly 285
by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of 531
these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

DRESS AND CLOTHES

The clothing of the Columbia Salish, as far as I could learn, varied somewhat in different bands, but, on the whole, it seems to have been about the same as among the Sanpoil. Robes were of dressed skin painted, but more generally of skins of deer, fawn, marmot, and the like, dressed in the hair, and sewed together. Marmot robes, woven goat's-wool robes, and woven rabbit-skin robes, were much used by the Wenatchi, Chelan, and western and northwestern bands. Small robes, cloaks, and capes of fur and of dressed leather, were also used by both sexes. Ponchos of deer-skin, coyote-skin, and the like, were also worn. 291 281

Women wore long dresses with and without sleeves; those with sleeves, however, but rarely, as sleeves were a modern innovation. The common style seems to have been similar to the Yakima dress figured by Wissler.[46] A few dresses retained the tail-pieces of the skin. Some dresses were of three deerskins. Two skins sewed together formed the skirt. I did not learn definitely whether the tail-ends were down or up, but it seems that in most cases they were down. The third skin was doubled and sewed to the others transversely, forming the yoke or shoulder-part. A slit for the head was made in the middle of the one forming the yoke. Sometimes, instead of using tie-strings, the slit was drawn together at the neck with draw strings. Fringes followed the joining of the yoke with the skirt-part across the body. All the edges of dresses were generally fringed. In the winter some dresses retaining the hair were used. Some old women and young girls wore fringed bodices instead of dresses. Short vests of fur, laced at one side or at both sides (or at the back?) were used by both sexes in the winter-time. Some women in the summer-time wore short sleeveless shirts of light leather in conjunction with bodices.

Short leggings of dressed skin of deer, antelope, and the like, were worn. Fur leggings were used sometimes instead of buckskin ones by both sexes in the winter-time. Long mittens, similar to those of the Cœur d'Alêne, were used in cold weather. They were generally made of coyote-skin, reached to the armpits, and were fastened with a loop or string around the neck. In the winter-time sometimes sleeves of coyote-skin were used in the same way, especially by people who wore sleeveless shirts or vests and capes. It seems that they were tied above the elbow.

Women wore conical grass caps of the Nez Percé type; and others, more pointed ones woven of willow bark. Many caps, however, were made of buckskin. Head-bands were used by both sexes.

The men wore long leggings of dressed skin, breech-clouts (some used aprons instead), and shirts with and without sleeves, mostly the latter. Shirts

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[46] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains Indians* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 17, 1915, 39-91), fig. 18.

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, 301
which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common
use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by
men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a
good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other
robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-
skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered
with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across
the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or
triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a
wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded
or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these
styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills
applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were
common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for neck-
laces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of
copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common,
and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other
animals, and others of teeth of elk, and horse, were used. Some pendants
were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were
attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used,
also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of
syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few
antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was uni-
versal, and some people tattooed. 304

5: Teit

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Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[See the following pages in category 116: pp. 65-73--Analyst]

386 paint was procured at a place about 10 miles below Rockford, and consisted of a red mud which was collected and kneaded into balls. When dry, it was heated over a fire. When cooked, it became brittle and on the slightest pressure turned into a fine powder. Nearly all kinds of mineral earths used as paints were also used as dyes, different shades of red, yellow, blue, and black being obtained from them. Some materials, such as grass and bark, were dyed black by being buried for a time in wet black loam. A common yellow dye was obtained by boiling the roots of the Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.) and a common yellow or lemon colored dye was obtained by boiling wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*). This lichen was also used as a paint. It was dipped into cold water or applied to a damp surface. A reddish dye was obtained by boiling alder bark (*Alnus rubra*); and a green dye, from the leaves of the snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.).

281 PREPARATION OF SKINS.—The processes of dressing skins were similar to those practiced by the Thompson Indians.[21] Of old (also employed at the present day) the common method, especially for medium-sized skins, was to soak the skin in water for several days. It was then placed on a smooth log resting against a tree, as among the Thompson, and the flesh side scraped clean. It was then reversed, and the hair scraped off, along with the outer cuticle of the skin. Some people scraped the hair side first. The scrapers or fleshers used were the ulna of the deer and the rib bone of elk or horse.[22] The skin was again soaked for a short time, and then wrung by twisting with a short stick, as among the Thompson. It was then stretched on a frame of four poles with lacing, and pushed and rubbed with a long-handled grainer with a stone head, like those of the Thompson,[23] until dry and soft.

If to be smoked (and most skins were smoked), two methods were used. One was identical with the process of smoking among the Thompson Indians, the skin being spread over a framework of sticks above the smoke hole.[24] The other method was to fold the skin in the form of a conical bag, closed at the top. The edges were pinned together. A crossbar was placed inside near the closed end and a rope was tied to it for suspension. The skin was kept in shape by means of a number of braces and hoops placed inside. The small end was hung to the branch of a tree, beam, pole, or tripod overhead.[25] The lower edges of the skin touched the ground around the hole in which a fire was made. They were kept in place by small pegs—like a small tent. Sometimes, to prevent the escape of smoke, the skin, or part of it, was covered with a piece of canvas, blanket, or other old material. This process of smoking in time almost entirely superseded the former, and is used at the present day. In either method the skin was usually reversed, and the opposite side also smoked. However, many skins were smoked only on the inside. The materials used in smoking skins consisted of rotten wood of the cottonwood tree, and of cones of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).

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[21] *a*, pp. 184–186.
[22] See Thompson, *a*, figs. 128, 129.
[23] *a*, fig. 127.
[24] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65; Thompson, *a*, p. 185.
[25] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 176 and fig. 3.

Skins to be cured with oil were cleaned and dried, then soaked for several days in a basket with brains and water. They were then wrung and grained in the same way as already described. Occasionally, instead of soaking, the skin was smeared several times with brains or with oil until saturated, and then rubbed. At the present day skins are nearly all soaked in soap and water, as among the Thompson. When the hair was to be retained, only the inside of the skin was dressed. Animals' brains and salmon oil were much used for preparing skins, especially for those dressed in the hair, which were nearly always oil cured. As among the Thompson Indians, skins were occasionally treated by leaving them in water until the hair pulled out, or by burying them in ashes.[26] Some grainers or scrapers with short handles of wood or antler and with small stone heads, and a few of a single piece of bone with one end sharpened[27] but not serrated, were used for softening the skins of small mammals. This was done over the knee. These grainers were similar in shape of blade and handle to the large straight grainers, but only about 15 cm. in length.[28] Some small stone scrapers without handles, some of them like rounded knife blades or grainers,[29] were also used. Usually only large skins of deer and medium and small skins of elk and buffalo were stretched on frames and rubbed with long-handled grainers. Small deer skins and antelope skins were held down by the feet and worked by pulling over the knees and toward the body,[30] at the same time being rubbed with a short grainer held in one hand. Only rarely were they stretched and laced on frames.

Another method of treating these skins was to draw them back and forth over a stick implanted in the ground and provided with a stone head. Large, heavy hides, especially of buffalo, in a dry state, were pegged to the ground, and treated, it seems, as described by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[31] Adze-shaped scrapers, with blades of stone and iron, and handles generally of wood with hide shrunk over

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[26] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 177.

[27] See Thompson specimen, Field Mus. 111742.

[28] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352 *b*, *c*; Ottawa Mus. Nos. 161, 164.

[29] Similar to Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5 *a*.

[30] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

[31] See Blackfoot, *c*, pp. 63–70.

281 them,[22] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the Coeur d'Alène did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[23] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[462] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

283 Sewing.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
412 fully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[24] Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[22] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[23] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[24] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

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quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

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Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

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Skin Bags and Pouches.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177] fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small, round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] c. fig. 36.

237 281 415 531 Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

/ Rawhide Bags and Parflêches.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflêches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflêches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches. 237 ~~281~~ 415 531

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint. [462]

Flexible Baskets.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[31] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these 285 415 531 skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 237 317 372 415

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[31] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp. 281 291 [302] [484]

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often 281× 294

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160.

[74] a, fig. 161.

[75] a, pl. 18.

237 292 301 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé [107] 285 294 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé [108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 294 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.

[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

[108] *b*, fig. 4.

[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281/
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot; [112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [415]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] a, fig. 191.

[111] a, fig. 194.

[112] c, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] c, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] c, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] c, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] c, fig. 25 and p. 60.

301 321 325 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones. 237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 321 NOSE ORNAMENTS.—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the [170] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

EAR ORNAMENTS.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the [304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mᴇtsᴇmᴇtsĕ'ᴇlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 301 321 HAIR ORNAMENTS.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, 301
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132] It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and 412
of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, c, fig. 231.

[133] a, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] b, p. 221.

[135] a, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, a, fig. 209.

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224 from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462] canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes 177 run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not 224 always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152] more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224 some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292 Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224 Thompson [169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281] for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] *a*, p. 248.

[170] *a*, fig. 228.

224 tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear

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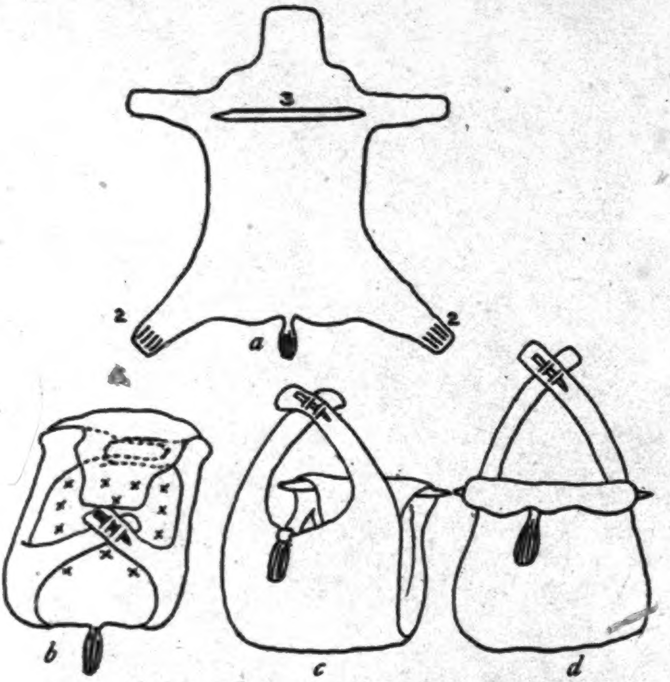

FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for
223 catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.[171] Young eagles were

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[171] Shuswap, *e*, p. 523; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there.
32 Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts.
171 A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for
531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville
439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate.
386 Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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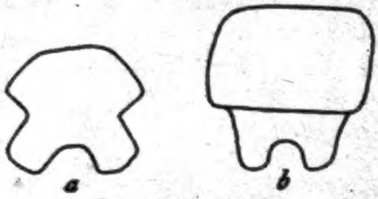

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

● 281 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap.
412 Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the
415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archaeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188-189.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 190, fig. 131, c.

SKIN BAGS.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[24] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

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RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÈCHES.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[25] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[24] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[25] See Shuswap, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible], and Thompson, a, p. [illegible], fig. 151.

415 It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many
251 spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 281 **Dress.**—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common robes were those made of skins of deer, fawn, antelope, buffalo, beaver, otter, marmot, coyote, and lynx, all dressed in the hair. Robes woven of twisted strips of rabbit skin were made and worn by all the tribes. Probably a few of twisted strips of muskrat were also in use. Robes or blankets woven of goat's wool were made and used only by the Lake tribe. Probably a few of these blankets were procured from the Wenatchi, and used by Okanagon as bedcovers. Dogskin robes were not worn, except by the Similkameen. A few robes of dressed buckskin, painted and embroidered, were used, especially in fine weather and at festivals. Small robes or cloaks were worn by a few people of both sexes, but probably mostly by women and children. Some woven ones were used by the Similkameen.[1] Cloaks were tied or pinned in front. Capes of a small size, and made to fit the shoulders, were used in a few places by women and children, rarely by men. Most cloaks and capes were made of skins of small animals, dressed in the hair and sewed together—marmot, skunk, squirrel, ground squirrel, muskrat, mink, marten, weasel, and young fawn. A few were made of woven rabbit skin, and some were of dressed buckskin edged with fur. Some combined shirts and capes were used by the Lake tribe. The underpart of the garment was a sleeveless shirt of buckskin, sewed at the sides from the armpits to the waist or belt. The bottom was pinked or fringed and ornamented with a band of embroidery or painting. The upper part, or cape, was attached to the back of the neck of the shirt and was of buckskin edged with fur. The neck part was ornamented with a collar of skin, sometimes of leather pinked and embroidered, sometimes of the fur of fox, wolf, otter, etc. Some capes had long, fine-cut fringes along the bottom, and were further ornamented with pendent feathers of eagles or hawks, or with tassels of hair, weasel skins, and the like. Sometimes the whole cape was profusely covered with rows of ermine skins put on flat or cut and twisted into long pendants. Tufts of hair and feathers were also used, and some capes were punctured all over with rows of small holes. Usually the shirt was provided with a belt of stiff skin, which was set with pendants of deer's hoofs, beads, hair tassels, feathers, or strips of ermine skins. Sometimes both large and small robes were worn poncho style.

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[11] See Ottawa collection, Nos. 135, 137.

[12] See Thompson, a, p. 204, fig. 186.

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. 136, a juniper-bark spoon.

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's shirts and leggings were similar to some of the styles used by the Thompson. A common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. Sometimes the shoulders only were sewed together, the sides being provided with lacings, or merely held together with a few stitches of thong. The neck pieces of the skins were folded down at the back and front, where they were stitched or sewed to the body of the shirt. Usually they were shaped into circular or triangular forms and ornamented with embroidery

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[1] See p. [illegible].

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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and fringing. A few shirts retained the tails, or at least the one at the back, and the parts of the leg skins shaped into points or cut square, a little of the deer's-leg hair being left on for tufts at the ends. The seams of these shirts were embroidered and fringed. These shirts, in both cut and style of ornamentation, appear to have been almost the same as the Nez Percé shirt figured by Wissler.[2] Another common shirt was made of a single large skin folded over and sewed at the sides, and sometimes stitched here and there under the arms. A hole was cut and shaped in the middle for the head to pass through. There was no breast cut. The fringes along the sides and under the arm pieces were sometimes very long. Separate pieces of skin, triangular in shape and covered with embroidery in quills or beads, or punctured and painted, were sewed to the shirt at the front and back of the neck.[3] Neither of these kinds had true sleeves. In more modern times many men's shirts had sleeves, and they were of different styles. (Fig. 17.)

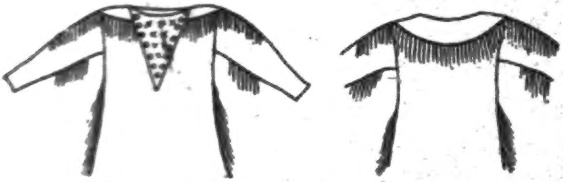

FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern clothing

The one shown in the illustration is a leather shirt seen by me among the Lake tribe. Each sleeve was of two pieces, and the back and front each of two pieces. The shirt was cut low on the breast, and over this opening a separate piece of white unsmoked skin was fastened to the shirt with metal buttons. This piece of skin was triangular in shape and embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. The sleeves were smaller at the wrists, just large enough to admit the hands. All the seams were fringed.

Some men wore, instead of the regular shirts, a kind of vest. In most cases this reached only to the hips and was made generally of buffalo and other skin dressed in the hair. This kind of poncho shirt or vest was tied or laced at the sides with thongs.[4] In later days some of them opened a short distance down the breast.[5] Breast cuts on vests and shirts are considered comparatively modern. A similar garment, but much longer, reaching generally to the knees, was in use. Most garments of this style were made of two entire deerskins and were fastened around the waist with a belt.[6] Perhaps they may be

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[2] d, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]; and Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible].

[4] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible]; Peabody Museum, Teit collection nos. 281, 282, 283.

[5] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. 182. Both the collar and breast cut are said to have been introduced within 120 years.

[6] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible]; Peabody Museum, Teit collection no. 280.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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better classed as ponchos. Some boys of the Sanpoil wore shirts of an entire case-skinned coyote skin with the head part cut off. The shirt (or skin) slipped over the head and was fastened with strings on the shoulder. The tail hung at the back. There was no sewing on this kind of shirt, except that the shoulders were sometimes edged with buckskin to prevent tearing where the tie strings were. Some Sanpoil men wore shirts made of four backs of coyote skins sewed together. The tails were often retained for ornament. In some cases two coyote skins were used, forming back and front, the sides consisting of dressed buckskin. The tails were generally retained, particularly the back one.[7] Shirts of this kind were probably also worn to some extent by men of the other tribes.

Small ponchos serving the purpose of neck wraps and covering the opening of shirts on the shoulders were worn by some men over their shirts. They consisted of single skins (in the fur) of coyote, wolf, fox, lynx cat, bear cub. The tail was retained and hung down the back.[8] Some neck wraps of entire rabbit skins sewed together were used in the winter by both sexes.

Breechclouts were of soft dressed buckskin and were of styles similar to those of the Thompson. Long ago those made of a single long piece drawn under the belt, the ends hanging like long aprons before and behind, were most rare. Some people think this style was adopted after Hudson's Bay cloth and blankets came into use. Old men and boys might wear simple aprons of dressed skin and fur, sometimes quite long, without breechclouts. Sometimes the long shirts worn by old men reached nearly to the knees. With these they wore neither breechclouts nor aprons, but with short shirts they were always worn. The usual skin leggings generally had long fringes cut in various ways. Cloth leggings had wide uncut side flaps.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's dresses reached to the calves of the legs, and some almost touched the feet. The style of dress most common had an extension of the cape or shoulder part, which hung down over the arms almost to the wrists, and served as sleeves.[9] In some the extension was short, reaching to the elbow. The arm extensions were often quite loose, while in other dresses they were fastened under the arms with thongs here and there. These dresses were generally made of two large buckskins or two cow-elk skins sewed together heads down. Unlike the Shahaptian custom, the tails of the deer were cut off instead of being retained for ornament. According to the description these dresses agreed, except for the retaining of the tails, with the Yakima specimen figured by Wissler.[10] In

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[7] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 400.

[8] See Thompson, a, pl. 18.

[9] See d, fig. 15.

[10] See d, fig. 13.

291 place of the tails the Okanagon generally inserted a triangular piece
281 of beading or other ornamentation. A few dresses with full-length sleeves sewed on [11] were worn. A few dresses had no sleeves at all, the arms being bare to the shoulders. A very few young girls and old women wore no dresses, but instead fringed bodices or skirts of skin reaching to the knees or below. Some of these had high bodies which were fastened at the shoulders, but the bodies of others extended hardly above the waist. The low-bodied kind were worn also by nearly all well-dressed women under their dresses. A bodice alone was not considered a complete dress. Narrow breechclouts were worn by some girls, and also by women, during menstruation. Women's leggings were like those of the Thompson. When traveling in deep snow some women wore long leggings nearly like those of the men. A very few poor people of the Similkameen wore short leggings woven of tule or rushes.

FOOTWEAR.—Moccasins were of dressed buckskin, elk skin, etc., cut in two styles that were about equally common. One consisted of a single piece folded and sewed around the toe, the outside of the foot, and at the heel.[12] The other style had a separate small tongue piece, a seam extending from the latter to the toe, and a seam down the heel.[13] In a few the ends of the toe and the heel seams were puckered. Therefore they had no trailers.[14] All moccasins had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece.

The trailers of moccasins were cut in styles similar to those of the Thompson.

The Lake were not familiar with the cut shown in *a*, Figure 170 (Thompson), although a form similar to it, with tongue piece brought to a point at the toe, is often used by the Kutenai.

In Similkameen the common cuts were seamed down the instep and open at the heel.[15] Some trailers were cut in a fringe. Summer moccasins were more pointed and made to fit the foot. Those for winter use were much looser to give room for heavy foot wraps. These consisted of pieces of skin in the hair wrapped round the foot or sewed like a duffle. The Similkameen used a few socks,[16] made like the sage-bark socks of the Thompson, and possibly boots woven of tule. Moccasins were often padded with dry teased bark and grass. In the wintertime some people wore moccasins made of deer, caribou, buffalo, and other skins, hair side in. No moccasins of the long-tongued round-toed type [17] were used long ago. This style was introduced by the Iroquois and French. Moccasins with a wide crosscut at the toe [18] seem to have been confined to Similkameen. Sandals were used by some poor people in the summertime. They

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[11] See Thompson *a*, p. 215, fig. 184.

[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[13] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 171.

[14] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 172.

[15] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 173, Nos. 1, 2.

[16] See Thompson, *a*, p. 212, fig. 174.

[17] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 170.

[18] See Tahltan specimens, Ottawa, VI. H. 48.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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were made of skin or of rawhide, and sometimes the soles were thickened with a coat of glue and sand.

Hand Wear.—Gloves were unknown long ago; but mittens, both long and short, were used in cold weather. Most of them were made of coyote and other skins in the fur.

Men's Headwear.—Men's caps and headbands were made of dressed skin and of skins in the fur of almost all kinds of animals. Some were also made of bird skins. The styles were the same as those of the Thompson, including caps of animals' headskins, and those set with antlers of deer, or horns of antelope, goat, and buffalo.

Headdresses of tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and owls were common, and similar to those of the Thompson. Eagle-feather bonnets of the style used on the plains were common during the past century, and are still worn to some extent at dances. This style differed in some details from the oldest styles of eagle-feather headdresses of the Thompson and Okanagon. Feather "tails" both of the Thompson and plains styles were in vogue.

Women's Headwear.—Women's headbands and most caps were of dressed skin. The caps were more or less conical in shape, and in details were like those of the Thompson.[19] Flat-topped caps were not used. Woven caps, called by many whites "grass caps," of the so-called "Nez-Percé" style, were in common use, except among the Lake and Similkameen.[20] Caps of willow bark were used a little by Similkameen, Okanagon, and Sanpoil, but it seems were not known to the Lake, and may not have been used by the Colville either. The Similkameen probably also used a few caps woven of tule or rushes.[21]

Overclothes, etc.—Robes, ponchos, and cloaks were worn as overclothes in cold weather. It seems that no rain cloaks and short ponchos of woven vegetal material were used, except among the Similkameen. The cloaks worn by them have been described.[22] Some people put ordinary woven mats over their heads, shoulders, and backs in heavy rains. It appears that no clothing of vegetal material, except women's caps, were used by any of the other tribes. The Lake, who used cedar bark extensively for a number of purposes, did not use it for clothing. Before the advent of the fur traders, jackets, coats, and trousers were probably not made, and some say there were no sleeves to shirts and dresses. Possibly short buckskin trousers were used by Similkameen and Nicola in early times.

After many of the western Indians began to hunt on the plains buffalo robes and skins became quite common, and largely supplanted other robes, cloaks, and ponchos. For a time buffalo skin was so plentiful that even as far north as Similkameen it was cheaper than ordinary buckskin.

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[19] a, p. 217, fig. 191. [20] See p. 225. [21] See also Shuswap, p. 506, c, fig. 228. [22] See p. 231.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths. 531 171* [389]

Dressing of Skins.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6] 281 ● 171*

Rawhide Work.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes. 281 415 171* [178] [439]

Woven and other Bags.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery. [531]

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only. 285 171*

Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their 285 531 171*

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[1] c, pp. 67, 68, figs. 23, 24.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] f, pp. 175, 176.

[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.

[5] See p. 44.

[6] f, p. 176, fig. 3.

415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food 352 *171 was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. [237] Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. [372] Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 • 281 **Clothing** (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. [184] Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (c, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] [184] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] c, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 162); Thompson, e, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] c, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 86; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] c, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, e, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111680-111680.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (c, p. 128, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in c, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in c, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (e, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the 291
hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan 281 •
see Figure 27.

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171*

[531] **Men's Clothing.**—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, 291 and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. 171* Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All

[284]

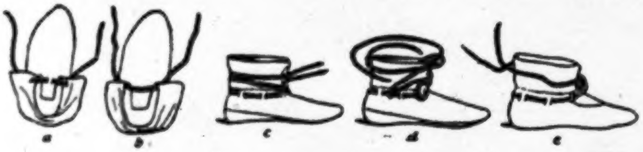

Figure 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. [531] A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or [178] boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

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[5] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[6] 4, p. 47, fig. 1.

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsɪtsa'paxʷ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cɪ'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

288 285 314 415 [321] [358] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of Coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

285 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (sal·ka'stia), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'xpəxilpᵃ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'aqələstən); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwil'qwiləmani'lpᵃ, "blue brush").

283 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were seperated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the [137] root of the western scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putls'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwa'p. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins. 321 322 412

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b). 281 415

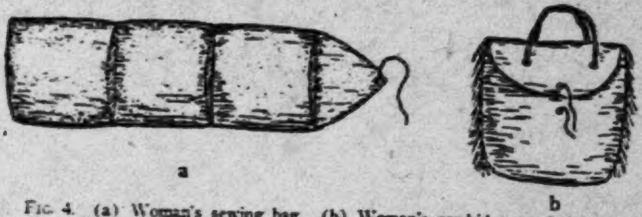

FIG. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord. 293

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends. 322 412

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on pages 93-94. 281 415

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presum-
ably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could
291 ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were dis-
tinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The
style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of
buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of
John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin
clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly
the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits
associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while
travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a tem-
291 porary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and
scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot
covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths
or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very
much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men
wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia*
tridentata DC., (tsqua'sqaləstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.)
(?), (staqai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh
to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in
the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the
sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and
back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were
folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlakwe'pustxən) were always
worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp
cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of
fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the
hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsan) presumably were used when the weather was
severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent
that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be
remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings
were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
354 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called sfifa'tlam, "little canoe," 322
in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415
canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were
small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in
the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were
used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (łu'mən). 321
It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322
a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow,
the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn 415
spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used
for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531]
incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint.

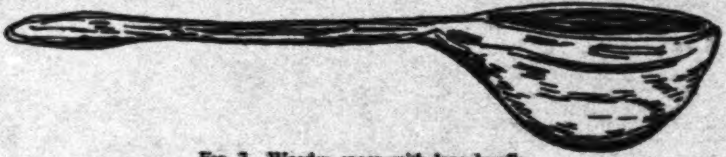

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were sub-
stituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285]
hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264
was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415
mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322
made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324
stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321 A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322 with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412 They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281 three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415 were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

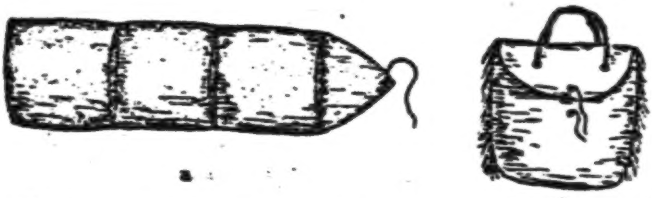

FIG. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 293 thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322 basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412 inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281 pages 93-94. 415

opposite side called for additional bets from his followers, or attempted to get others to join his side and make their bets. The new contributions to the pool might more than equal the difference; then it became necessary for the other side once more to call for stakes. 525

The game was played with two pairs of bones, one of each pair being marked, and the other unmarked, and twenty sticks used as counters. The bones were made usually of the tibia of the deer. They were two and a half or three inches long and an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. The marked bone had a narrow painted or incised band around the middle, or was encircled with a buckskin thong. The counters were simply pointed splints a foot long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. 321/525

The essential point of the game was to guess in which hands the players with the bones held the unmarked ones. The game proceeded as follows: The players of each side knelt or squatted in two parallel rows facing each other, a distance of about five feet separating them. Anyone who had placed a bet was privileged to play, but not required to do so. Before each row was placed a long log, elevated two or three inches from the ground on small sticks. Between the two groups were fires if the playing took place at night. During the winter when the playing was done inside the long house the rows formed on either side of the fireplaces. The leaders took their positions at the middle of their respective sides. Each player was given a stick with which he beat on the log before him. These were twelve or fifteen inches long, an inch or two in diameter; when not in use they were kept in a buckskin bag or wrapped in buckskin. Every prominent gambler owned a set of these sticks. 525

The leaders each took ten counters and one pair of bones. To determine which side was to have the first play, the leaders matched the bones after having rolled them in their hands, shifted or pretended to shift them under cover of a blanket, garment, hat, or behind the back. The arms were outstretched and the hands opened revealing the bones. The leader winning the match took both pairs of bones and won one of the opponents' counters. The players on the side gaining the bones proceeded to beat in time on the log before them at a tempo of about 240 per minute, and started singing a gambling song such as the following, which was started by its owner: 525 533

a· xa··i··axau··ana··xauiu··, etc.[1]
(Meaningless syllables; gradually fading out toward the end)

Or:

oi··'xenaxawiu··o··ai··oxena'awi··
xe'nana··o··xenə'awiyi··'
xenə'awiyi··, etc.[2]
(Meaningless syllables)

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[1] John Tom's song.
[2] Bear's song.

525 The side winning the game took the pool collected by its opponents. Division of the goods was made in accordance with the value of the bet placed by each player. Winning players received back their own bets also, of course.

Women played the same game, except that smaller bones were used, and singing was the only audible accompaniment. Instead of beating on a log the women swung their arms in opposite directions, from side to side, elbows flexed.

Women are considered by the natives, at least at the present day, to be better gamblers than men—that is, they bet more freely. In pre-white times women undoubtedly played the stick game much less, however, than at present.

WOMEN'S DICE GAME

The dice game (muqmuqami'n, "dice") was the most popular woman's gambling game. It was played at any time during the year when participants were available. Men, as well, sometimes played the dice game.

521/ 525 531 Four dice were used, made either of beaver teeth or deer ribs (Figure 21, a). Beaver teeth were used in their natural shape. When deer ribs were used pieces three or four inches long were cut, then steamed and straightened, polished and pointed at the ends. One side of each of the bones or teeth was incised with four concentric-circle or dot and circle designs (sq̇aia'i'), the other side with one to three groups of stripes (nxlapı'qən, "skunk," from the lines on the skunk's back). The incisions were filled with red or black pigment. The dots and circles were made by twirling a stone fragment with two points, one acting as a pivot. The dice were made by the women, and great pride was taken in their appearance.

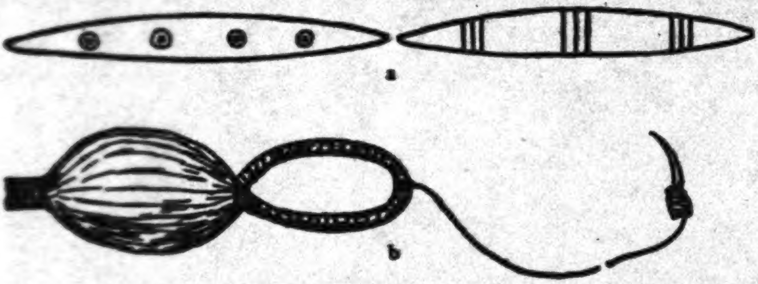

FIG. 21. (a) Bone dice for woman's dice game. (b) Tule ball and thorn for ball and pin game.

525 The game involved shaking the dice in the cupped hands, then throwing them with a sidewise motion from the left side of the body onto a robe of buckskin. When deer rib dice were used they were thrown forward. Several women played at one time. Each was entitled to a turn, in order, during which she continued to throw the dice until they fell with all circles down, an arrangement which transferred the dice to the next person. Approximately fifty counters were used, form-

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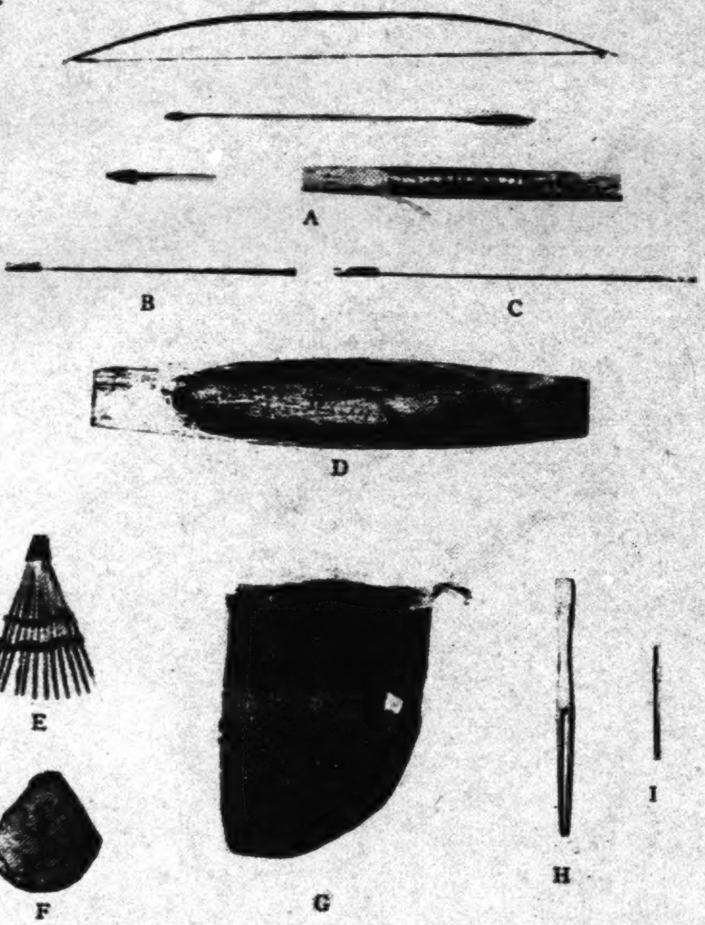

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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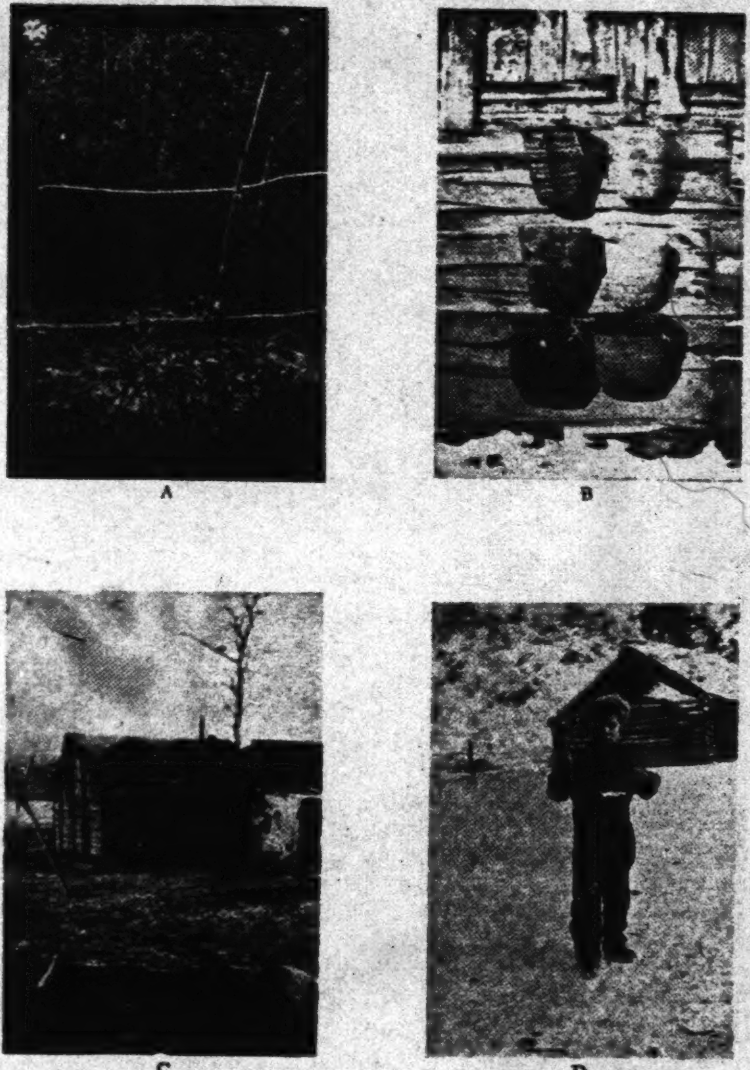
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PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283
or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled [237]
on the thigh by women. One end of the
string formed a loose loop, the other was 411
lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow was not in use the loop end was loosened and slipped down the bow. Great care had to be taken that the string be new and strong, for if it should break, the bow would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411
a half feet long, while war arrows were per- 322
haps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was used for arrows, as the pliability of this wood when moist permitted easy straightening, and its stiffness and elasticity when dry made it admirable for shooting. A fairly straight piece of wood was selected, stripped of its bark and bent straight while heating it before a fire. The teeth were used as a vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench. Wrenches were also made of bone and horn. Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes arrows were straightened by weighting with flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing with a handful of service berry shavings or tough grass; never with a stone. Just below the nock the arrow was made thin to provide a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of eagle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes [237]
were always parallel to the axis of the shaft. Each feather was split and the wider half discarded. The quill of the narrow and stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible, while being held between teeth and hand. The vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew from the back of a deer. One end of the chewed and shredded sinew was held in the teeth while the other was started around the arrow about three quarters of an inch below the nock, after pine pitch had been applied. The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft at one end under the sinew with the left hand while the arrow was rotated with the right, thus rolling the sinew around the shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had been wrapped on. The forward ends of the vanes were fastened in the same way. There were no grooves into which the quills were set; neither were they bound in the middle, but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the
binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211
were often decorated with paint to facili-
tate finding them in the bush and probably 531]
also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411
of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double
spiral, about that portion of the shaft 531
where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was smeared over this section and charcoal, red ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

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p. 53 (B)

281 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

● 283 314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (spēl'tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was reserved for their own use, but the bulk was sold to the Thompson. [439]

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 68(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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33 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 66, 219, 231.[1]

•283 Three strand braided ropes were made of willow bark. The bark was kept in water until it was needed, and the braided portion of the rope was continually laid back in the water while the length of rope was being completed. Lengths of three to four hundred (?) feet were made in this fashion, strong enough to lower a man down the face of a cliff when hunting for eagles.

Mountain goat hair was twisted into cords according to Chilowhist Jim (an informant from the southern end of the territory). The longer hair, six to eight inches in length, was shaved from the skin with a knife. A pile of this hair was moistened, matted together, and roughly twisted. To twist this, a lithe stick provided at one end with a right-angled hook was used. One end of the bundle of hair was engaged in the hook while the longer arm of this stick was rolled between palm and thigh, or between the palms, to twist the hairs into a cord. Two persons engaged in the task; one spinning the wooden hook as he pulled on the cord, the other holding the free end and adding hairs to lengthen it. This cordage was made of ten or twelve strands of hair. Horsehair was spun in the same way to make rope, which was valuable because it withstood wetting.

Weaving

286 It is doubtful if the Southern Okanagon wove, or at least that the southern bands did. (Chilowhist Jim, whose information may refer to the Methow, implied that his people wove mountain goat yarn.) Teit states that the Lake (Sinajextee) alone of all the interior Salish tribes wove. "It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom." Again, "Woven goat's-wool robes were known [by the Coeur d'Alêne] to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere."[*] Andrew Tillson, whose affiliations were with the northerly groups, stated that blankets were woven of goat's hair. The hair was twisted on the thigh and woven apparently without the use of any sort of loom. On the other hand, the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon, according to Tom Martin, had no woven blankets of mountain goat hair. Cecile, a Kalispel brought up among the central groups of Southern Okanagon, had never heard of blankets woven of goat hair or rabbit skin. They may have traded for them.

Wood and Bone Working

313 Trees were felled by chiseling away chips around the circumference near the base with a deer horn wedge and a wooden maul. The procedure was to drive in the wedge and pull it up to pry off a chunk of wood. An alternative method with a dry tree was to chip out several pits at the base with the horn wedges. Fires were set in these pits to burn

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[*] [For footnote, see p. 68(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

281 them,[32] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the
Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods
of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper
were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron
became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few
people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[33] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[462] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were
whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it
was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with
a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes
are washed.

283 SEWING.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
412 fully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were
cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then
bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood
of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also
made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also
occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear
bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[34]
Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing
and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[32] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[33] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[34] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

285 415 baskets: but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

531 379 OPENWORK BASKETS.—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar: and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[52]

[2B3] BIRCH-BARK BASKETS.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[53] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[54] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[55] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

285 314 415 CEDAR-BARK BASKETS.—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[56] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[52] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[53] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[54] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[55] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[56] Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

237 411 set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tclᴇn* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

237 283 411 Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

411 524 Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates 285
and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the
Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, 415
and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even 314
by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats
of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats
are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the 285
Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out
and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made 531
of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed
material was used, the common colors being different shades of red,
brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally
employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the
weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight
lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin 286
blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom.
(See also p. 328).

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the 285
Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used 283 ●
were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark,
and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were 415
made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp
at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low
places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in
close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the
same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were
also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in
mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced
at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of
braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and
styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the
Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of
my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with
ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, d.

[12] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, c and f.

[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 72.

[14] See ibid., VI. M. 73.

[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 72.

[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 74.

[17] c, p. 189, fig. 131, d, h, i.

[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 93.

[19] See Thompson, c, p. 202, fig. 140.

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Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.[20] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[21] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[22] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson; and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

[531] Flat Bags—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[23] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[20] See Thompson, e, p. 203, fig. 132.
[21] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 96.
[22] See Thompson, e, p. 202, fig. 130.
[23] See Thompson, e, p. 190, fig. 122, and Shuswap, e, p. 497, fig. 219.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (a, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (c, pl. 68, i.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length. 285 415

Ropes, Thread, and Nets.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs. 283 ● 412

Woven Clothing.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type[23] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the 286 294

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[23] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

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WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

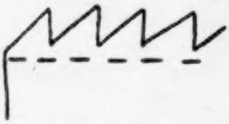

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

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TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

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WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

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BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27. 291 281

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171* [531]

Men's Clothing.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. 291 Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. 171* Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. [284] • Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." [531] It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. [178] After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

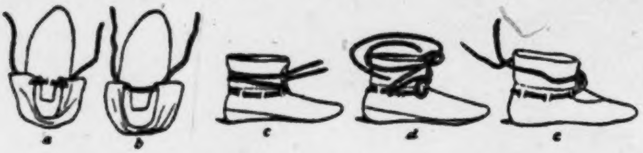

FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[6] 4, p. 47, fig. 1.

221 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon
226 and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards.
462 Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the
776 fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The
largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the
Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far
and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony,
the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony
outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration
the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social
as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season
at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the
salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly
coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel
occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was
always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women
were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the
tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare
time.

221 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on
251 the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took
342 place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others
went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog
salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time
was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure
was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the
campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried
251 foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses
342 were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general
preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time
462 fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men
except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut
or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered
rye grass to cover the floors.

221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutən,
285 "time that it snows"; ktsa'tsa'ttə'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kət, "time
776 that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of
the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and
mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips
but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling
796 stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the
221 season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances
were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled
from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the matter of drainage and consequently less used. 322 332 342 [354]

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 342 352 513

The winter mat house (səmaia'ilu, stktani'lᵉ) was a gable or inverted V type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families. 342

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approximately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at [332] 322 285 342

285 332 342 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 251 352 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 352 354 591 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 342 422 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 768 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

342 423 361 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 285 484 The temporary mat hut (spɩ'a'il^a) was utilized during the summer while moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 342 361 571 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat houses, (sntcauqwɩ'ltan, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures. These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted 252 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and 342 grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tætsa'pax*), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'ɑ'n; water containers, əmami'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [320] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of Coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

283 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (sal.ka'stin), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[382] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'ī'tsan); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pa'xpuxilpᵘ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (taqua'sqalastan); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwil'qwilamani'lpᵘ, "blue brush").

283 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 [382] Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the root of the western scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stan), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwai'p. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 492
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultəma'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastí'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called quqəpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverised and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloqəlke'n) were utilised extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285 raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313 be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk. The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314 was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251 U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log 285 a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about 314 four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 415 to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large numbers. 285 Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314 above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots, the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrapping of corpses. 415 Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̓a'istən). [137] Indian hemp was used as threa[illegible] the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches. The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [537] sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

285 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as
314 food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths
up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with
415 hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regard-
177 ing the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and
524 pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[6] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot,
415 always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[6] See page 162.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called stita'tlam, "little canoe," 322
in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415
canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (hu'man). 321
It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322
a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, 415
the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used
for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531]
incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint.

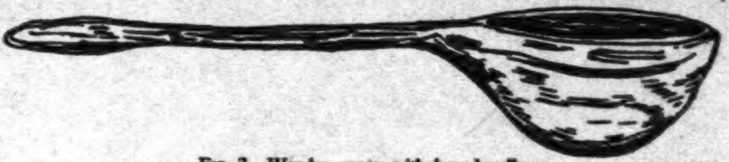

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were sub-
stituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285]
hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264
was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415
mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322
made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324
stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'ā'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin [531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 776 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

one was placed on the bank at the edge of the water, one on the opposite bank, and if a third was used, it usually was set at approximately the middle of the 226 stream. Skilful workmen were required for this duty, since it often involved working in deep water. The cross poles connecting the supports were raised about two feet above the surface of the water. Sections of saplings were cut the necessary length to reach from the transverse poles to the bed of the stream and placed in this position at intervals of about twelve inches. In the meantime other men were occupied with weaving the fencing. Young branches of the Scouler willow, 187 *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (si·'lu, "young growth") were used exclusively for this purpose. The withes used for the weft were made flexible by twisting and rolling on the thigh; this task fell to the older men who were unable to take part in the heavier work.

The prepared weft elements were woven with the more rigid warps, by the 226 open twine method, into sections of the required width and a length of approximately 285 twenty feet. These were called q̇laxe". The sections were rolled up, carried to the site of the weir, and unrolled in upright position against the previously laid supports. Workmen, wading and swimming in the stream, securely fastened the fencing to the foundation. Care was taken to leave no open spaces between the bottom of the weir and the bed of the stream. A row of stones was laid along the bottom of the weir on either side, to anchor it in place. All apertures due to irregularities in the stream bed were filled. A weir was never located where the stream bottom was covered with large boulders, for such a situation rendered it impossible to close effectively all the holes below the weir. The fish were certain to find openings between the rocks that would permit escape. Likewise, a weir built upon a sandy stream bed was of no value, for the sands would soon wash out and leave holes beneath.

The lower weir was similar in construction to the main one, but smaller. It was less carefully constructed and extended only slightly above the surface of the water. At several points openings were left of sufficient size to permit a large salmon to enter. The two weirs thus formed a large enclosure in which fish accumulated during the night. In ascending the stream they would find their way through the openings in the lower weir but would be repulsed by the one above. Since all the efforts of the fish were bent upon travelling upstream to spawn, the smaller weir, though low and containing openings, was a sufficient barrier to keep them within the enclosure.

To facilitate removal of the fish from this large area, a basket-like trap (skəmuqu'ał) (Figure 9) was built against the bank at one end of the lower weir. The usual size was three feet wide, six feet long and three feet deep. An aperture was provided in the end of this trap, and from that opening a deflecting barrier extended at an angle upstream until it reached within a few feet of the opposite bank. Thus the opening to the trap was at the point of a V-shaped figure formed by the barrier and the shore. When the large trap was to be emptied several men waded into the water and drove the fish into the small trap, the deflecting weir assisting them by directing them to the opening. Other workers clubbed the fish and threw them onto the bank as fast as they accumulated, thus avoiding piling

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up of the fish and resultant loss from some jumping over the top in the confusion. Salmon billets were merely plain wooden clubs about sixteen inches long and two inches in diameter. It was always difficult to drive the last few fish from the large enclosure into the smaller one. Usually these were taken by spearing.

A second and more elaborate form of the large salmon trap substituted for the straight lower weir a V-shaped barrier (ɛtstəpa'χən, "wings"), with a small elevated trap (pəpəni'p) placed at the point of the V for collecting the fish. Thus the whole lower construction assumed roughly the shape of an hour glass (Figure 10, a). One side of the V was made longer than the other in order that the small trap might be fairly close to the bank, away from the heavy current of the stream. Four tripods were necessary for the construction of such a weir. One was placed near each bank and one at either side of the elevated trap. The weir, moreover, was woven with greater care than in the straight type. Only two small openings (səluxsi·'n) were provided, one in each side of the weir, for the entrance of the fish. These were made by spreading apart the willow elements until an aperture a foot or two in diameter was obt[illegible]. A space about one foot wide was left between the two sections of the weir. The small end of the elevated trap opened into this space.

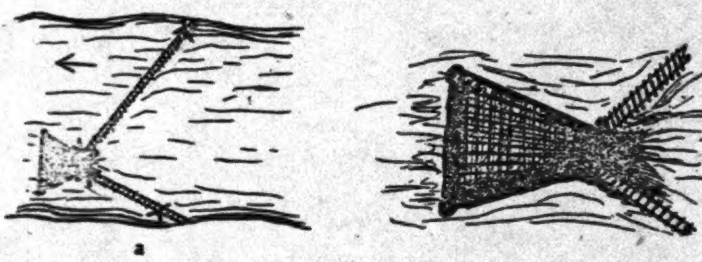

FIG. 10. (a) Diagram of V shaped weir with elevated trap. (b) Elevated trap enlarged.

The elevated trap (Figure 10, b) was a unique arrangement for collecting the fish and keeping them out of the water, so that there was no possibility of escape and no difficulty in removal. The base plan of the trap was triangular. The fish entered at the apex of the triangle, where the only opening in the trap was provided; this opening was made to correspond in size to the opening at the angle of the weir, and placed flush with it. The trap was woven of willow withes in open twining in the form of a basket. The distance from the apex to the base was three or four feet, and the base was of about the same length. Since the top was not closed it was necessary to make the basket deep enough so that the fish could not jump over the sides, usually about three feet. The width of the opening in the basket and in the weir was about twelve inches. The elevated trap was secured in the proper position at the outlet of the weir by four vertical posts, one at each end of the base, and one on either side of the apex. The basket was so fastened

to these supports that the bottom was just above the surface of the water. From the bed of the stream in the enclosure formed by the weir to a point several inches inside the small trap, and about a foot above the trap bottom, extended a stiff, tightly woven mat of willow, forming a sort of runway. This was anchored at the lower end with boulders, and elevated and secured at the upper end by a transverse pole, extending between the supporting poles of the trap. All holes except the narrow opening between the two traps were filled with rocks and gravel. Due to the barrier formed by the weir and the runway, the water rose somewhat in the area just above the weir opening, and poured through with considerable force, then fell through the openwork bottom of the elevated trap.

The upstream weir was made exactly as in the preceding description. The salmon, travelling upstream, passed through the holes in the lower weir, then attempted to swim through or jump over the upper weir. This was impossible but they continued their attempts until exhausted. In this state they were gradually carried back downstream by the current. Due to the shape of the lower weir they gravitated toward the opening leading to the elevated trap, whereupon they were swept through by the force of the water and found themselves upon the bottom of the trap, suspended above the water's surface. Return was impossible, since they were out of water, and because the runway overhung inside the trap. When the regular hour for collecting the fish arrived it was only necessary to lift them from the trap. The few which possibly remained inside the weirs were easily driven into the trap.

Still another type of small trap was a hemispherical basket with the straight side formed by a section of the upper weir. It was called skæmuqua'l'. It was placed on the downstream side of the weir, near one bank. The spherical portion extended two or three feet above the water's surface, but not as high as the weir. The diameter of the basket ranged around six feet. The framework consisted of a small tripod at the midpoint of the arc, and horizontal flexible willow poles bent around this tripod and fastened at either end to the weir. Against this was fastened a large willow mat as in the case of the weir. The salmon that attempted to jump over the weir at the point where the basket was located fell back into it and were unable to escape. Naturally, this trap was much less efficient than the one previously described. It was sometimes used in conjunction with one of the other types.

True basket traps (t'səli'") proved valuable in streams and rivers where a waterfall of a few feet or more was available. These were rectangular baskets woven in the open twine technique from flexible willow branches. The top was left open but all sides and the bottom were made tight. In use, such a basket was hung at the base of the falls, a foot or two from its face, but with the bottom touching the water. When a fish made an unsuccessful attempt to jump the falls it would often drop back into the basket from which it could easily be taken. A support for the basket was provided, when the stream was not too wide, by felling a log from bank to bank, near the edge of the falls. From this log the fish basket was suspended by willow rope from each of its upper corners. At the larger falls, especially Kettle Falls, where immense numbers of salmon were taken by this

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method, much more elaborate apparatus was necessary for swinging the basket. The usual method was to project large poles or logs out over the falls by securing their bases in crevices in the jagged rocks at the top of the falls. Additional support for the poles was added, if necessary, in the form of willow ropes extending from the projecting ends to some point above. Notches were cut at the outer extremities of the poles to receive loops which were provided in the ends of the ropes supporting the basket. In placing the trap in position the ropes from which it was suspended were pushed out on the projecting logs until the loops slipped into the notches. Access to the trap was made possible by a ladder of willow bark rope. In removing the fish from the trap one end of a rope, which was suspended from above, was strung through the gills of several fish and tied. It was then hauled up by helpers at the top, the fish taken off, and the rope let down again. At Kettle Falls it was necessary for some one to be in charge of the trap at all times when it was in use. The volume of water going over the falls varies greatly from time to time during the day, the heavy surges carrying with them large amounts of driftwood. If this had been allowed to fall upon the trap it would soon have demolished it. To overcome this danger a heavy line was attached to the trap and extended to one of the numerous small rock islands. By means of this rope a watchman was able to pull the trap away from the falls when there was a possibility of its being damaged. At night, and at all other times when the trap was not being utilized it was pulled free of the falls and the line made fast.

PRIVATELY OWNED TRAPS

The funnel trap (xuxuli·ˀkən) was employed princiaplly in the smaller streams in conjunction with a small weir. It was constructed and operated by a single individual. In swift and turbulent water it was placed with mouth downstream and with small barriers extending on either side. Fish inadvertently entered the mouth of the trap in a blind attempt to get past the rough stretch of water. In smooth or shallow water a weir was first erected across the stream and the trap was placed just below this with the mouth facing upstream. The fish, upon finding progress impeded by the weir, eventually turned and swam about, some making their way into the trap. This form of trap was not used below rapids or falls. The mouth of the funnel was built approximately square. Willow poles connected the mouth with another square frame, much smaller in size, forming the opposite end of the funnel. These poles were six to twelve feet long, depending upon the length desired for the trap. The poles were fastened at equal intervals of a few inches around the edge of the square frame. The small end opened into a large basket, also built of willow saplings. The whole trap was anchored in place with heavy rocks.

Another individually owned trap was a diminutive form of the large combination weir-elevated trap (pəpæmi'p) described in the previous section, but minus the upper weir (Plate 3, Figure B). It was used principally for the smaller fish, such as trout, whitefish and suckers. The elevated trap was made identically as the one previously described. The mouth in this case, too, faced downstream.

The weir was built in the same shape, but much less carefully. The weir proper extended for only a few feet on each side of the trap. From each end of the weir to the bank a dam was formed of boulders and logs. The weir was made as usual but was twined at only three places. It was not set to stand vertically, but slanted somewhat, forming an obtuse angle down stream. 226/285

The owner of such a trap emptied it each morning and in the evening.

NETTING

Netting was the least important method of fishing practiced by the Sanpoil, but it was better adapted to certain conditions and seasons than either trapping or spearing. Where the water of the Columbia was turbid or rough nets (mu'ləmən, au'xwian) were used to advantage, for they were not visible to the fish under such conditions. The dip net was useless, however, when the water became shallow. In the fall white salmon and dog salmon were taken in considerable quantities with seines. 226/286

Nets were used from natural ledges over the water or from specially constructed platforms. Sometimes net fishing was done from the regular spearing platform. All fish caught with a net were the property of the individual fisherman.

The common dip net used for salmon and suckers was called kwa'i'xʷ (Figure 11). It consisted of a hoop of willow or maple two or three feet in diameter, from which was suspended a bag-like net. At opposite sides of the hoop were fastened two poles about six feet long. These poles were bound together at the top, forming a handle in the shape of an inverted V. Fastened transversely from handle to handle, about four inches above the hoop, was a strip of netting six inches or more wide. A slack cord extended from the strip of netting to the point where the handles crossed.

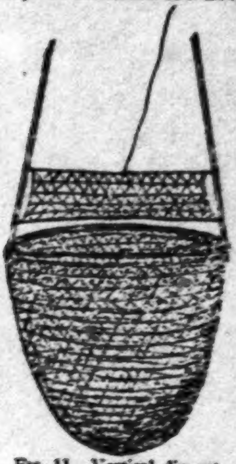

Fig. 11. Vertical dip net.

In use the net was submerged vertically in the water so that the cross net was at right angles to the current and well below the surface. The upper end of the slack cord was looped around the thumb of the fisherman and pulled tight. The net was held in this position until a fish struck the cross net. The fisherman was made aware of the presence of the fish by the increase of tension on the cord. Immediately he pulled the net upward with a sudden motion. The fish was thus ensnared in the bag net, and removed from the water.

The mesh size in the nets for salmon was two or three inches; for smaller fish such as suckers the mesh was usually about one-half inch. The depth of the bag net was about three feet for salmon, but much less for the smaller fish.

Another type of salmon net (Figure 12, b) was provided with a handle in the same plane as the hoop, and was used with a sweeping motion. The hoop

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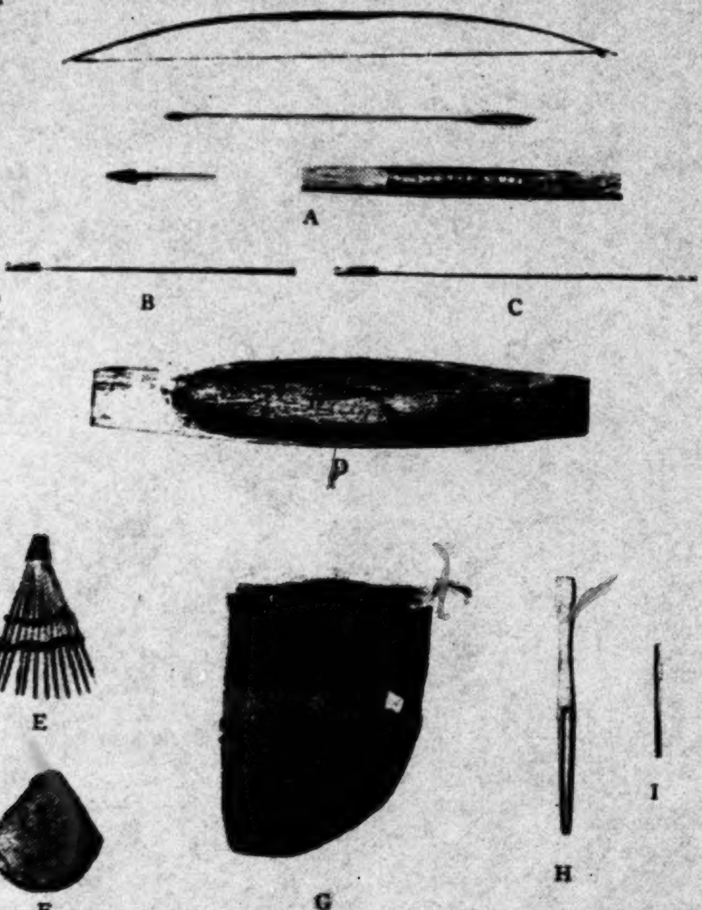

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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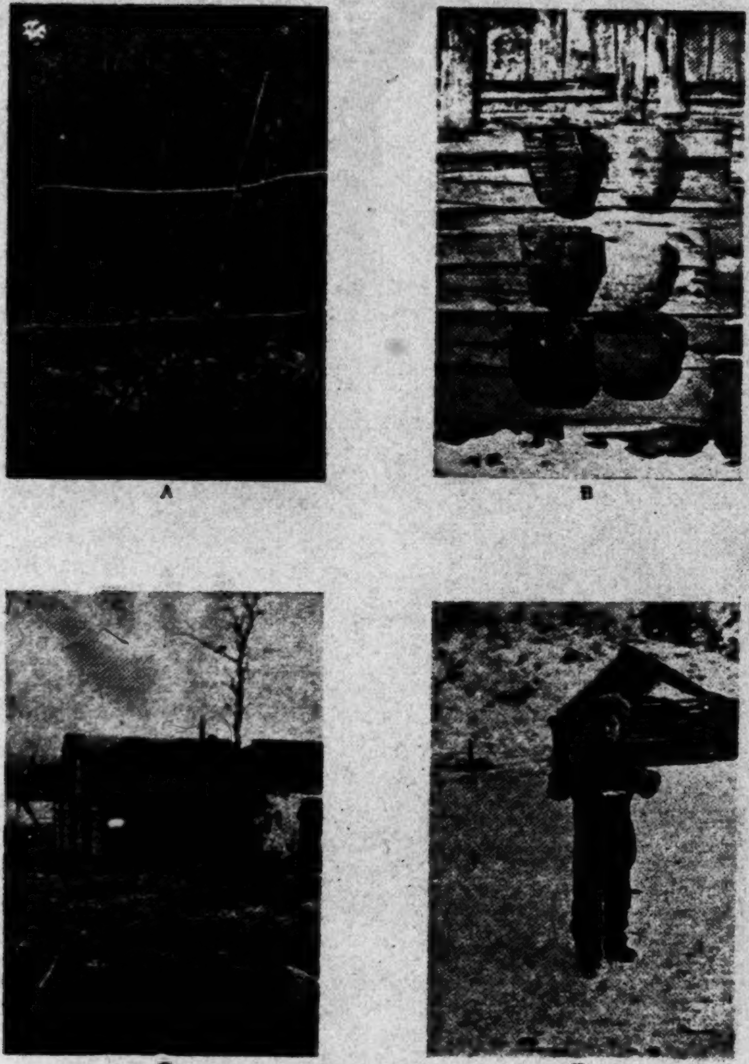
A
B
C
D

PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

342 as the smaller. One was cited as forty feet long, which took a week to construct.

To form an end frame two poles were tied together near their tops and raised into position (Figure 3, a, a). About a third of the way down, two poles were tied to each of these foundation poles, one vertical and the other slanting in a plane parallel to the main axis of the house (b, c). A third pole was tied somewhat below this point, slanting in a plane between that of the main axis and that of the original poles (d). This made the end of the house rounded. The interior frames consisted simply of two crossed poles (e, e) tied together near the top with Indian hemp or willow twigs. These were ten to twenty feet distant from the end frames, depending on the size of the house. The butts of the frame poles were planted about a foot in the ground. Horizontal poles, set end to end, were then tied to them the full length of the lodge along each side and around the ends, leaving a door space about five and one-half feet high at each end. The number of rows of horizontal poles (f, f), which were about three feet apart, varied according to the size of the lodge. Four or five rows were common, making a lodge about forty feet long and fifteen feet high at the ridge. To the bottom row of horizontal poles short vertical sticks were lashed (g, g), about a foot and one-half apart, their butt ends buried in the ground a foot, like the frame poles.

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285 Mats of round tules were tied to the finished framework, upon which one could climb without fear of its collapsing. The tules ran vertically, their natural length limiting the breadth of the mats to four or five feet. They were sewn together (placed with butts and tips alternating at the edge) with Indian hemp in a needle of bone or wood about seven inches long. The lines of sewing were spaced about five inches apart. A willow stick slightly larger than a tule in diameter terminated each end. The mats varied from ten to twenty feet in length. Since dry tules were used, the mat was very light and could be easily transported. One row of them, end to end, was tied to the framework all the way around the lodge, leaving a space at each end for the doorway; then the next row was tied above it, and so on, until in the finished lodge each row of mats overlapped the one below it like shingles. The top row of mats was lashed to the top pair

342 of horizontal ribs, so that the space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the
285 ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

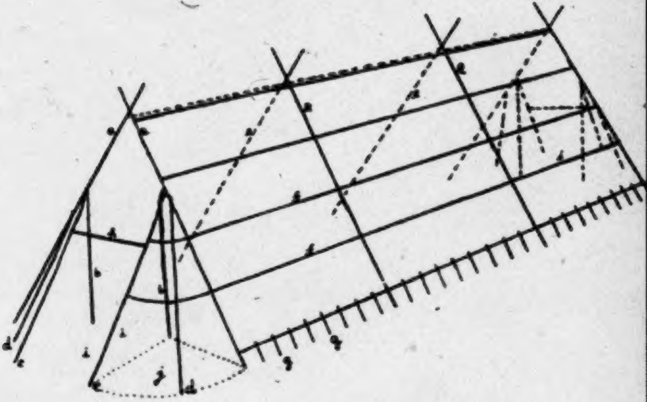

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3).
[251] In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

342 Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were
592 marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

side of the pit. Two or three rows of trans- 342
verse branches were tied on, completely en-
circling the frame, as in the mat lodge.
Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered 342
with several rows of round-tule mats, the
tules vertical, each row overlapping the one 285
below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top
row of mats was of single thickness, each row
below having one more layer of mats than the
row above. The mats were not always rec-
tangular, as those of the long lodge, but
curved, a condition accomplished by laying
all the large ends of the tules along the
same border of the mat and not alternating
them with small ends. After the mats were
in place, slender poles were laid against
the mats and heavier poles on these to keep
the mats from blowing about. An opening was
left at the top for the escape of smoke,
flanked by two ears supported at the top by
poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method
of construction of these was not obtained, ex-
cept for the information that they were made
of tule mats. Presumably they consisted sim-
ply of two tule mats fastened to the top of
the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis
with cloth covering show such ears (Figure
5). There were storage spaces at the en-
trance, said to be like those of the long
lodge. Details are lacking beyond a descrip-
tion of vertical poles inside the entrance
tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The
door was like that of the long lodge: a mat
of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with
the tules horizontal so that it could be
rolled up and tied. One side was raised for
entering. The door faced south, for protec-
tion from the weather. Poles were laid
against the mats on the outside to keep them
from blowing in the wind.

In winter cedar bark was set up within 342
the margin of the pit outside the poles and
covered with grass and earth, or earth was
piled up a foot or more over the outside
mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat
affixed outside of this.

The size of the tipi varied according 342
to the number of occupants. Only one or two
families lived in a tipi: a larger number 592
would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi
was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family
tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the
tipi and the number of rows and layers of
mats varied accordingly. There was only one
fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis
were reported, although Curtis[1] says they
were as often elliptical as circular among
the interior Salish.

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen 171
by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried
(i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the 177
soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to 342
the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated
that the first skin tipis, possibly copied
from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty
years ago.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 39(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 39(B)

291 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

531 Hill-Tout" states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

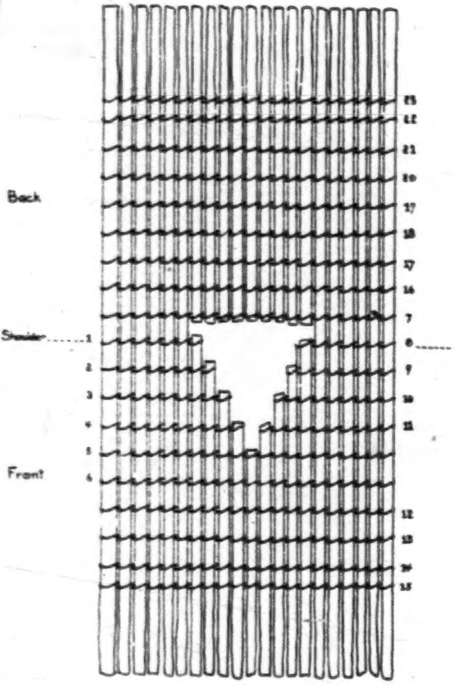

Fig. 12. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'ĕIŏ'q'ĕtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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11 Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

p. 46 (A)

291 aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub,
285 from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

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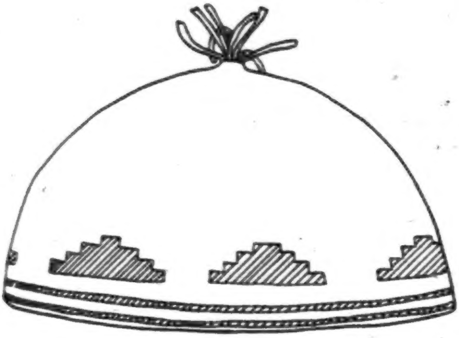

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

292 During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail
841 down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against
839 rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

292 Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decorated
with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall
the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel
living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the [439]
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes
of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of
woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted
and embroidered, or finely embellished
capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14]
woman's bodice worn just below the
breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush
and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by women 292
on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shaped 285
and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating
with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket
hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was 778
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buck
skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

222 412 which lay at the point of crossing, were lashed together with the inner bark of service berry (Figure 24). A piece of buckskin the shape of the beater (a) was sewed on the larger loop. A second piece (b) was sewed on the opposite face of the smaller loop so that this, the handle, was covered on both

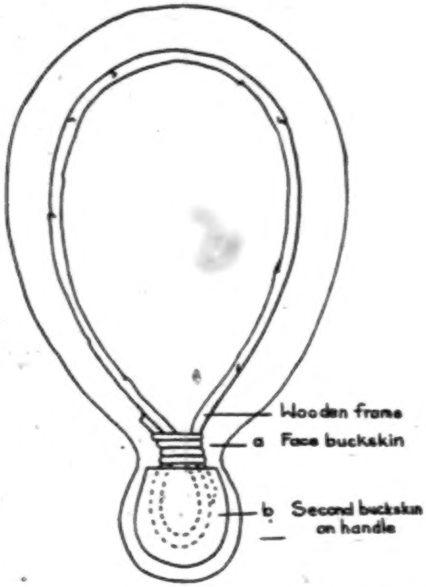

Fig. 24. Seed beater (drawn from description).

faces. The first piece of skin (a) overlapped the second. The sewing on both loops began and ended at the point of crossing. The stitches were on the back, the smooth side being down when in use. The fastening of the sewing element was a simple knot. After the beater had been in use, the buckskin on the beating surface stretched and was less taut, which was not considered desirable. A skilled woman could cause an almost constant rain of seeds to fall into the funnel-shaped birch bark bucket held in the left hand. The bucket was held by the rim with its loop handle resting on the back of the hand, or it was simply held by the loop. Basketry beaters were unknown to the Southern Okanagon.

Mortar and Pestle

412 285 For a mortar a rather shallow, twined Indian hemp basket was lined with the heavy neck portion of a deerskin and placed inside a slight cavity, naturally or artificially hollowed in a stone.

Methow and Chelan were reported also to use this form of mortar and pestle (see below). The Yakima, Wenatchi, and "Ellensburg" (Northern Wenatchi ?) used a coiled cedar root basket with a pestle of similar shape but of a blue-black stone.

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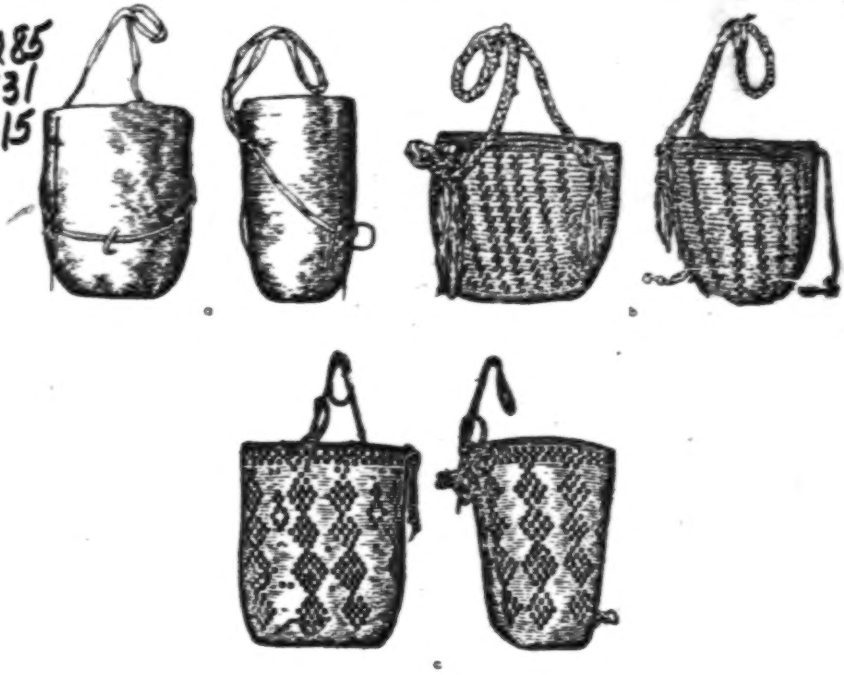

Fig. 28. Coiled baskets (front and side views).

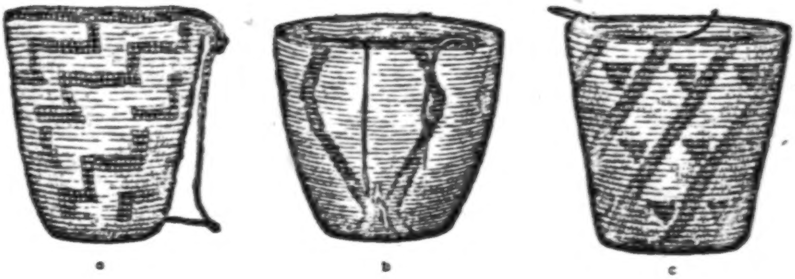

Fig. 29. Coiled baskets (a, c, Southern Okanagon; b, Wenatchi).

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 281 These (called pEnpEnaˣ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon.[25][1]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29).[26][1] Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 62 (D), category 116. --Analyst]

[27] Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

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The coiling is counterclockwise, the work proceeding from left to right on the edge of the basket nearest the worker, the inside of the basket being uppermost. The strips of bark used for sewing, eighteen inches or more long, are soaked in water while the work is in progress, and occasionally the whole top of the basket is dipped into water. Such strips are split to proper thickness and width while one end is held between the teeth. The foundation of the coil is a bundle of strips of bark (sometimes strips of the root itself are included) about a quarter of an inch in diameter when compressed. In splitting the cedar roots many splints are short: these are used in the foundation. The foundation bundles are sewed with a somewhat longer and strong strip of cedar root bark, pointed at one end so it can be passed through each stitch in the course below. A hole is made with an awl for each stitch, which passes inwards from the outside, up and over the bundle of strips, then is pulled downwards with considerable force before being pushed in through the next hole. The stitches are spaced equidistantly in round baskets, but in rectangular baskets they are more frequent near the corners. As the work proceeds new strips of bark are inserted into the end of the foundation bundle to give a continuous coil. To add to the sewing element, the remnant of that already in use is brought into the foundation bundle. The new sewing element is stitched twice through the same hole, the short free end being left in front and covered with the second of the stitches. The edge of the basket is finished with stitches making a criss-cross pattern: apparently each stitch pierces the second stitch beyond of the course beneath, is then carried back

p.62(B)

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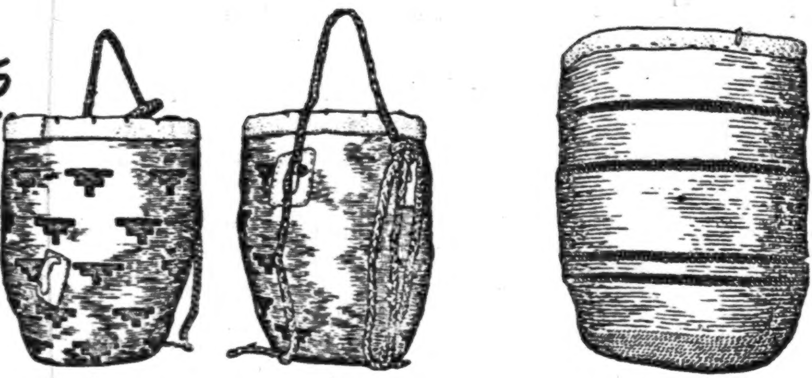

Fig. 30. Round twined bags (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 62 (c)

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25 An Okanagon specimen is figured in Spier, Plains Indian Parfleche Designs, 322.>1

26 Catalog numbers (Washington State Museum) and dimensions of baskets illustrated: Figure 28,a (2-253) depth 12" x length 9" x width 7"; b (2-257) 8" x 9" x 7"; c (2-255) 14" x 12" x 9½"; Figure 29, a (2-256) 10" x 6½" x 7".>1

27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 62 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 62 (D)

over the rim from the inside, and pierces (from the outside) the stitch that has been skipped. The elements of the foundation bundle are cut off one by one at the rim so that the foundation coil tapers to an end and the edge of the basket is even. 285 415

Imbrication was the only mode of decoration. This was done with a kind of grass called slEkē´stIa, which was picked in the Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. According to Boas[28] the home of imbrication seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade region, the Okanagon having received the trait about the time of the coming of the whites. 171 415 285 531

Cooking baskets were always set into the ground for stone boiling. They were not washed out but scraped with the fingers, which were promptly licked. 252

Twined bags with round bottoms resembled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29]* These were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine bark (qētslasEnI´m), or with tule warps and willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag was described as follows. The bottom was first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when 285 415

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[28] Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

*[For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 116.--Analyst]

285 415 [531] filled. Bags of other materials were apparently made in an identical way. These had handles of buckskin, with little buckskin reinforcements. A hop vine cord specimen seen had its base in simple twining, its sides in diagonal twine. They were decorated by false embroidery in red and black, worked with the inner bark of a plant called pö´qwö. This plant was brought by the Similkameen in bundles about five inches thick, three of which were worth a blanket. The bark was dyed in a concoction of Oregon grape root boiled in water. The lacing was always done with a two-strand Indian hemp cord. If the bag was to be carried any distance, the top was stopped with grass and leaves before it was laced. The tump line was then tied around it. Such bags were used to transport anything that was not fragile, such as dried meat, berries, or pine cones.

Flat twined bags of Indian hemp were used for carrying roots and berries, or for supplies taken on a hunting trip. They were about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches deep (Figure 31).[30] [1] Such a bag was woven as a flat fabric, then doubled, and sewed along the sides. A buckskin handle was fastened on each side at the opening. An Indian hemp rope fastened to the handles was slung over the shoulders for carrying. As in the specimen illustrated, the two faces might bear different designs. The making of corn husk sacks of Nez Percé type was derived from the Wenatchi (?) within the last two or three decades. [531]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 63 (B)

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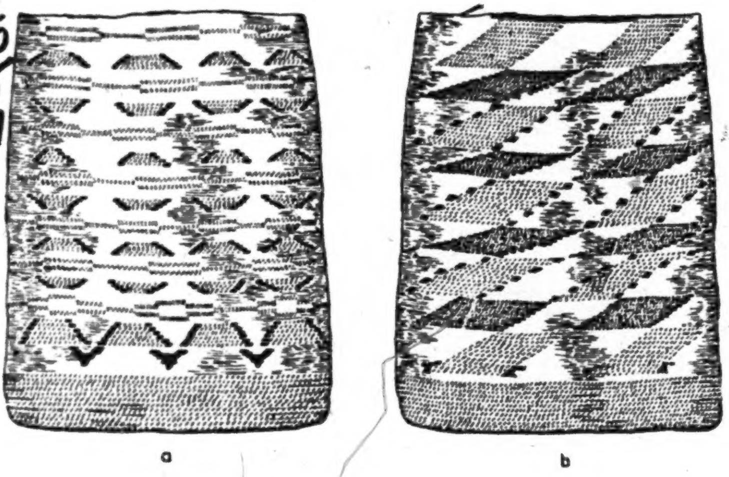

Fig. 31. Flat twined bag (showing unlike designs on two sides).

p. 63 (c)

28 Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.
29 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 30, a, b, no. 2-254, 13½" deep, 9" diameter; c, no. 2-258, 7½" deep, 5½" diameter.[1]
30 This specimen (no. 2-259) is 20" deep by 16" wide.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 63(A), 63 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 63 (D)

285 415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314 415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).*[1]

Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom (b) were folded up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. 531 A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category 116. -- Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE

The Columbia and Wenatchi are said to have been superior in stone-work 324
and in weaving to the tribes of the Okanagon group; also woven articles and 285 ●
objects made of stone were more plentiful among them than similar articles 412
among the Salish tribes to the east and northeast. Besides arrow-heads, spear-heads, knife-blades, and drills, which were all chipped of various kinds of stone found in their country, many stone mortars, pestles, hammers, adzes, and celts were made by them. It seems that more stone-work was done by the people on the west side of the Columbia, where various kinds of good stones were more abundant, than on the east side. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, and knife-blades, according to description, appear to have been of the same form as those used by the Thompson. The common materials employed in the making of these as well as some other implements of stone were found scattered over the surface of the country. Real quarries were scarce. The principal stones used for arrow-heads, and the like, were quartz, agate, jasper, light and dark obsidian, red, yellow, and mottled chalcedony. Black arrow-stone or glassy basalt is said to have been scarce in most places. Stone was flaked with instruments of antler and bone, similar to those used by the Thompson. Most knives had leaf-shaped blades and were double-edged, but a few had triangular blades and were single-edged. If a piece of stone was unsuitable for working both edges, only one edge was worked. Celts and clubs were made of greenish mottled stone, probably serpentine and jade, and some of the former were long and double-edged. Skin-scrapers, large and small, for use with one or both hands, were of flaked arrow-stone or of thin pieces broken from boulders. In shape they were the same as those of the Thompson. Stone arrow-smoothers and whetstones seem to have differed in no way from those of the Thompson.

Stone mortars of various diameters and depth of pits were made, and used for catching grease drippings and for grinding paint, tobacco, roots, dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. Flat stones were used as anvils, for crushing bones or for the extraction of marrow, and probably for other purposes. Some small mortars had pits on both sides, and some mortars were ornamented with incised rings, short incised lines around the rims, and other kinds of ornamentation. Elongated hammer-stones of a dark tough rock were used for battering and shaping hammers and pestles. Stone pestles were common. Some were short, for one hand, and others over a foot long were used with both hands (one I saw was eighteen inches long). Pestles for berries were made of wood, and a great many mortars, especially those used for mashing roots, were made of wood incased in hide. Hand-hammers with wide flat bases were common, and appear to have resembled those of the Thompson. Some had deep and others shallow striking-heads, and a few had bases rather square in shape. The tops of some were hat-shaped, like the tops of many

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alène and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved. 324 412

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers. 321

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew. 285

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them. [314]

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]). 113

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

BAGS

Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parflèches and square hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian-hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

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WOVEN CLOTHING

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

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usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294
ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531
a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

MATS.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285
three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352]
in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style[37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

WOVEN BAGS.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285
Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415
buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine[42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.
[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.
[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.
[38] *a*, fig. 133.
[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.
[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.
[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.
[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.
[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.
[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.[45] Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somxone'lp*(?), which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. 285 415 531 The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying.

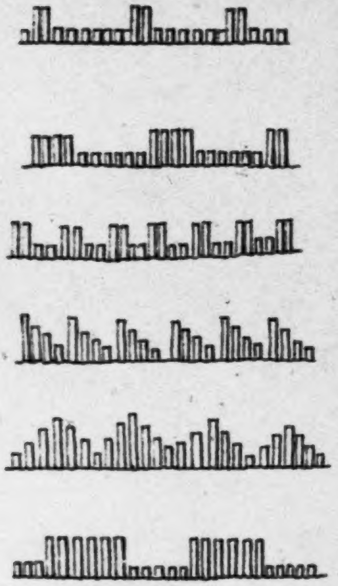
FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes. The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.[46] Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine

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[45] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

[46] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 219.

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quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

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SKIN BAGS AND POUCHES.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177] fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] Cf. fig. 30.

sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflêches. 237 281 415 531

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflêches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint. [462]

FLEXIBLE BASKETS.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[31] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these 285 415 531

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[31] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

285 415 baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

531 314 Openwork Baskets.—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[52]

[2B3] Birch-bark Baskets.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[53] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[54] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[55] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

285 314 415 Cedar-bark Baskets.—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[56] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[52] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[53] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[54] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859-111862.

[55] Probably similar to Shuswap, *c*, fig. 202.

[56] Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. 285
The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, 314
being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The
other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, 415
and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

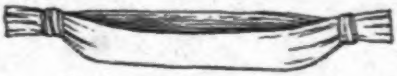

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

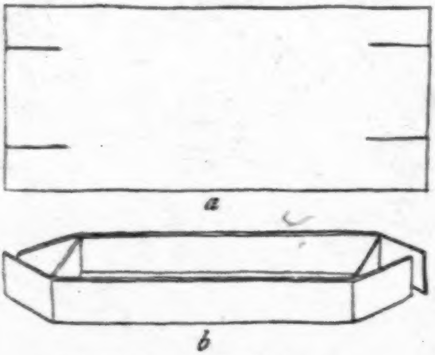

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no [322]
pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [323]

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe [177]
changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

177 285 415 baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discontinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflèches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

295 415 COILED BASKETRY.[b]—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*, pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and

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[b] See *o*, pp. 140-142.

also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. 285/415
They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*"
baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically
the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson,
were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the
larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had
lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds
and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs
attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong
handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water
baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as
the loops in parflèches. It seems no basketry handles were made to
baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn
whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without
bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down
to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl.
VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in
them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of
the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags
of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.)
Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbri- 285
cated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415
well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that
no cherry or willow bark was used. The grass was applied nearly 531
always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed.
Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by
burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other
colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar,
twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the
outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was
in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in
this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and 221
river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They 286
had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp
twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson
were in use.[57] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject 531
is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the
names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements.
Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[57] *a*, fig. 134.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

531 Designs on Bark Baskets.—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 Conical Mat Lodge.—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 Skin Lodge.—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted
for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 Long Lodge.—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

251 343 417 SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. [251] Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

251 322 343 CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

285 314 352 HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. [513] Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. [237] Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

237 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed
292 and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of
301 large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also
attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills,
beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women,
when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé[107]
285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown
294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on
which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé[108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or
294 less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low,
somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.
[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.
[108] *b*, fig. 4.
[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

412 32 171 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. 531 439 386 It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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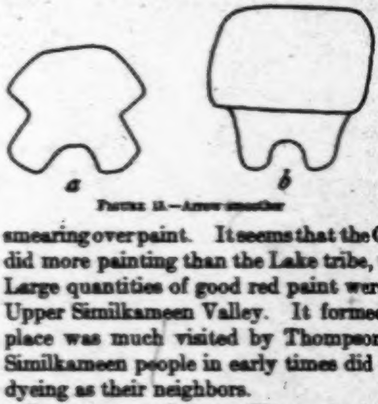

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 412 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

● 285 415 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. [illegible].

[10] See Thompson, a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible], c.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made. 285 415 314

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16] 285 531

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328). 286

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark, and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together. 285 283 415

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, d.
[12] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, c and f.
[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[14] See ibid., VI. M. 78.
[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 73.
[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[17] a, p. 188, fig. 131, d, h, i.
[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 98.
[19] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 140.

283 285 415 Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.[20] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[21] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[22] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

[531] Flat Bags.—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[23] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[20] See Thompson, a, p. 203, fig. 182.

[21] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 86.

[22] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 180.

[23] See Thompson, a, p. 190, fig. 122, and Shuswap, c, p. 497, fig. 219.

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BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[26] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[27] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

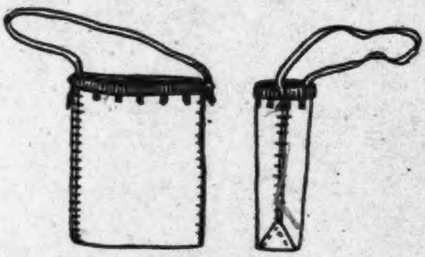

FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting. [531]

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[26] See Field Mus., Nos. 111850-111862.

[27] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

Coiled Basketry.[1]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes 285
long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and 314
many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands 415
of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made
little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring 439
bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials
abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets
and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia.
The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled
baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson
who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil
made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements,
as they also procured some from the Columbia. The
Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As
among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets,
and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots
were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used
instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce
in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of
uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by
the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river
within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of
cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees
in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication 177
on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285
about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced
to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531
some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314
this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was
principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple
designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the
inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely
cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville
appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil.
The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and
they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people
think it came from the south, and some think it must have been
learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely.
Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower
Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted.
About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased,
most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass
entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531
high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns

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[1] See 4, pp. 140-142.

[531] 285 were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets, however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether 285 of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their 415 baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller of the older "*stlūq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson. (*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800. Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 26 *a*). Some were made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped, the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (a, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (o, pl. 68, i.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length. 285 415

ROPES, THREAD, AND NETS.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs. 283 412

WOVEN CLOTHING.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type [28] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the 286 294 was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths. 531 171* [386]

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[28] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

Dressing of Skins.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6] 281 171*

Rawhide Work.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes. 281 415 171* [178] [439]

Woven and other Bags.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery. [531]

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only. 285 171*

Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their 285 531 171*

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[1] c, pp. 67, 68, figs. 33, 34.
[2] See p. 44.
[3] f, pp. 175, 176.
[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.
[5] See p. 44.
[6] f, p. 176, fig. 2.

285 531 *171 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

286 *171 [237] WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

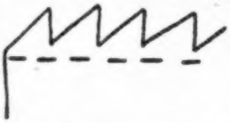

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 283 TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs
*171 294 237 of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon.
*171 227 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 *171 WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 415 314 BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrange- 415
ment of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan 314
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close 184
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[7]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, 285
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend 285
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane 531
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully.
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet. This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[7] See a, pp. 140-142.

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwi'χ* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunä'χe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

531 Designs on Baskets, Bags, etc.—It is said that designs on mats
*171 were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
[178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

462 Division of Labor.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and
*171 bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
[592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

415 • 285 178 *171 [222] [412] Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 178 *171 [415] [407] Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 *171 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

127 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presum-
291 ably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while
291 travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[213] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlakwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si-'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

281 282 291 Extensive use of buckskin characterized the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kililxwa'kstxantan) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

294 Foot wear in the form of moccasins (sapsai'pi'xan) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the [531] other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

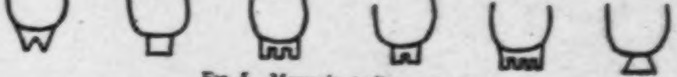

Fig. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

2; Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

The weir was built in the same shape, but much less carefully. The weir proper extended for only a few feet on each side of the trap. From each end of the weir to the bank a dam was formed of boulders and logs. The weir was made as usual but was twined at only three places. It was not set to stand vertically, but slanted somewhat, forming an obtuse angle down stream. 226 283

The owner of such a trap emptied it each morning and in the evening.

NETTING

Netting was the least important method of fishing practiced by the Sanpoil, but it was better adapted to certain conditions and seasons than either trapping or spearing. Where the water of the Columbia was turbid or rough nets (mu'lᴀman, sa'xwian) were used to advantage, for they were not visible to the fish under such conditions. The dip net was useless, however, when the water became shallow. In the fall white salmon and dog salmon were taken in considerable quantities with seines. 226 286

Nets were used from natural ledges over the water or from specially constructed platforms. Sometimes net fishing was done from the regular spearing platform. All fish caught with a net were the property of the individual fisherman.

The common dip net used for salmon and suckers was called kwa'i'xᵘ (Figure 11). It consisted of a hoop of willow or maple two or three feet in diameter, from which was suspended a bag-like net. At opposite sides of the hoop were fastened two poles about six feet long. These poles were bound together at the top, forming a handle in the shape of an inverted V. Fastened transversely from handle to handle, about four inches above the hoop, was a strip of netting six inches or more wide. A slack cord extended from the strip of netting to the point where the handles crossed.

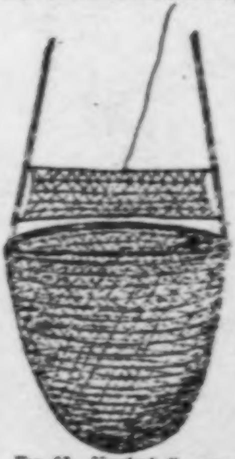

Fig. 11. Vertical dip net.

In use the net was submerged vertically in the water so that the cross net was at right angles to the current and well below the surface. The upper end of the slack cord was looped around the thumb of the fisherman and pulled tight. The net was held in this position until a fish struck the cross net. The fisherman was made aware of the presence of the fish by the increase of tension on the cord. Immediately he pulled the net upward with a sudden motion. The fish was thus ensnared in the bag net, and removed from the water.

The mesh size in the nets for salmon was two or three inches; for smaller fish such as suckers the mesh was usually about one-half inch. The depth of the b[illegible]et was about three feet for salmon, but much less for the smaller fish.

Another type of salmon net (Figure 12, b) was provided with a handle in the same plane as the hoop, and was used with a sweeping motion. The hoop

was of willow about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Across the hoop, but off center, was fastened a small pole of willow. One end of the pole which served as a handle was anchored to this cross piece; the handle was again fastened at the point where it crossed the hoop. The handle was made preferably of cedar. The average length was six feet, the average diameter two inches. The net suspended from the hoop was similar to the one previously described. In turbid water this net was swept with a slow motion through the water in downstream direction. When a salmon was netted it was necessary to play it for some time before it could be lifted from the water.

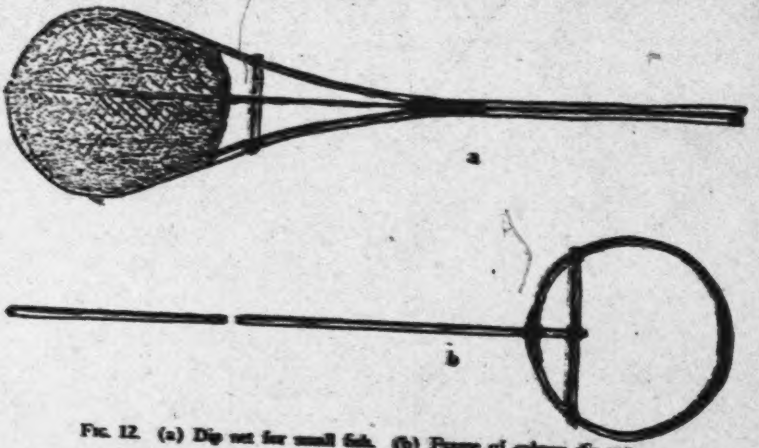

Fig. 12. (a) Dip net for small fish. (b) Frame of salmon dip net.

The third type of net (Figure 12, a) was used especially for eels, but also for small fish. Here again the net was of the same form, but the hoop and handle differed. The opening of the net ranged around two feet in diameter, and the depth averaged twelve inches. The hoop and the handle were formed by a single piece of willow. The withe was bent double and the ends were bound together, forming the handle. About half the distance from the handle to the hoop end a cross piece six or eight inches long was fastened to hold the two sides apart. A cord was attached to the hoop at the point opposite the handle and then stretched tightly and secured to the cross piece. This caused the doubled willow pole to open forming a hoop, and raised the extreme point of the hoop somewhat above the plane of the handle. When this net was used the cross piece was grasped in the left hand, the extending handle in the right, and the net drawn through the water.

The purse type of net was not known.

Indian hemp cord was used for making all types of nets.

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made 226
of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. 286
Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (lıt'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone.

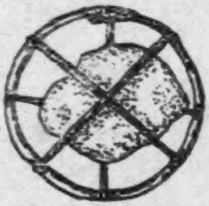

Fig. 13. Seine sinker.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was
emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch 286
was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. How- 422
ever, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch.

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory accord- 177
ing to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John 226
Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all 226
activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent 624
and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[8]

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[8] See page 174-175.

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224 twigs which move the trigger, so that the spring is released. In general. Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 ● 286 [462] Nets (spinpí´nia) were made occasionally of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?] long, but only eight feet high, since the deer could not see them to jump over them. They were stretched between trees and shrubs and the deer driven into them so that their horns and feet became entangled, when they were shot. Women prepared the hemp string and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of convenient weight to pack, and tied together. Teit reports that nets among the Thompson were generally made of the bark of Apocynum cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on the snow was hard enough to support the weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone, singling out the freshest track they could find and following it persistently. This work demanded much strength and endurance. Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then rain for a while to melt the surface, then cold to make the crust. They usually carried a sack tied to their belts containing dried [264] meat and roots. In starvation times they would eat game in the bush, though it was customary to bring everything to camp first.

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis* for the interior Salish:

> "As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

008 Men might sing in the sweathouse before

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*[For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst]

p. 20 (B)

291 Both types of moccasin were provided with tabs or trailers protruding at the heel. The tab of the recent style is inserted into the lower seam as it is sewed at the heel. Those of the older style were made by pinching out the material in some fashion as the heel seam was formed. Heel-tabs were forked at various angles or fringed, according to the fancy of the maker.

● [286] "Moccasins" were also woven of Indian hemp by those too poor to use deer skin. These were said to have been made in the older style, but informants could give us no details as to the manner of weaving. It is possible that these resembled the slipper-like sandals of the Paviotso and Klamath.

In winter, warmth was obtained by stuffing moccasins and leggings with sunflower leaves, deer hair, or grass, made soft by rubbing between the palms. One informant (Cecile Brooks) reported warm moccasins of

227 at a slightly diverging angle (Figure 22)." Each foreshaft bore a head, made of two pieces of split deer horn or bone, sharpened at the point and bound together. Each head was attached to the shaft by a slack line. At their midpoints the foreshafts were connected by a firm line to prevent them from spreading when thrust into a salmon. All points of binding were first covered with melted pine pitch and then wrapped with Indian hemp cords. When casting or thrusting this spear, it was held horizontally above the right shoulder, the right hand grasping it with the thumb toward the butt end, so as to deliver a stabbing stroke downward. The left hand merely guided the shaft.

Nets

227 286 A conical dip net was used for chub, eels, squawfish, and small salmon trout. Its handle was a long peeled willow limb bearing a fork. The ends of the fork were lapped and lashed together to form the ring carrying the net. The net was laced to this ring with Indian hemp cord. The net itself was deep and conical. It was made with the aid of several gauges of cedar wood, whittled and rubbed very smooth (Figure 23). The description obtained is not wholly clear but seems to be as follows. Meshes were made in a continuous spiral around the net, working from left to right, and turning the fabric face for face with each new row of meshes added. To start the first row, which would form the apex of the net, a series of loops were made over a net guage. For the second row, the fabric was turned over so that the meshes now added faced in the same direction. Square knots were used throughout. The netting needle, or more properly reel, was

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23 Washington State Museum, No. 2-327 a-c.

formed of two small sticks crossed at the middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on this figure-eight fashion. 227 286

Deer nets were made of hemp string by hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight feet high and as long as four hundred yards, but were made in sections large enough for one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, men the net. 224 286 [462]

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for 481

283 Three strand braided ropes were made of willow bark. The bark was kept in water until it was needed, and the braided portion of the rope was continually laid back in the water while the length of rope was being completed. Lengths of three to four hundred (?) feet were made in this fashion, strong enough to lower a man down the face of a cliff when hunting for eagles.

Mountain goat hair was twisted into cords according to Chilowhist Jim (an informant from the southern end of the territory). The longer hair, six to eight inches in length, was shaved from the skin with a knife. A pile of this hair was moistened, matted together, and roughly twisted. To twist this, a lithe stick provided at one end with a right-angled hook was used. One end of the bundle of hair was engaged in the hook while the longer arm of this stick was rolled between palm and thigh, or between the palms, to twist the hairs into a cord. Two persons engaged in the task; one spinning the wooden hook as he pulled on the cord, the other holding the free end and adding hairs to lengthen it. This cordage was made of ten or twelve strands of hair. Horsehair was spun in the same way to make rope, which was valuable because it withstood wetting.

Weaving

286 It is doubtful if the Southern Okanagon wove, or at least that the southern bands did. (Chilowhist Jim, whose information may refer to the Methow, implied that his people wove mountain goat yarn.) Teit states that the Lake (Sinajextee) alone of all the interior Salish tribes wove. "It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom." Again, "Woven goat's-wool robes were known [by the Coeur d'Alêne] to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere."* Andrew Tillson, whose affiliations were with the northerly groups, stated that blankets were woven of goat's hair. The hair was twisted on the thigh and woven apparently without the use of any sort of loom. On the other hand, the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon, according to Tom Martin, had no woven blankets of mountain goat hair. Cecile, a Kalispel brought up among the central groups of Southern Okanagon, had never heard of blankets woven of goat hair or rabbit skin. They may have traded for them.

Wood and Bone Working

313 Trees were felled by chiseling away chips around the circumference near the base with a deer horn wedge and a wooden maul. The procedure was to drive in the wedge and pull it up to pry off a chunk of wood. An alternative method with a dry tree was to chip out several pits at the base with the horn wedges. Fires were set in these pits to burn

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*[For footnote, see P. 68(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. 285
They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*"
baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically 415
the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in parflèches. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.)
Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbri- 285
cated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415
well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that
no cherry or willow bark was used. The grass was applied nearly 531
always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and 221
river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They 286
had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.[37] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject 531
is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[37] *a*, fig. 134.

281* consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo
294 robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others,
made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because
it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together,
making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair.
[531] All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted
designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for
[177] show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs.
Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used
on robes by the Blackfeet[76] and may have been copied from eastern
tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands
being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips
[286] of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they
were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as
I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven
of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe
used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes.
Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living
west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large
robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of
large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with
designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with
pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear
to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78] Some
buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before
the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo
hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar

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[76] c, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] a, fig. 131 g. [78] a, fig. 301. [79] a, fig. 163.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

WOVEN PONCHOS, RAIN CLOAKS.—No woven-bark clothes were
made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and 294
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] a, fig. 191.

[111] a, fig. 194.

[112] c, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] c, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] c, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] c, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] c, fig. 25 and p. 60.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates 285
and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the 415
Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark,
and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even 314
by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats
of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats
are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the 285
Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out
and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made 531
of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed
material was used, the common colors being different shades of red,
brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally
employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the
weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight
lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin 286 ●
blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom.
(See also p. 328).

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the 285
Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used 283
were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark,
and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were 415
made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 121, *d*.
[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 121, *c* and *f*.
[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[14] See ibid., VI. M. 79.
[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 72.
[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 76.
[17] *a*, p. 189, fig. 122, *d*, *h*, *i*.
[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 93.
[19] See Thompson, *a*, p. 202, fig. 140.

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by 285
the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the 415
middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (a, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (o, pl. 68, i.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length.

Ropes, Thread, and Nets.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian 283
hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of
goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was 412
employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs.

Woven Clothing.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" 286 ●
type[a] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similka-
meen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained 294
them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the

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[a] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

286 294 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[20] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

531 DESIGNS ON BAGS.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

DESIGNS ON BASKETS.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

332 342 UNDERGROUND LODGE.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[20] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

[1] a, pp. 192-194, and figs. 135, 136; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

285 031 *171 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

• 286 *171 [237] Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

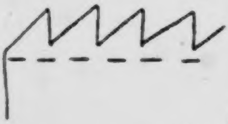

Figure 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 283 *171 294 237 *171 227 Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 *171 Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 415 314 Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 286 291 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presumably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 286 291 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqəlastən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'ītsən). The
[283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlakwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

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Extensive use of buckskin characterized the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kililxwa'kstxantən) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

294 Foot wear in the form of moccasins (spəsi'pi'xən) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

[531]

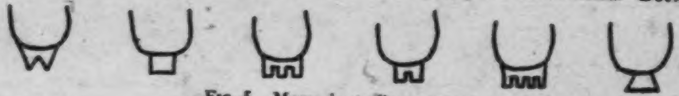

FIG. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

281. Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch
291 grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around
531 the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sq̓wa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'tskan) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (sknálkwá'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than
281 either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article
291 of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'á'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

177 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which
281 was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superim-
291 posed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'a'łks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most
301 of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian
531 spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the
776 wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

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Plate 1. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body. (2, 3) inserts. (4) ankle flap. (5) inner tongue. (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A. 2-11783; B. 2-158, C. 2-159).

Each village was said to have a large sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5] 343 364

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6] 361 712

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear, goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times.[8] When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women. 291 [858] [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (circa 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.

[6] See Warfare.

[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.

[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

The apron of the clout was sometimes decorated with a fringe. The belt was a piece of tanned skin tied at the front in a flat knot, bowknots being unknown in the old days (?). [531]

Men's leggings reached from the breechclout to the moccasins. They were frequently made of wolf, coyote, or fox skin in winter, and buckskin in summer. The exact construction is not clear. Each legging was apparently made of a single piece of skin sewn or laced with buckskin on the outside of the leg and so cut as to leave a triangular flap along the seam, point downward. This was often slit in fringes. Stripes of [531] porcupine quills, shells, or feather quills were sewn down the seams and around the bottom as decoration. The legging was held on by a thong attached to the top on the outside, which was tied to the belt. The legging was not attached to the moccasin, but simply fell over it or was tucked in. Winter leggings, most often of coyote skin, were worn fur side out and were not decorated. The sides were sewn with buckskin, using an awl. Additional leggings of groundhog skin, sometimes added to eke out the length of those covering the thighs, reached from knee to ankle. Women's leggings were shorter than men's, reaching to just above the knee. They were always of buckskin and worn the year around. (Chilowhist Jim stated that they wore goat hide in winter.) The edges were tied together with three buckskin thongs on the outer side of the leg. Apparently there was no triangular flap as on the men's leggings. Decorations were of porcupine quills or paint, but shells were not used. [531]

Two types of moccasin were in use, although both come in the category of "one-piece" moccasins. One, said by informants to be the older, was made with a tongue covering the instep, the seam of the wide sole-piece extending from the toes to meet it. A later one-piece type, said to have been borrowed from the Nez Percé, has almost completely superseded the older type. This has its own seam around the margin of the sole. Both were made from smoked skin lest wetting make them stiffen. There were no sex differences in cut.

For the older style moccasin a piece of buckskin was cut larger than the sole so that it could be lapped over the sides of the foot. This was then sewn up from the toe to the instep, and vertically up the heel (Figure 9).[1] A folded double tongue piece covering the instep was then inserted, the sole piece being slightly gathered to fit the tongue. The circular seam securing this was reinforced by inserting in it an extra strip of buckskin. A straight piece of buckskin, about three inches wide and long enough for its ends to overlap about two inches at

[1] [For footnote, see p.43 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

5 For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
6 See Warfare.
7 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.
8 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9, Nos. 2-267, 2-268; Figure 10, Nos. 2-266, 2-269.[1]

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 43(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 43(C)

291 the front of the ankle, was then sewn to the edge of the sole piece from the top of one tongue seam, around the heel to the other tongue seam. This ankle flap was pulled tightly around the ankle with the free ends overlapping. This moccasin was laced by a buckskin thong passing back of the heel and through two loops sewed at the points where the ankle flap met the tongue.

In the more recent type of moccasin the seam runs around the outside of the foot from the toe to the heel with a vertical seam up the heel (Figure 10). The straight tongue is part of the sole-piece, and in use is tucked under the overlapping ankle flap, which is attached as in the older type of moccasin. Sometimes the sole-piece is slashed even with the width of the tongue and a tab bent back over the instep and fringed.[1] The moccasin is held on by a thong lacing which passes through holes in the sides of the moccasin and the tongue.

[1] [For foot note, see p. 44 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

291 Both types of moccasin were provided with tabs or trailers protruding at the heel. The tab of the recent style is inserted into the lower seam as it is sewed at the heel. Those of the older style were made by pinching out the material in some fashion as the heel seam was formed. Heel-tabs were formed at various angles or fringed, according to the fancy of the maker.

[286] "Moccasins" were also woven of Indian hemp by those too poor to use deer skin. These were said to have been made in the older style, but informants could give us no details as to the manner of weaving. It is possible that these resembled the slipper-like sandals of the Paviotso and Klamath.

In winter, warmth was obtained by stuffing moccasins and leggings with sunflower leaves, deer hair, or grass, made soft by rubbing between the palms. One informant (Cecile Brooks) reported warm moccasins of

p. 44 (c)

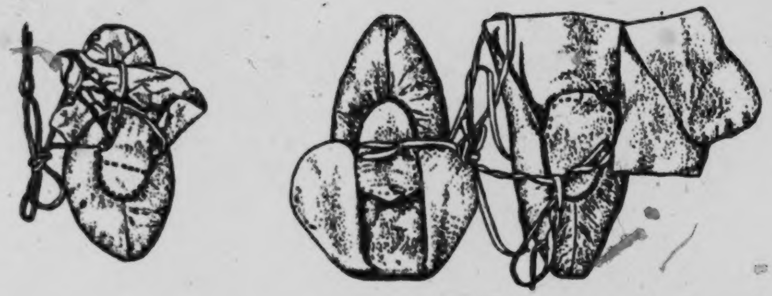

Fig. 9. Moccasins of older type. (The moccasin on the right is left unsewn to show the pattern.)

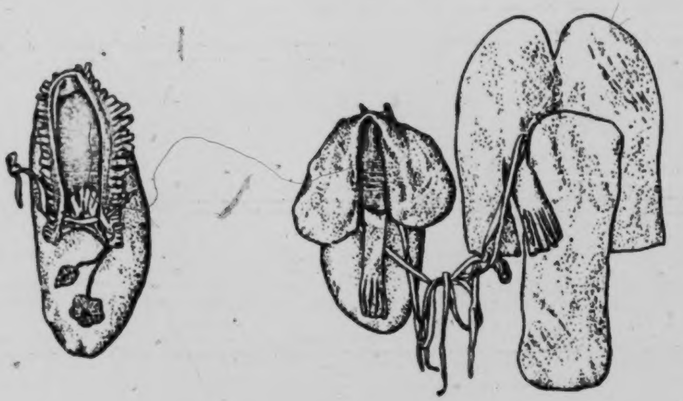

Fig. 10. Moccasins of recent type. (The moccasin on the right has been left unsewn to show the pattern.)

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[9] This is not clear. Perhaps it is meant that the tongue is cut off short, fringed, and allowed to fall over the instep as in Figure 10 with or without another long tongue sewed in place. — L.S.

P. 44 (D)

buffalo skin with the hair inside. These needed no stuffing and were not decorated. 291

At present moccasins are undecorated except those used in the winter dances. The modern decoration is bead work in floral designs of the Great Lakes type. The old style moccasin was decorated with embroidery on the seams and surface of the inset tongue. Presumably the embroidery was done in porcupine quills in early times; after the introduction of the horse, horse hair was a common embroidery material. One pair of moccasins of the older style obtained was decorated with horse hair at the curved seam of the tongue: two lines of black horse hair at the outside, a white line inside these, and a third black line inside the white. For this several strands of hair taken in a bundle were wrapped with another bundle to form a cord-like line. The stitches of sinew with which the hair cord was sewn on passed through the turns (?) of the wrapped bundle of hairs. The two center lines of hair were thicker than the two outer lines. A tassel of hair about two inches long was left on the right side of each moccasin. 291 531

The man's shirt was made of two deer skins, neck end up, sewed together over the shoulders. It had sleeves to the elbow, beyond which a thong might extend to tie to the gloves. Sometimes the sides were fastened only with thongs. According to Teit,[10] Northern Okanagon shirts had the margins of the neck cut circular or triangular to be bent down and sewed to the body of the shirt in the manner of the pendant flaps of Plains shirts. A poncho-like shirt made of a single skin with a hole cut for the head to pass through was also worn. Fringes and embroidery were not emphasized. Neither the vest nor the neck wrap mentioned by Teit was described by our informants. 291

The woman's dress was made of two buckskins, hung from the shoulders and reaching as low as the calf or ankle. These skins had the flesh side out. One informant stated that the tail end of the skin was at the bottom of the dress because this was the broader part of the skin, but another stated that it was at the top, which agrees with Teit's information. The shoulders were either sewed or laced together with buckskin thongs. The sides of the dress were sewed together below the armpits. This stitching was well within the margins of the skin, which was purposely cut over size. The marginal portions could then be slit for fringes. The leg skins were left attached and sewed as a sort of sleeve. This was sewn along the upper side, but apparently unsewn below, or at best laced, so that it resembled a cape draped over the arm. Mary Carden mentioned sleeves of elbow length. Sleeves evidently varied greatly in length. Seams, ends of sleeves, and the bottom of the dress were usually fringed. Wealthy women added a yoke to the dress. No belts were worn with these dresses until recently. 291

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[10] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 232.

p. 45(A)

The dress was decorated with paint (colored dots applied with the thumb across the top and around the bottom) together with short pieces of buckskin thong doubled and 291 531

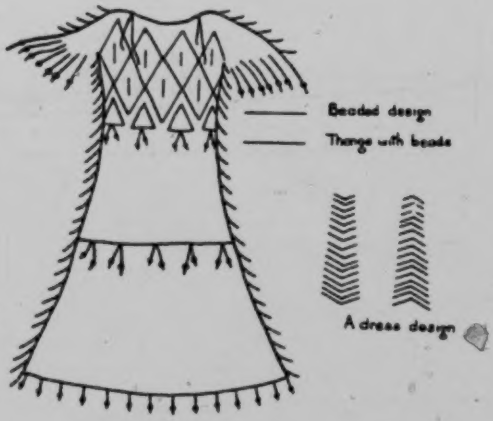

Fig. 11. Women's dress (after native sketch).

sewn on at the fold to resemble small bows. Mary Carden denied the use of painted decoration. Other dresses had designs made with bone beads or embroidery of porcupine quills along the yoke and near the bottom of the garment (Figure 11). Various special designs might be used by women with certain kinds of power. For example, a woman with power [778] against being shot would have rows of little holes around the top and bottom of her dress. On the whole, women kept articles indicative of their power hidden inside the dress. A women with the power of a swift bird might have some of its feathers tucked into the buckskin ties on her shoulder: when pursued she would throw these feathers behind her.

Porcupine embroidery was said to be made by doubling the quill, slipping the ends through two holes close together. The ends were then interlocked or tied with buckskin on the under side. (This may well be questioned.) Designs used were a series of short parallel lines, squares, triangles, zigzag lines, and chevrons. Beads or shells (including dentalium shells) were sometimes attached to the fringes. The use of beads was learned from the Nez Percé.

Some notes on design styles in general were obtained from Cecile. Solid dots and concentric circles were used; the dot within a circle as a unit being unknown. Long before the earthquake (about 1870) they were

291 531 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

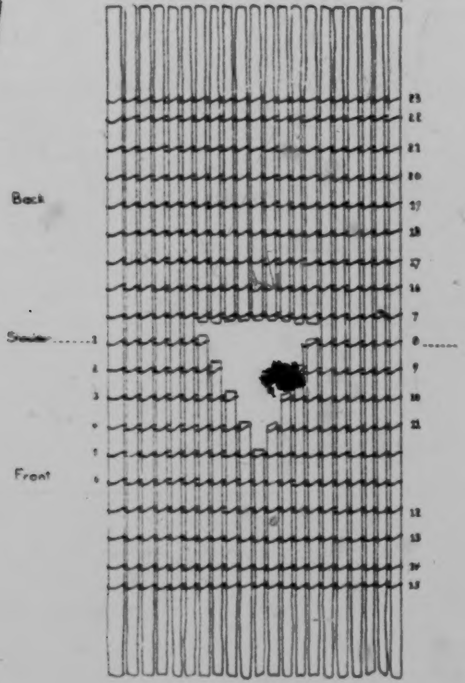

Fig. 12. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'ĕlō′q'ĕtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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[11] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

291 285 aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

[292 531]

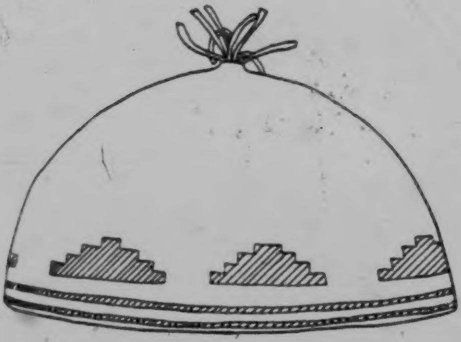

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure; it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

292 841 839 During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

292 Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decor-
ated with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks re-
call the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalis-
pel living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the [439]
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes
of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of
woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin paint-
ed and embroidered, or finely embellished
capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-
Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the
breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sage-
brush and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by wo- 292
men on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shap- 285
ed and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alter-
nating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that bas-
ket hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a 778
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buck
skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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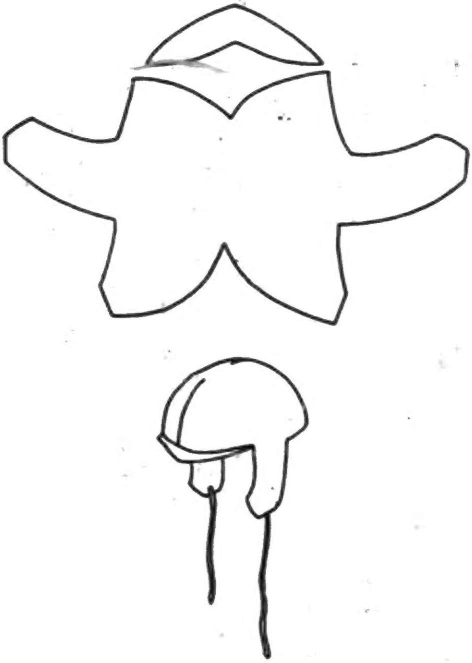
12 Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
13 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
14 Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
15 Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

er animal were sewn on top or front as a decoration. It was stated that if an old man with strong power saw such a cap worn by a young man who lacked the privilege, he would ask his power to kill the pretender. 292 778 [754]

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291



[292 778]

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around. 301 [778]

Feather bonnets were said to have been introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasku'sm (?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé 171 292

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
554 would also naturally have sufficient power
to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
622 here. Apparently after the introduction of
the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them [881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated. The grease was collected from the tops [145] of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

512 521 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

•[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

BAGS

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Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parfleches and square hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian-hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

WOVEN CLOTHING

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Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

DRESS AND CLOTHES

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The clothing of the Columbia Salish, as far as I could learn, varied somewhat in different bands, but, on the whole, it seems to have been about the same as among the Sanpoil. Robes were of dressed skin painted, but more generally of skins of deer, fawn, marmot, and the like, dressed in the hair, and sewed together. Marmot robes, woven goat's-wool robes, and woven rabbit-skin robes, were much used by the Wenatchi, Chelan, and western and northwestern bands. Small robes, cloaks, and capes of fur and of dressed leather, were also used by both sexes. Ponchos of deer-skin, coyote-skin, and the like, were also worn.

Women wore long dresses with and without sleeves; those with sleeves, however, but rarely, as sleeves were a modern innovation. The common style seems to have been similar to the Yakima dress figured by Wissler.[44] A few dresses retained the tail-pieces of the skin. Some dresses were of three deer-skins. Two skins sewed together formed the skirt. I did not learn definitely whether the tail-ends were down or up, but it seems that in most cases they were down. The third skin was doubled and sewed to the others transversely, forming the yoke or shoulder-part. A slit for the head was made in the middle of the one forming the yoke. Sometimes, instead of using tie-strings, the slit was drawn together at the neck with draw strings. Fringes followed the joining of the yoke with the skirt-part across the body. All the edges of dresses were generally fringed. In the winter some dresses retaining the hair were used. Some old women and young girls wore fringed bodices instead of dresses. Short vests of fur, laced at one side or at both sides (or at the back?) were used by both sexes in the winter-time. Some women in the summer-time wore short sleeveless shirts of light leather in conjunction with bodices.

Short leggings of dressed skin of deer, antelope, and the like, were worn. Fur leggings were used sometimes instead of buckskin ones by both sexes in the winter-time. Long mittens, similar to those of the Cœur d'Alêne, were used in cold weather. They were generally made of coyote-skin, reached to the armpits, and were fastened with a loop or string around the neck. In the winter-time sometimes sleeves of coyote-skin were used in the same way, especially by people who wore sleeveless shirts or vests and capes. It seems that they were tied above the elbow.

Women wore conical grass caps of the Nez Percé type; and others, more pointed ones woven of willow bark. Many caps, however, were made of buck-skin. Head-bands were used by both sexes.

The men wore long leggings of dressed skin, breech-clouts (some used aprons instead), and shirts with and without sleeves, mostly the latter. Shirts

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[44] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains Indians* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 17, 1915, 39-91), fig. 18.

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, 301
which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common
use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by
men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a
good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other
robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-
skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered
with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across
the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or
triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a
wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded
or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these
styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills
applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were
common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for neck-
laces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of
copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common,
and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other
animals, and others of teeth of elk, and horse, were used. Some pendants
were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were
attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used,
also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of
syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few
antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was uni- 304
versal, and some people tattooed.

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar to those of the Thompson.[72] The handles were sometimes painted. 237 317 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes. 415

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp. 281 291 [302] [484]

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often 381ˣ 294

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[73] *a*, figs. 159, 160. [74] *a*, fig. 161. [75] *a*, pl. 18.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

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Dress.—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep [illegible]. Probably the most common

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[11] See Ottawa collection. Nos. 125, 127.

[12] See Thompson, e, p. 204, fig. 156.

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. 136, a juniper-bark spoon.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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robes were those made of skins of deer, fawn, antelope, buffalo, beaver, otter, marmot, coyote, and lynx, all dressed in the hair. Robes woven of twisted strips of rabbit skin were made and worn by all the tribes. Probably a few of twisted strips of muskrat were also in use. Robes or blankets woven of goat's wool were made and used only by the Lake tribe. Probably a few of these blankets were procured from the Wenatchi, and used by Okanagon as bedcovers. Dogskin robes were not worn, except by the Similkameen. A few robes of dressed buckskin, painted and embroidered, were used, especially in fine weather and at festivals. Small robes or cloaks were worn by a few people of both sexes, but probably mostly by women and children. Some woven ones were used by the Similkameen.[1] Cloaks were tied or pinned in front. Capes of a small size, and made to fit the shoulders, were used in a few places by women and children, rarely by men. Most cloaks and capes were made of skins of small animals, dressed in the hair and sewed together—marmot, skunk, squirrel, ground squirrel, muskrat, mink, marten, weasel, and young fawn. A few were made of woven rabbit skin, and some were of dressed buckskin edged with fur. Some combined shirts and capes were used by the Lake tribe. The underpart of the garment was a sleeveless shirt of buckskin, sewed at the sides from the armpits to the waist or belt. The bottom was pinked or fringed and ornamented with a band of embroidery or painting. The upper part, or cape, was attached to the back of the neck of the shirt and was of buckskin edged with fur. The neck part was ornamented with a collar of skin, sometimes of leather pinked and embroidered, sometimes of the fur of fox, wolf, otter, etc. Some capes had long, fine-cut fringes along the bottom, and were further ornamented with pendent feathers of eagles or hawks, or with tassels of hair, weasel skins, and the like. Sometimes the whole cape was profusely covered with rows of ermine skins put on flat or cut and twisted into long pendants. Tufts of hair and feathers were also used, and some capes were punctured all over with rows of small holes. Usually the shirt was provided with a belt of stiff skin, which was set with pendants of deer's hoofs, beads, hair tassels, feathers, or strips of ermine skins. Sometimes both large and small robes were worn poncho style.

Men's Clothing.—Men's shirts and leggings were similar to some of the styles used by the Thompson. A common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. Sometimes the shoulders only were sewed together, the sides being provided with lacings, or merely held together with a few stitches of thong. The neck pieces of the skins were folded down at the back and front, where they were stitched or sewed to the body of the shirt. Usually they were shaped into circular or triangular forms and ornamented with embroidery and fringing. A few shirts retained the tails, or at least the one at the back, and the parts of the leg skins shaped into points or cut square, a little of the deer's-leg hair being left on for tufts at the ends. The seams of these shirts were embroidered and fringed. These shirts, in both cut and style of ornamentation, appear to have been almost the same as the Nez Percé shirt figured by Wissler.[2] Another common shirt was made of a single large skin folded over and sewed at the sides, and sometimes stitched here and there under the arms. A hole was cut and shaped in the middle for the head to pass through. There was no breast cut. The fringes along the sides and under the arm pieces were sometimes very long. Separate pieces of skin, triangular in shape and covered with embroidery in quills or beads, or punctured and painted, were sewed to the shirt at the front and back of the neck.[3] Neither of these kinds had true sleeves. In more modern times many men's shirts had sleeves, and they were of different styles. (Fig. 17.)

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[1] See p. 228.

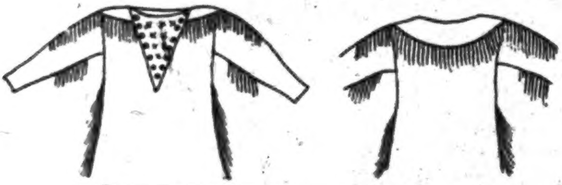

FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern clothing

The one shown in the illustration is a leather shirt seen by me among the Lake tribe. Each sleeve was of two pieces, and the back and front each of two pieces. The shirt was cut low on the breast, and over this opening a separate piece of white unsmoked skin was fastened to the shirt with metal buttons. This piece of skin was triangular in shape and embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. The sleeves were smaller at the wrists, just large enough to admit the hands. All the seams were fringed.

Some men wore, instead of the regular shirts, a kind of vest. In most cases this reached only to the hips and was made generally of buffalo and other skin dressed in the hair. This kind of poncho shirt or vest was tied or laced at the sides with thongs.[4] In later days some of them opened a short distance down the breast.[5] Breast cuts on vests and shirts are considered comparatively modern. A similar garment, but much longer, reaching generally to the knees, was in use. Most garments of this style were made of two entire deerskins and were fastened around the waist with a belt.[6] Perhaps they may be better classed as ponchos. Some boys of the Sanpoil wore shirts of an entire case-skinned coyote skin with the head part cut off. The shirt (or skin) slipped over the head and was fastened with strings on the shoulder. The tail hung at the back. There was no sewing on this kind of shirt, except that the shoulders were sometimes edged with buckskin to prevent tearing where the tie strings were. Some Sanpoil men wore shirts made of four backs of coyote skins sewed together. The tails were often retained for ornament. In some cases two coyote skins were used, forming back and front, the sides consisting of dressed buckskin. The tails were generally retained, particularly the back one.[7] Shirts of this kind were probably also worn to some extent by men of the other tribes.

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[2] d, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, e, p. 207, fig. 163; and Ottawa collection, VI. M. 289.

[4] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 298; Peabody Museum, Teit collection nos. 281, 282, 283.

[5] See Thompson, e, p. 206, fig. 162. Both the collar and breast cut are said to have been introduced within 120 years.

[6] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 300; Peabody Museum, Teit collection no. 280.

Small ponchos serving the purpose of neck wraps and covering the opening of shirts on the shoulders were worn by some men over their shirts. They consisted of single skins (in the fur) of coyote, wolf, fox, lynx cat, bear cub. The tail was retained and hung down the back.[8] Some neck wraps of entire rabbit skins sewed together were used in the winter by both sexes.

Breechclouts were of soft dressed buckskin and were of styles similar to those of the Thompson. Long ago those made of a single long piece drawn under the belt, the ends hanging like long aprons before and behind, were most rare. Some people think this style was adopted after Hudson's Bay cloth and blankets came into use. Old men and boys might wear simple aprons of dressed skin and fur, sometimes quite long, without breechclouts. Sometimes the long shirts worn by old men reached nearly to the knees. With these they wore neither breechclouts nor aprons, but with short shirts they were always worn. The usual skin leggings generally had long fringes cut in various ways. Cloth leggings had wide uncut side flaps.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's dresses reached to the calves of the legs, and some almost touched the feet. The style of dress most common had an extension of the cape or shoulder part, which hung down over the arms almost to the wrists, and served as sleeves.[9] In some the extension was short, reaching to the elbow. The arm extensions were often quite loose, while in other dresses they were fastened under the arms with thongs here and there. These dresses were generally made of two large buckskins or two cow-elk skins sewed together heads down. Unlike the Shahaptian custom, the tails of the deer were cut off instead of being retained for ornament. According to the description these dresses agreed, except for the retaining of the tails, with the Yakima specimen figured by Wissler.[10] In

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[7] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 400.

[8] See Thompson, e, pl. 18.

[9] See d, fig. 18.

[10] See d, fig. 18.

29/ 28/ place of the tails the Okanagon generally inserted a triangular piece of beading or other ornamentation. A few dresses with full-length sleeves sewed on[11] were worn. A few dresses had no sleeves at all, the arms being bare to the shoulders. A very few young girls and old women wore no dresses, but instead fringed bodices or skirts of skin reaching to the knees or below. Some of these had high bodies which were fastened at the shoulders, but the bodies of others extended hardly above the waist. The low-bodied kind were worn also by nearly all well-dressed women under their dresses. A bodice alone was not considered a complete dress. Narrow breechclouts were worn by some girls, and also by women, during menstruation. Women's leggings were like those of the Thompson. When traveling in deep snow some women wore long leggings nearly like those of the men. A very few poor people of the Similkameen wore short leggings woven of tule or rushes.

FOOTWEAR.—Moccasins were of dressed buckskin, elk skin, etc., cut in two styles that were about equally common. One consisted of a single piece folded and sewed around the toe, the outside of the foot, and at the heel.[12] The other style had a separate small tongue piece, a seam extending from the latter to the toe, and a seam down the heel.[13] In a few the ends of the toe and the heel seams were puckered. Therefore they had no trailers.[14] All moccasins had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece.

The trailers of moccasins were cut in styles similar to those of the Thompson.

The Lake were not familiar with the cut shown in *a*, Figure 170 (Thompson), although a form similar to it, with tongue piece brought to a point at the toe, is often used by the Kutenai.

In Similkameen the common cuts were seamed down the instep and open at the heel.[15] Some trailers were cut in a fringe. Summer moccasins were more pointed and made to fit the foot. Those for winter use were much looser to give room for heavy foot wraps. These consisted of pieces of skin in the hair wrapped round the foot or sewed like a duffle. The Similkameen used a few socks,[16] made like the sage-bark socks of the Thompson, and possibly boots woven of tule. Moccasins were often padded with dry teased bark and grass. In the wintertime some people wore moccasins made of deer, caribou, buffalo, and other skins, hair side in. No moccasins of the long-tongued round-toed type[17] were used long ago. This style was introduced by the Iroquois and French. Moccasins with a wide crosscut at the toe[18] seem to have been confined to Similkameen. Sandals were used by some poor people in the summertime. They were made of skin or of rawhide, and sometimes the soles were thickened with a coat of glue and sand.

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[11] See Thompson *a*, p. 215, fig. 184.
[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.
[13] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 171.
[14] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 172.
[15] See Thompson, *a*, p. 211, fig. 173, Nos. 1, 2.
[16] See Thompson, *a*, p. 212, fig. 174.
[17] See Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 170.
[18] See Tahltan specimens, Ottawa, VI. H. 48.

Hand Wear.—Gloves were unknown long ago; but mittens, both long and short, were used in cold weather. Most of them were made of coyote and other skins in the fur.

Men's Headwear.—Men's caps and headbands were made of dressed skin and of skins in the fur of almost all kinds of animals. Some were also made of bird skins. The styles were the same as those of the Thompson, including caps of animals' headskins, and those set with antlers of deer, or horns of antelope, goat, and buffalo.

Headdresses of tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and owls were common, and similar to those of the Thompson. Eagle-feather bonnets of the style used on the plains were common during the past century, and are still worn to some extent at dances. This style differed in some details from the oldest styles of eagle-feather headdresses of the Thompson and Okanagon. Feather "tails" both of the Thompson and plains styles were in vogue.

Women's Headwear.—Women's headbands and most caps were of dressed skin. The caps were more or less conical in shape, and in details were like those of the Thompson.[19] Flat-topped caps were not used. Woven caps, called by many whites "grass caps," of the so-called "Nez-Percé" style, were in common use, except among the Lake and Similkameen.[20] Caps of willow bark were used a little by Similkameen, Okanagon, and Sanpoil, but it seems were not known to the Lake, and may not have been used by the Colville either. The Similkameen probably also used a few caps woven of tule or rushes.[21]

Overclothes, etc.—Robes, ponchos, and cloaks were worn as overclothes in cold weather. It seems that no rain cloaks and short ponchos of woven vegetal material were used, except among the Similkameen. The cloaks worn by them have been described.[22] Some people put ordinary woven mats over their heads, shoulders, and backs in heavy rains. It appears that no clothing of vegetal material, except women's caps, were used by any of the other tribes. The Lake, who used cedar bark extensively for a number of purposes, did not use it for clothing. Before the advent of the fur traders, jackets, coats, and trousers were probably not made, and some say there were no sleeves to shirts and dresses. Possibly short buckskin trousers were used by Similkameen and Nicola in early times.

After many of the western Indians began to hunt on the plains buffalo robes and skins became quite common, and largely supplanted other robes, cloaks, and ponchos. For a time buffalo skin was so plentiful that even as far north as Similkameen it was cheaper than ordinary buckskin.

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[19] e, p. 217, fig. 181.

[20] See p. 225.

[21] See also Shuswap, p. 506, e, fig. 228.

[22] See p. 231.

291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

531 Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nosepins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]
304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.
302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear [26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] a, pl. 18.
[24] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.
[25] a, p. 227, fig. 210.
[26] This refers to 1909.

415 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were
*171 of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food
352 was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some
*171 extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo,
[237] deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead
[372] only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 CLOTHING (pls. 3, A 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing
*171 was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed
281 little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were
[184] also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and
[184] was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 142); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 85, the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

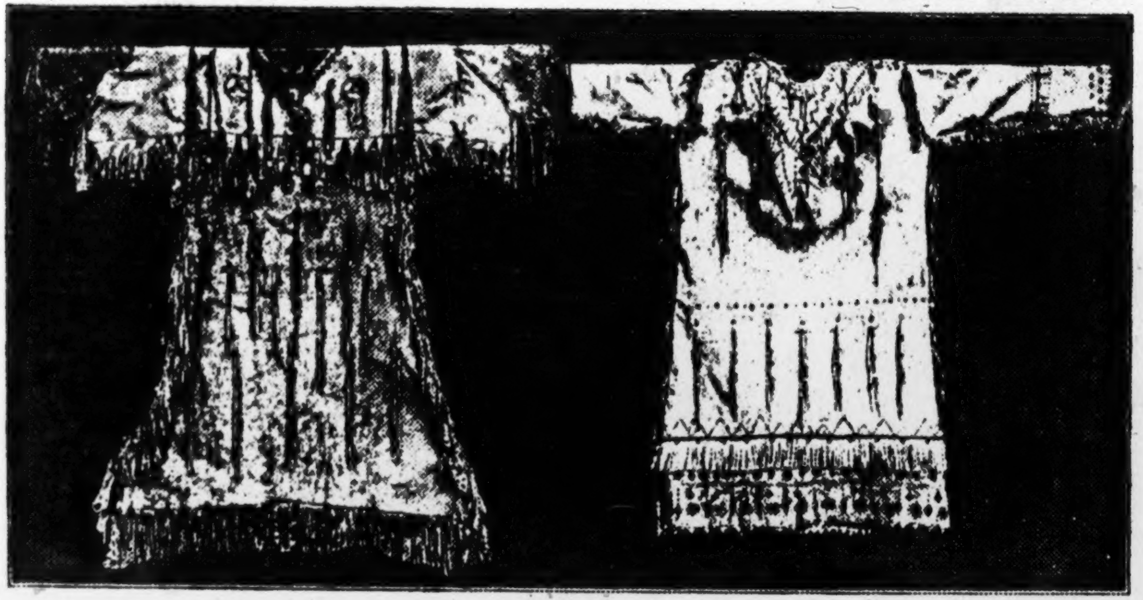
[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111890-111893.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
A Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 3



DRESSES

Interior Salish.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Kalispel

Spokan

opp. p. 334

291

531

191*

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27. 291 281

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171* [531]

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. 291 Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. 171* Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All [284] the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." [531] It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. [178] After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

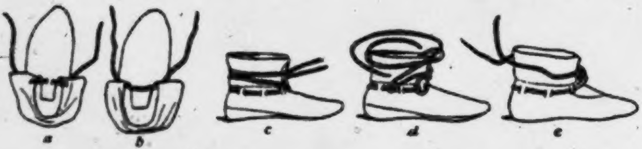


FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] *Id.*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[6] *Id.*, p. 47, fig. 1.

291 *171 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] [531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

292 *171 [439] Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 Women's Clothing.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." 294 *171 Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18 [7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] Id., p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111[illegible].

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 11179a, 111[illegible].

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and other tribes. 291 • 171*

531 291 171* [178] ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common. and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes. [237]

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[10] d, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[11] See Flathead dress. Field Museum, 111909.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented

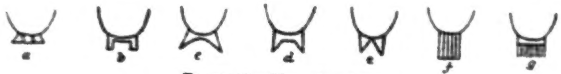

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

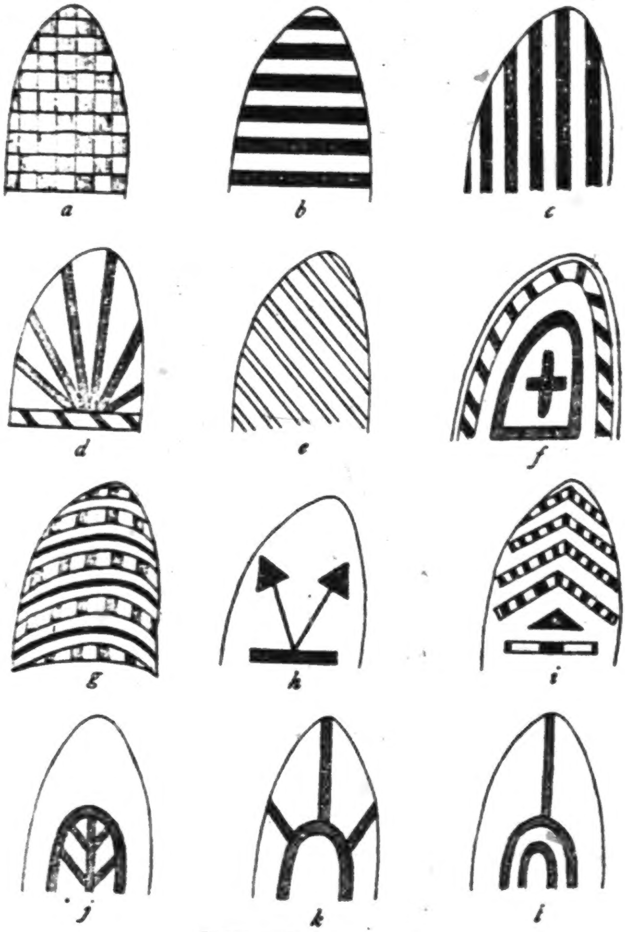

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28. 291 ● 531 171*

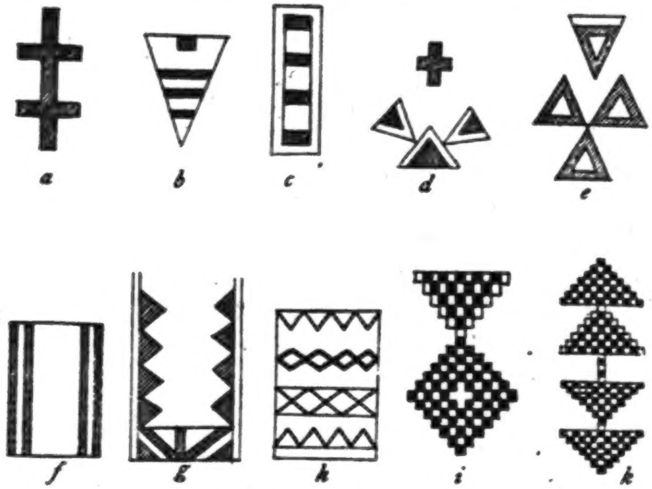

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

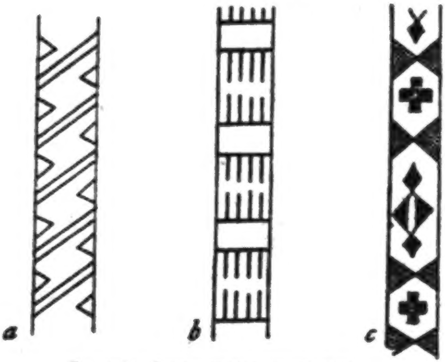

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

Personal Adornment.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. 301 191* [237]

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[12] See Field Museum, 111890–111893, 111909, 111752, 111753.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were
common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian
and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
319 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*171 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302 yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
103] famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at
a'pɛl yu'ts:mɛn ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint
was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock
was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was
tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily
find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the
searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed
rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he
came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide
[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was
exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the
introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said
that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open
and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

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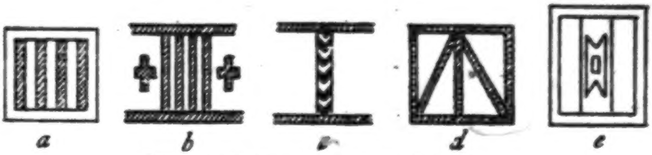

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

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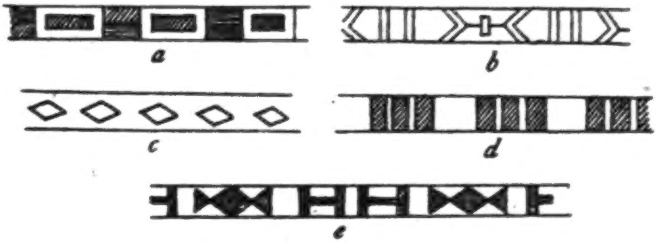

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'à'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made. [531]

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 776 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
531 the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew,
forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers
were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder.
Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and
feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable
prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from
arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The
Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors,
perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result
in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the
penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for
its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The
shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large
whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright.
Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they
were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two
were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

237 292 301 531 Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

[439] 301 Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iaks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

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aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

• [292 531]

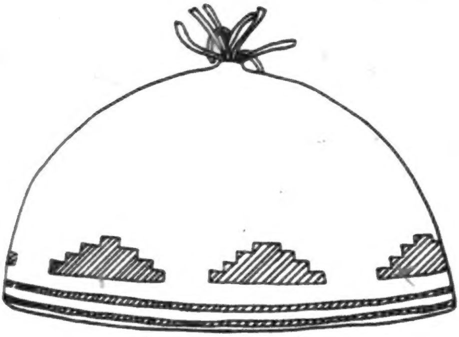

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

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During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

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Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decorated
with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall the beaded bosses on Plains belts and robes.) These were worn about the shoulders and fastened in front by means of a skin or hemp thong passing through small holes. A specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel living among the Okanagon, measured forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were [439]
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this there was not much trading in articles of clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or soft bough tips in the houses for bedding. 513
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or three boys lay together on the father's side; girls similarly on the mother's side. The fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted and embroidered, or finely embellished capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by wo- 292
men on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shap- 285
ed and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a 778
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14). The flaps were tied under the chin with buck skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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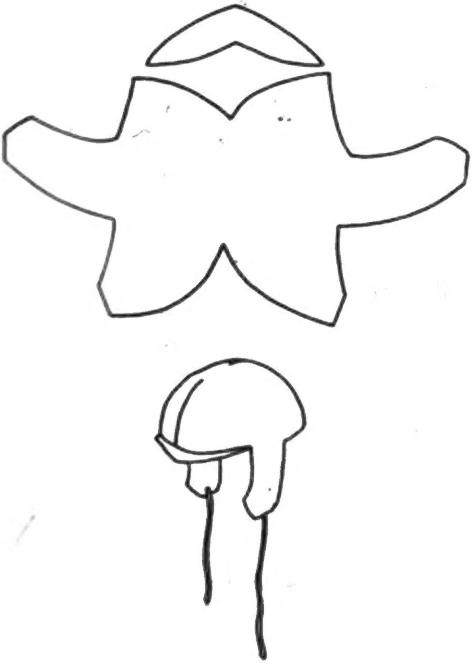
12 Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
13 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
14 Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
15 Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

er animal were sewn on top or front as a decoration. It was stated that if an old man with strong power saw such a cap worn by a young man who lacked the privilege, he would ask his power to kill the pretender. 292 778 [754]

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291



[292 778]

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around. 301 [778]

Feather bonnets were said to have been introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasku'sm (?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé 171 292

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

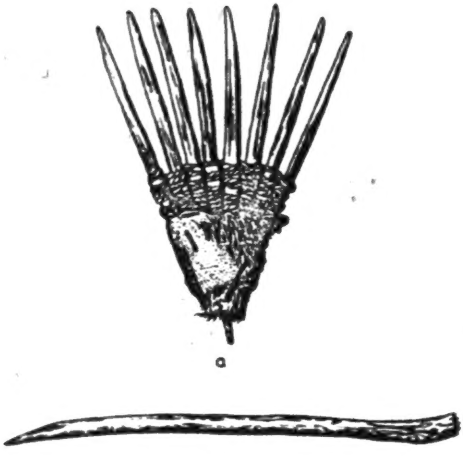


Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
211 bonnet, feathers were worn with the following significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
single matter of business, two feathers in-
622 dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48 (A)

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so 713
that the shield was convex. The shield
was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by
a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of 411
wood were reported by Suszen as the common
type, but no details were obtained.

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge
arrows depended on one's power. Boys played [524]
at war with shields and blunt arrows.

Skin armor was made of thick deer and 292
elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One
type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide 713
reaching below the hips with a hole cut for
the head to pass through. This was laced 411
together on each side with thongs. The hide
was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then
it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however.

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was custom- 726
ary to enter battle wearing only a breech-
clout and with the body painted. 411

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings.
Such men were not criticized by the people.
554 In later days, anyone can wear such a head-
dress, but the chief's is always the most
622 ornate. The woman skü'mält has no special
dress, but she is better dressed than any
other woman of the band, and always wears a
[304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of
wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"[1] bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."[1]

● 292 The Kartar chief, on special occasions,
wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the
622 seams and carries a fan made of the wing of
a crane or swan. A "meen" man may possess a
fringed shirt also, painted and worn for
power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt
at any time without objections from the
chief.

276 The new chief of the Kartar band is
always given the tribal pipe which belonged
to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one
622 made of stone. The chief passes it around
in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe
in a special fringed buckskin bag, sewed with
hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine
quills. This stone pipe is called sinaī'-
ōstn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem
tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaī'-
ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at
special gatherings is characteristic of the
Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before
death, he may appoint his oldest son to take
his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he
appoints the new chief and retires. Some-
times a chief may be displeased with his
children, considering them disobedient, and
name instead one of his own brothers or a
near male relative to take the office. When
the old people's council meets, they announce
[165] the chief's wish to everyone. These forms
of appointment seldom occur since most men
die a violent death.

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[1] [For footnote, see p.96 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca´sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tūc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. -- Analyst]

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Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

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Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

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Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other

237 272 301 eagles and of hawks and occasionally of flickers and other birds were fairly common. The headband itself generally consisted of a wide band of skin, often embroidered with designs in quill and bead work. Pendants of beaded strings, feathers, animals' tails, ermine skins, and twisted strips of otter and other fur-bearing animals were attached to the sides, and sometimes also to the backs, of many kinds of headbands. Some of the most common styles of headdresses were as follows:

1. Headband with a single eagle feather erect at the back.
2. Headband with two eagle feathers erect at the back.
3. Headband with a single eagle feather or two hawk's feathers erect at each side. This was considered a hunter's style, as among the Thompson.[100]
4. Headband with a single eagle feather erect in front.
5. Headband with two eagle feathers erect in front.
6. Headband with two eagle feathers in front slanting away from each other, or rarely having their butts crossed.[101] This was a shaman's style among the Thompson, but it seems it was not particularly so considered by the Coeur d'Alêne.
7. Headband set with eagle, hawk, or other feathers all round. The feathers were placed erect in some and slanting slightly backward in others. Each was attached independently and some distance from the next one.
8. Headband set with eagle feathers close together all round. They were placed erect and, like No. 7, attached separately. Sometimes they were made to slant slightly outward by use of a light hoop. Generally from 20 to 30 feathers were used. This style was called a "chief's bonnet" by many of the Thompson.[102]
9. Headband set with eagle feathers all round, erect, and so close together that they overlap. The butts only were attached to the lower part of the headband individually; the upper parts of the feathers were connected with a string so as to form a crown. This was the war bonnet or common headdress of the plains. It was claimed to be the best for windy weather and for riding. It became the common headdress after the advent of the horse, superseding entirely many of the others.
10. A feathered headband with streamers or feather "tails." The "tails" with feathers set horizontally were used only with No. 9. Those with pendent feathers, like a Thompson style,[103] were used with No. 8 and others. The tails were easily detachable, and in many cases merely an adjunct to the bonnet.
11. An eagle feather headband or bonnet with ermine skins pendent close together all round the sides and back. Ermine-skin ornamentation of this kind was used with bonnets like Nos. 6, 7, 8,

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[100] *a*, fig. 180.

[101] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 183, and Field Mus., 111767.

[102] Peabody Museum, No. 272.

[103] *a*, fig. 182.

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and 9. Usually with the last named the ermine was put only at the sides.

12. A headband of twisted otter fur, about 2 inches wide, and often provided with from two to four long "tails" of the same animal.

Headbands like Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 very likely had some special significance, and probably were not used by everybody, but I did not clear up this point.

It seems that the headdress of the plains type became common after the Coeur d'Alêne became buffalo hunters. It appears to have been first copied from the Flathead tribes. Later some alterations of details took place from time to time through the influence of one tribe on another. In later days the Crow style was thought to be the handsomest and best, and all the tribes copied it. In still later days the Sioux style came into vogue, and many men of all the buffalo-hunting tribes copied it. It seems that the "tails" to bonnets with feathers laid horizontally (in pieces of skin or cloth) sticking out behind, or double, the feathers in the latter case sticking out to both sides, were adopted from eastern tribes. The thick ends of the quills were held in place by a thong which was passed up and down crosswise through a long piece of hide, so that a short stitch held down the butt end of the quill. A thin thread was also passed through the quills and they were often sewed down to the margin of the strip of skin. The feathers were attached either to one side or to both sides. "Tails" like these were generally used only on dress occasions and in dances.

Headdresses of animals' skins set with horns were common. Buffalo, antelope, 2-year-old buck deer, mountain ewe, etc., were used. The tips of the horns were sometimes pierced, and small tufts of hair of natural color or dyed were attached to them.[104] In later days red cloth, colored yarn, and ribbon were sometimes used. The sides of these headdresses, and sometimes also the backs, were set with fringes or pendants of skin, hair, strips of fur, feathers, or ermine skins. The last named were most frequently used, the entire skins being attached. Sometimes only the backs with the heads and tails were used, and sometimes the skins were twisted into strings. The long, twisted strips of otter, fisher, or other fur attached to some were wrapped here and there with fur of a different color, or with beaded strings, hair tassels, or feathers. Headdresses made of head skins of buffalo or grizzly bear were also used. The eyeholes were sometimes painted red or had a large bead set in each. Some headbands or caps made of the head skins of black-tailed deer, mule deer, white-tailed deer, and elk, were used by hunters. They retained the ears, which stood erect. Other caps were made of head skins of animals like coyote or wolf.[105] The animal's tail was some-

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[104] See Thompson specimen, Field Museum, 111956.

[105] See Thompson, a, fig. 178.

237 292 301 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 **Women's Caps.**—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé[107] 285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown 294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé[108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 294 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.
[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.
[108] *b*, fig. 4.
[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] *a*, fig. 191.

[111] *a*, fig. 194.

[112] *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224 from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462] canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was sometimes 177 224 run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together. At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. [152] Occasionally, in the excitement, more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224 292 some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224 [281] Thompson[169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 248.

[170] a, fig. 228.

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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776 WAR DRESS.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the [302]
hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as 292
well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power 777
to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often
carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or 776
scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars 173
with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, 728
and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his
home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed [777]
his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on
the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who [166]
lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

291 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the
*171 present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very
[178] common.

[531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were
in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes
• 292 from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known
*171 as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These
bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish
[439] had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet"
was considered to be more striking.

291 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress
reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee,
*171 moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress
that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little
below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to
Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there
down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few
people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the
west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower
294 Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or
small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed
*171 up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges
were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There
were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind
legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side
seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces
were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was
longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs
depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described
by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to
the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation.
In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were
used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the
same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were
of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of
*171 the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot
to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the
knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed
skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent
by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by
the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] Id., p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111909.

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 11178[illegible].

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 302 171*

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs. 304 171* [184]

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed. 302 171* [301] [292] • [177]

V. SUBSISTENCE

Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles. 222 171*

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drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

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[302]

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

[178]

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains.

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In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwŭ'i, hwu'a!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
*171 dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other
foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older
dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in
this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in
the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance.
Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding
themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of
the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time
twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping
forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The
dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the
chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them,
and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The
earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle
counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations
and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute
and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will
soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about
five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again
all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music
starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men
with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the
music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the
music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest.
Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers
perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers
advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for
tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
• 292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
[534] The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black
were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays
men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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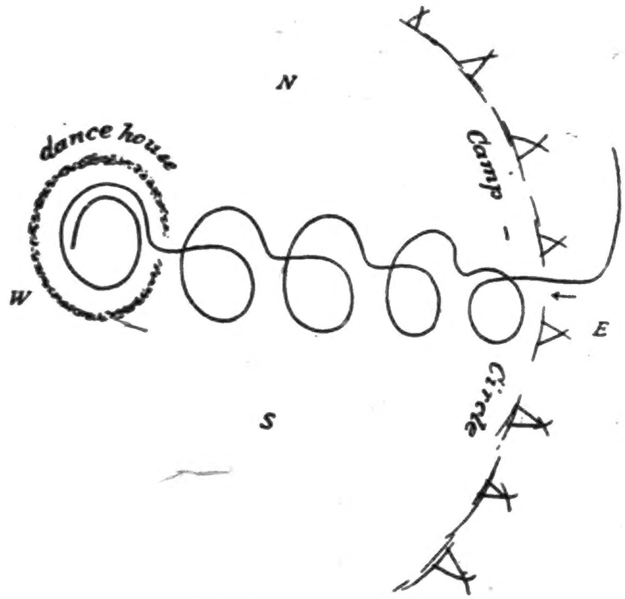

FIGURE 29.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These
bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

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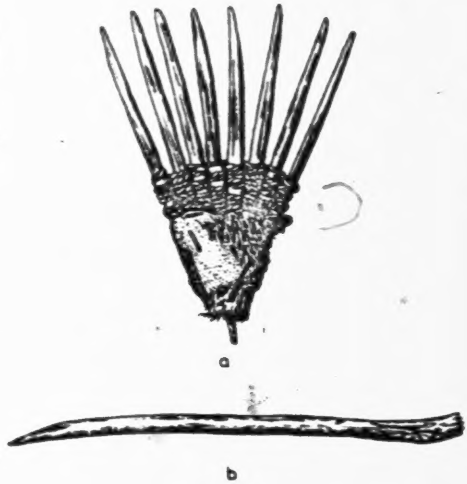

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

● 293 Before the introduction of the Plains
bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
211 ing significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
single matter of business, two feathers in-
622 dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48(A)

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains
type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them
[881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded
up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated.
[145] The grease was collected from the tops
of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It
was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

622 562 people were free to follow either. Amity might be advised but could not be enforced. Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skū'mált are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation"‡with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women.[52]

562 184 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of the equality of women is not unexpected. Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

> "The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

> "There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o'mÁ'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o'mÁ'lt and the Sinkaietk skū'mált. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

● 293 554 622 In the old days, among the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a chief could wear an eagle feather headdress clear around the head. A "mean" man, that is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition, might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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‡[For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

[52] Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

[53] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

[54] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

293 554 622 [304] wear it in battle and at group gatherings. Such men were not criticized by the people. In later days, anyone can wear such a head-dress, but the chief's is always the most ornate. The woman skū'mált has no special dress, but she is better dressed than any other woman of the band, and always wears a shell through her pierced septum, a sign of wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken[Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"[1] bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."[1]

292 622 The Kartar chief, on special occasions, wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the seams and carries a fan made of the wing of a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

276 622 The new chief of the Kartar band is always given the tribal pipe which belonged to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special frirged buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sInaI'östn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sInaI'ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 [165] If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his oldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce the chief's wish to everyone. These forms of appointment seldom occur since most men die a violent death.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.

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The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblem when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another women, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla´ût). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

p.143(A)

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were
made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and 531
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot; [112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] *a*, fig. 191.

[111] *a*, fig. 194.

[112] *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

226 appear to have been unknown. Fishing through holes cut in the ice was a common method used in winter. The fisher lay flat on a woven mat, with a robe or blanket over his head; he held the line with a fish lure in his left hand, and a three-pronged spear in his right, ready to strike. Fishing with bait and hook and line was also practiced through holes in the ice when the weather was not too cold. Large trout were speared on dark nights in the lakes from canoes by torchlight. As among the Thompson, the torches consisted of bundles of split pitchwood, and three-pronged spears were used. Eye shades of [293] several kinds were worn by the spearmen. (See p. 76.)

Traps.—Fish traps were of several kinds, but I did not obtain detailed information regarding them. The screen trap described by Spinden was in use.[181] (Fig. 12.) A second kind of trap commonly employed was used chiefly in creeks when they were in flood. It appears to have been the same as the cylindrical trap of the Thompson with "heart," and was called *moo*, which is also the Thompson name. A third kind of trap, with a trapdoor composed of a row of slanting sticks, appears to have been the same as a common kind among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Nez Percé.[182] A fourth kind, said to have been circular (possibly cylindrical), was used only for small fish. A fifth kind was used, it seems, only for salmon in large streams. It was large, and had high walls. The top was open excepting at the ends, which were covered over to prevent fish from jumping out. These traps were made of coarser materials than others; they were

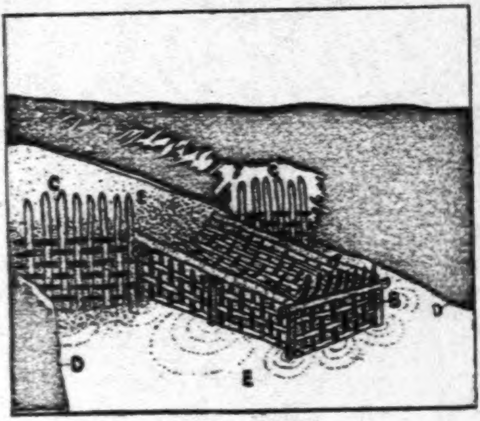

FIGURE 12.—Fish trap

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[181] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211. I have seen screen traps used by the Shuswap and Chilcotin in small, rather rapid streams and have often seen fish lying on the screens. The screens were somewhat larger than the ones used by the Nez Percé. They were made of willow rods fastened together with bark and withes. They were oblong, slightly depressed in the center, and tilted up at the lower end away from the stream. I am under the impression that some of them had low brush walls to prevent the fish falling off the sides. Some had corrals underneath to catch any small fish that worked through the screens. The whole creek was dammed and the water forced over the screens with great force.

[182] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 245 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211.

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presum-
291 ably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could
ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were dis-
tinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The
style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of
buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of
John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin
clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly
the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits
associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while
travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a tem-
291 porary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and
scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot
covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths
or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very
much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men
wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[137] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓atsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia
tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.)
(?), (staqai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh
to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in
the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the
sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and
back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were
folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nləkwe'pustxən) were always
worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp
cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of
fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the
hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was
severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent
that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be
remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings
were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

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Extensive use of buckskin characterised the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kililxwa'kstxəntən) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

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Foot wear in the form of moccasins (sɬpəsi'pi'xən) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

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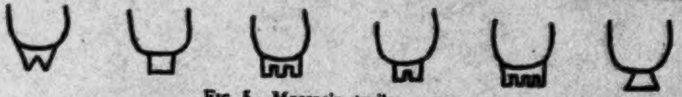

Fig. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

291 Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch
291 grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around
531 the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sqwa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'takan) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (skmälkwa'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than
281 either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article
291 of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'ä'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

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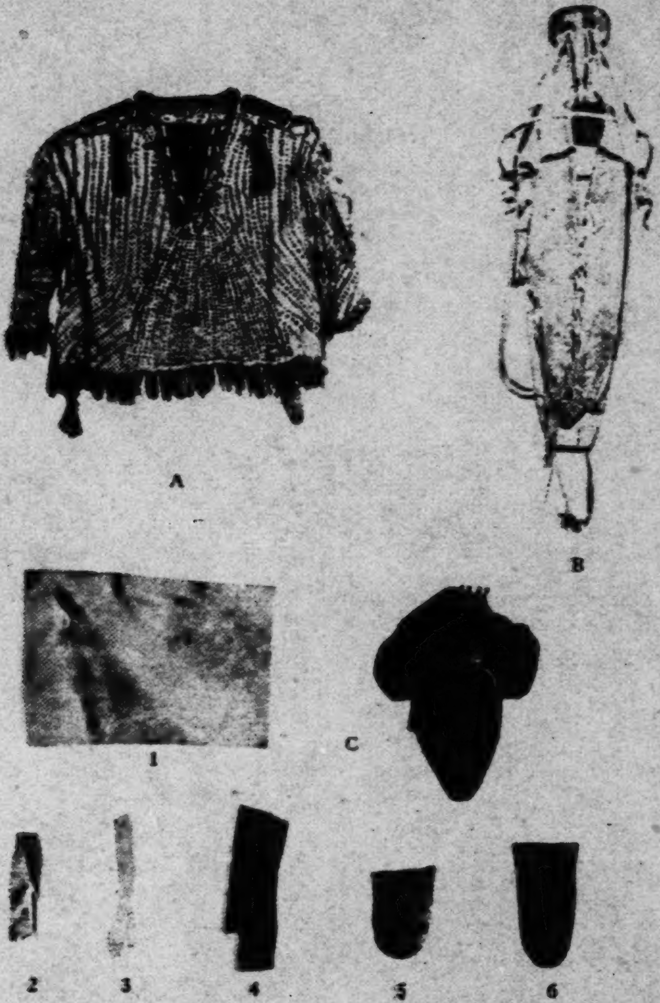

PLATE 1. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body, (2, 3) inserts, (4) ankle flap, (5) inner tongue, (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A, 2-11783; B, 2-158, C, 2-159).

281 them,[32] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[33] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[462] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were
whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

283 Sewing.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
412 fully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[34] Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[32] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[33] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[34] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294
ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531
a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

Mats.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285
three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352]
in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style[37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

Woven Bags.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285
Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415
buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine[42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.
[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.
[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.
[38] *a*, fig. 133.
[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.
[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.
[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.
[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.
[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.
[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 317
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160.
[74] a, fig. 161.
[75] a, pl. 18.

281* consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo
294 robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others,
made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because
it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together,
making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair.
[531] All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted
designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for
[177] show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs.
Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used
on robes by the Blackfeet[76] and may have been copied from eastern
tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands
being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips
[286] of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they
were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as
I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven
of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe
used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes.
Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living
west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large
robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of
large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with
designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with
pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear
to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78] Some
buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before
the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo
hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar or small poncho, and, if not embroidered, was pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots. Long pendants of skin were often attached to the pointed ends and to the edges of the collar piece, both front and back; and similar pendants were sometimes included here and there with the cut fringes at the sides and arms, and occasionally some were attached to the body of the shirt as well. These pendants were usually pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots.

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[76] c, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] a, fig. 131 g. [78] a, fig. 301. [79] a, fig. 163.

Another common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. The head and neck skins were cut off, and this part was left open to allow the head to pass through. The sides were sewed up, and also the parts of the skins covering the arms and shoulders. The part underneath the arms was often only stitched with thongs here and there. This shirt was usually a little longer than the single-skin shirt, but appeared of about the same length, for the bottom part was cut in a long fringe. As all the seams were also fringed, there was fringing on the shirt all around—bottom, sides, shoulders, over and under the arms, and sometimes even around the neck as well. Frequently bands of quillwork followed the borders of all the seams excepting under the arm. Occasionally other bands of quillwork, in the form of stripes and triangles, were embroidered on the breast and upper part of the back, forming a triangular field, point down, similar to the corresponding fields in the clothing of the Plains Indians.[*]

A third kind of shirt, also common, was made of two skins, like the last; but it had no fringing along the seams, excepting sometimes at the sides. Occasionally also the bottom and the lower ends of the sleeves were cut in a fringe or pinked. The shirt was open under the arms, or merely stitched here and there. If stitched, the skin was sometimes fringed. A wide band of quillwork followed the seam of the skins over the shoulders, from the neck down to the ends of the sleeves, over shoulders and arms. For ornamentation a wide band of quilled skin passed at right angles over each shoulder and hung down in front and at the back to about the waist. Often these bands were stitched or sewed to the shirt, usually at the shoulders, but the ends hung loose. As in most shirts, large or small triangular areas (apex down) on the breast and back of the neck were worked with quills or otherwise embroidered. When there was no ornamentation at the back of the neck a long piece of embroidered skin similar to the front bands was sometimes attached there. It hung down the middle of the back to the lower border of the shirt.

Other similar shirts had quilled or beaded bands, which crossed the shoulders or connected with the shoulder bands, sewed down to the shirt their full length. The deer's tail was sometimes left on the shirt behind. Probably these shirts were cut as described by Wissler,

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[*] d, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

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and the sewed-down bands covered the seams, but I did not obtain exact information on this point.

Scalp shirts ornamented with fringes of hair were also in common use. Sometimes the bodies of these were painted in two or three colors arranged in fields. For instance, the upper part of the shirt, including the sleeves, might be red, and the lower part yellow. Yellow, red, brown, blue, black, and green colors were used. Sometimes, instead of hair or scalp locks, ermine skins were used as fringes. The plan of decoration was the same as in the style just described. In some tribes the hair of slaves was used for making fringes on shirts, but it is not certain that the Coeur d'Alêne did so.

Some shirts of light-weight skin, used in the summertime, were covered with small punctures, painted with dots, and ornamented with painted or dyed fringes in the style of the type first described.

Some entirely sleeveless shirts of buffalo or other skins, dressed with or without hair, were in use. They reached to the hips and were laced at the sides. They were made of a single piece of skin, folded over, with a slit cut for the head to pass through, like a poncho. Some were fringed at the sides.[82]

A few sleeveless shirts were also made of two skins of coyote or other small animals. The head part adjoined the neck. The tail remained attached and hung down in front and on the back. The skins were joined by pieces of skin at the shoulders and sides. They were laced or tied at the sides.[83]

Similar shirts were made of two pieces of skin of large animals in the hair.[84]

A fairly common shirt was made of buffalo-calf skin dressed in the hair. Most of these had long sleeves. Long ago only a few shirts had full-length closed sleeves, made of separate skins, and sewed to the body at the shoulders. A few were sewed to the body of the shirt at the elbow; the lower part of the sleeve was sewed up to the elbow. The upper arm was formed by part of the skin of which the shirt was cut, as in the specimens previously described, and was open or merely laced.

Most shirts opened only at the neck, where there was an opening left for the head, or a slit cut in the skin to allow the head to pass through. The opening was closed by pulling a lacing or with tie strings on each side of the neck, as in women's dresses. Some shirts had a piece of skin cut away to allow the head to pass through. This usually made the neck of the shirt lower both at the back and front, or sometimes only in front, according to the way the hole was cut.

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[82] See a, fig. 162, but without collar.

[83] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 400, and Thompson photograph, Ottawa, No. 30965.

[84] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 398.

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Few shirts had slits in the front; the slits were always short. No collars or cuffs were sewed to shirts. No coats, jumpers, or vests were used long ago; they came into vogue after the arrival of the fur traders.

Neck wraps, belts.—Many men, especially in winter, wore small ponchos over their shirts. Usually they consisted of single skins of wolf, coyote, or otter. The head was passed through a slit at about the middle of the skin. The tail hung down the back and the head skin hung over the breast.[65] Sometimes pendants were attached to the head, tail, and sides of the skin. Some consisted of two skins, or parts of two skins, sewed together so that a tail hung down in front and behind, or more rarely at the sides.[66] Neck wraps of long pieces of fur doubled over and sewed together were in use.[67] They were fastened with tie strings at the throat and were used by both sexes. Armlets of skin ornamented with quillwork and feathers were used by some men. Belts made of leather were used to hold up the leggings. Some belts were worn outside the shirt and others inside. Many wide embroidered belts were used, some of them in addition to the belt for holding up the leggings. They were worn outside the shirt. Some belts were made of skin dressed in the hair and ornamented with pendent eagle feathers and other decorations.

Leggings.—Men's leggings were of skin, and reached to the thighs. They were fastened to the belt with tie strings, or with loops for the belt to pass through. Some were made rather tight fitting and others loose. All were fringed along the outer seams. The fringes of some increased in length below the knee. Some leggings were made wider below the knee, and others narrower near the ankle. Most of them, however, were about of an even width throughout. Many leggings had bands of beadwork or quillwork bordering the fringes. When cloth leggings came into use the fringes could not be cut, and extended as double flaps along the outside of the legs. Skin leggings also sometimes had uncut flaps embroidered with beads or quills, or painted. Garters were much used, and generally passed through slits in the outside of the leggings, so that they could be tightened without disturbing the fringes. No trousers were used long ago.

Breechclouts and aprons.—Breechclouts were seldom sewed. Most of them consisted of a loose strip of soft skin cut square at each end, and passed between the thighs under the belt. The ends (sometimes short and sometimes long) hung down over the belt in front and behind. Some of the same shape had the front and back flaps stitched down to the centerpiece, so as to make a place for the belt to pass through like a draw string. Some breechclouts had the ends

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[65] *a*, pl. 18.

[66] *b*, p. 217 otter-skin collars.

[67] Thompson specimen, Peabody Museum, No. 275.

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cut in fringes. In olden times some of the old men wore simple aprons of buffalo skin. They were oblong in shape, and fastened to a belt, or tied with strings around the waist. Some were double, one piece hanging in front and another behind. Another kind of apron used by old men consisted of two wolf skins. Most of the sides of the skins were cut off, leaving the backs, heads, and tails. These were sewed, heads up to a belt tied in front. The eyeholes were painted red and the tails hung down outside of each leg, almost reaching the ground. There was sometimes fringing in the spaces between the skins.

WOMEN'S CLOTHES. *Dresses.*—The common woman's dress of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been exactly like that described by Spinden for the Nez Percé.[38] About three entire large deerskins were required; two formed the body of the dress, the other being used for filling, to make the skirt even at the bottom, and to increase the flare and length, if necessary. The upper parts of the skins were folded down on the outside of the dress, forming a kind of false yoke at back and front. They were sewed to the body of the dress throughout, or stitched here and there with thongs. Pendants and tassels were often attached to the edges of the fold. The hair of the tailpiece was clipped in lines, and the end of the tail generally, but not always, cut off. Usually the sleeve parts were left open underneath, but sometimes they were stitched or tied here and there with thongs. Generally three rows of inserted fringe or thongs extended around the skirt below the waist. Single rows were also placed on the back and front of the dress below the yoke, but only rarely. Beads and shells of various kinds were sometimes strung on these thongs. Often all or the lower part of the yoke piece was beaded or quilled in lines following the contour of the edge of the yoke, or the dress itself was beaded immediately below the yoke. Some women's dresses had no folded piece or false yoke, and therefore no tailpiece; but imitations of the yoke and tailpiece were made in beading. Almost all dresses had fringes along the sides, bottom, and ends of the arms. Most dresses reached to the ankles, but some to about halfway between the knees and ankles. The sleeve parts of nearly all reached to the elbow, and occasionally almost to the wrist. Dresses were sometimes quilled or beaded with bands bordering the seams and fringes, and often with one or two additional bands or lines around the skirt near the bottom. Some had several lines of quillwork across the breast and back of the body and many had long fringes following the edge of the yoke.

Another kind of woman's dress was also of three skins; but in this case two skins formed the skirt, the third one being folded and sewed across the tops of the other two skins. A slit was cut in the

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[38] See *b*, pp. 219, 220; also *d*, fig. 18, Yakima.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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middle for the head to pass through. This kind had draw strings which pulled the dress tight around the neck;[illegible] or the corners of the opening were tied together with strings, as in most dresses. These dresses were also ornamented with fringes, quilled lines, and rows of thongs. Horizontal lines and triangular and semicircular pieces of embroidery were made on the yoke or upper skin. This kind of dress had fringes like others, and some dresses were painted.

A common dress used in the winter was also of three pieces. The upper part was made of a year-old deerskin dressed in the hair; and the skirt of two pieces of dressed skin joined to the body of the dress at the waist and to each other at the sides. It was fringed like all other dresses and was worn hair side out. A few had two pieces in front, the upper part with the hair, and the back of a single piece of dressed deerskin, with or without hair. Sometimes the back was a duplicate of the front.

Almost all women's dresses were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, and antelope.

Many women wore belts over their dresses. Some of these were richly quilled. Many wore small paint pouches attached to the belt.[illegible] These generally were quilled on the outside and had a fringe at the bottom. Other kinds of light bags were also sometimes attached to the belt or sewed to the skirt of the dress.[illegible] Some served the purpose of pockets.

Bodices.—It seems that no bodices,[illegible] or short skirts with long fringes, were used by women. These were only used by tribes along Columbia River, especially near The Dalles. It is said, however, that long ago some old women of poor families, who had not enough skin to make dresses, wore aprons of skin with long fringes. These were tied around the waist. Over this they wore only a robe. This may have been the same as the bodice used along Columbia River, or it may have been somewhat different.

Leggings.—All women wore leather leggings. They reached to the knee and were fringed along the outer sides. A few extended a little above the knee. Some leggings were closed and had to be pulled up over the feet. They were fastened below the knee with garters or with a draw string. Others were open on the outside of the leg and were fastened with tie strings. Many had beaded designs, especially on the lower part; others had cross fringes, one above the other, for ornament.[illegible]

[illegible] See Thompson specimen, Ottawa photographs Nos. 35409, 35408.

[illegible] See Ottawa Mus., No. VI, M. 395.

[illegible] See Thompson specimens with small bags sewed to the dress. Peabody Mus., 316, 341, 347; and Ottawa photographs, 27093, 27075.

[illegible] See Thompson, c, fig. 185; and Ottawa Mus., No. 139.

[illegible] See Thompson specimen with cross fringes, Peabody Mus. No. 351.

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CHILDREN'S CLOTHES.—Children generally went bareheaded in good weather and also often barefooted except when traveling. Some wore long skirts and dresses without leggings, and others small robes. Leggings were used by some in conjunction with aprons or with breechclouts. Many boys went almost nude in warm weather. Ponchos of spotted fawn skin were much used by boys. They were worn loose or confined with a belt around the waist. Sleeveless poncho shirts of skins dressed in the hair, like some used by men, and tied or laced at the sides, were also in use. Usually they consisted of single skins or parts of larger skins. A common dress of girls consisted of two fawn skins sewed together. Some were sewed only on the shoulders and laced or stitched here and there at the sides. They were worn with the hair side out. All children's clothes were dressed quite soft. Lads and young women dressed almost like adults.

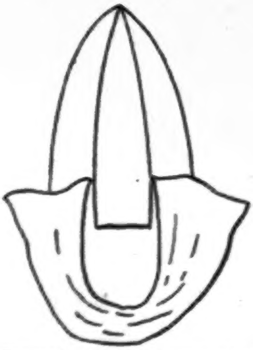
FIGURE 6.—Sketch illustrating cut of moccasin

MOCCASINS.—Moccasins were generally made of dressed buckskin and were of five main kinds:

1. A single-piece moccasin, with seam around the outside of the foot. This style was common to all the interior Salishan tribes, to the Nez Percé, and to some other tribes.[94]

2. A two-piece moccasin, with short tongue, seam down the front of the foot, and a short crosscut at the toe. This style is used by some of the interior Salishan and many Athapascan tribes, but among the latter the cross seam at the toe is generally longer than among the Salish.[95]

3 *a*. A two-piece moccasin like No. 2, with short tongue, and a seam down the front of the foot from tongue to toe. The seam ends in a small gathering at the toe and also at the bottom of the heel, so there is no trailer. This kind was also used by the Thompson.[96]

3 *b*. A moccasin (which seems to have been often called by the same name as the last) differing from 3 *a* in the form of the tongue, which consists of a long triangular piece placed in the middle and ending in a sharp point at the toe.[97] It was not very common. (Fig. 6.)

4. A two-piece moccasin with long tongue and round toe, like some eastern moccasins.[98]

5. A two-piece moccasin, the sole being a separate piece, like many moccasins used by Plains tribes.[99]

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[94] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 169; Nez Percé; *b*, pp. 216, 217; *c*, fig. 78.

[95] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 171.

[96] *a*, fig. 172.

[97] Also *c*, fig. 85.

[98] See Thompson Indians, fig. 170.

[99] See *c*, fig. 79.

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use. 281x 294

Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used. [314]

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other 237 292 301

[413] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
177 also common. White was the usual color for the background; light blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

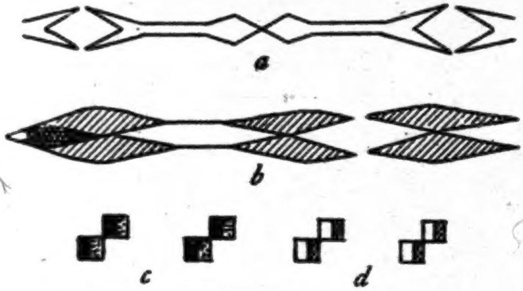

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

about an inch wide, or sometimes more, and were composed of oblongs and squares alternating in different colors. Sometimes all the lines were placed close together, so that the whole formed a field of solid beadwork. Horizontal meandering and zigzag beaded lines were also fairly common on the upper parts of women's dresses. Generally there were two or several of these at equal distances, one above another. Another ornamentation on dresses consisted of a fairly wide beaded line following the tops of the shoulders, and another following the edge of the yoke. Narrower vertical lines about 5 to 7 cm. apart connected the two all around. Beaded lines, one to four in n[illegible]r, composed of checks and oblongs, were often embroidered on the skirts of dresses.[119] The lines were 5 or 7 centimeters apart or more, following the bottom of the dress. On some men's shirts and women's dresses there was an embroidered or painted triangular line on the front and back. The end pointed downward, reaching almost to the waist. Inside the area inclosed by the line there were often small detached designs of dots, crosses, or triangles; and on painted shirts, sometimes realistic figures of men, weapons, animals, moon, etc. Sometimes the whole area was in solid beadwork. Some men's shirts were almost entirely covered with tiny spots of red paint, which, according to some, represented blood.

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[117] See Coeur d'Alêne bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alêne, No. 1.

[118] See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

Robes were painted with straight and zigzag lines and other geometric figures, as well as with pictographs of mountains, lakes, people, and animals. Some pictographs represented incidents in dreams, incidents and feats in war and the chase; and some were representations of the guardian spirit and of objects connected with it. After hunting began on the Plains the old styles of pictographs fell into disuse to some extent and paintings on robes became for the most part pictures, made as realistic as possible, of personal encounters, battles, etc., after the style of the Crow Indians. Long ago designs were also made on robes by scratching off the outer layer of skin with a sharp bone.[120] As a rule, they consisted chiefly of small triangles and straight lines, made in various forms and combinations. Sometimes long lines were made, with short lines radiating from them; triangles, diamond-shaped figures, and squares. Lines of triangles, called "arrowheads," were also made, and stepped triangles called "mountains." It is said that no designs were made on robes or clothes by searing. Elk and deer skin robes very often had the hair cut in parallel, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stripes about 5 cm. in width. The hair in the lines was either uniformly clipped halfway down to the roots, or it was clipped in steps.[121] A

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[119] See Pend d'Oreille (Flathead) specimen, Field Mus., 111909.

[120] See designs made on buffalo-skin pouch of Thompson; *a*, fig. 300; also *f*, p. 192.

[121] See Thompson, *a*, pl. 18, and Thompson specimen Field Mus., 111915.

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few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were painted red.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

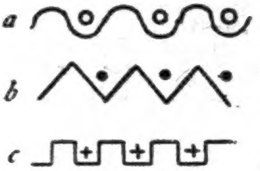

FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.[122] (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.[123] Red lines were also often painted on seams.

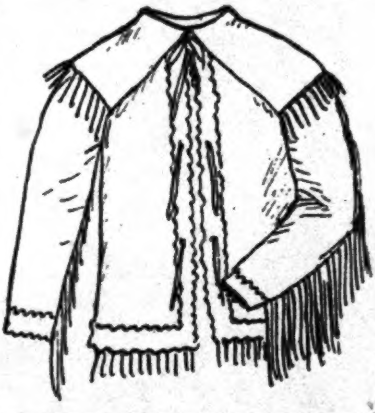

FIGURE 9.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern coat

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MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.[124] Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from

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[122] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 191.

[123] For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, *a*, 163, 184; Lillooet, *k*, p. 220; also *f*, p. 192.

[124] See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

237 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed
292 and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of
301 large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 Women's Caps.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé [107]
285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown
294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé [108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or
294 less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.

[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

[108] *b*, fig. 4.

[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281 women of the Thompson[110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286 long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292 the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293 them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237 more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294 chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and white colors. 531 They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [415] later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] *a*, fig. 191.

[111] *a*, fig. 194.

[112] *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settle- 294
ment on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now, it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thomp- 321
son.[125] They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor, hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider flatter, and stiffer (more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some infor- 321
mants, the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut 325
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] a, fig. 200.

[127] See Nez Percé, b, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

[126] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 217, 218.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (a, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (c, pl. 68, i.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length. 285 415

ROPES, THREAD, AND NETS.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs. 283 412

WOVEN CLOTHING.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type[a] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the 286 294 ●

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[a] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

286 294 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[a] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

531 DESIGNS ON BAGS.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

DESIGNS ON BASKETS.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

332 342 UNDERGROUND LODGE.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[a] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

[1] 4, pp. 193-194, and figs. 135, 136; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

285 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. 531 (Fig. 26.)

*171 Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by 286 the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the *171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of [237] vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

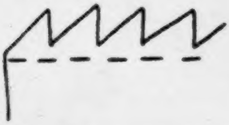
Figure 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp 283 being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs *171 of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. 294 Needles were little used, but sewing was gen- 237 erally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. *171 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It 227 is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the *171 Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all *171 the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, 415 made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the 314 ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

291 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the *171 present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were [531] in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes 292 from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known *171 as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish [439] had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower 294 *171 Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] Id., p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 1115[illegible].

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111[illegible].

291 531 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

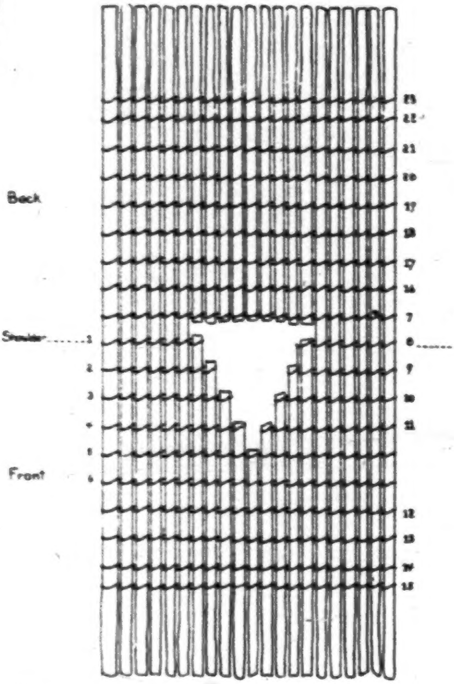

Fig. 12. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

● 296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'ĕIō´q'ōtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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[11] Hill-Tout, *Native Races*, 68.

804 The common word for thumb was ctő´nigst.

●296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

p. 70 (A)

man's luck and power: her pollution would be
783 permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with
green grass on which to lie were put in a
841 pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute
for the customary sweat bath. They were not
allowed to take back to the village the
●[296] clothes they wore during this time. These
were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and
left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought
them by girls to don after a sweat bath and
a bath in the river, taken before returning
841 to their ordinary life. They were not allowed
to cook, even for themselves. Food
was brought to them from the village, and
none of it might be left till the next day or
brought back to the village. Anything but
bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten,
and possibly the first of the camas or berry
crop. They were not supposed to drink directly
from a stream, lest it dry up. The
drinking tubes used were made by pushing the
pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should
not comb their hair during the period, but
could scratch the head with their fingers.
Women in their periods could not help men in
any way, nor would men look at or talk to
them. Should a man eat anything cooked by
them, he would sicken, lose his power, and
game would flee from him. While a woman
with a small baby might take it to the lodge
with her, older children were left in charge
of the husband or some relative or neighbor.
At the lodge a woman busied herself with making
mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to
use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent
boys and girls was over they returned
to the village in a very unceremonious fashion.
The return was unheralded and uncelebrated.
If a boy changed his name at this
time there might be a feast, but it would
be on account of the name. The adolescent
returned, no longer a child nor given to the
things of childhood, but an adult ready to
take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the
boys accompanied the men on their hunting
883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits.
The first kill of a deer (and of a
[E 24] bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed
by the community and ceremoniously
treated. He himself did not eat of it, but
all the old men did (or at least he did not
eat until the old men had partaken). This
was for the sake of his future luck in the
hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood
of eighteen or twenty. The girls
stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned
by some older female relative, except
early in the morning before the boys were up
when they went to sweat, swim, and get the
water for cooking. They were supposed to
swim every day. They became acquainted with

281 them,[32] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the
Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[33] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the
[462] work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

283 Sewing.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum can-*
294 *nabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals. Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
412 fully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[34] Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[32] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[33] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[34] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'á'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 776 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 292 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 531 755 776 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew, forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 301 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 301 302 776 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to become a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 301 531 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned [292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 292 301 531 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection. Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

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531

Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

[439]
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Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iäks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

Ear ornaments (snâtsatci'na) were fashioned from shells of the fresh water clam in various shapes, notably round, triangular and rectangular. The edges were provided with holes through which sinew could be threaded for suspending the ornaments from the holes in the ear. The flat pieces of shell were polished by rubbing with sand and ashes. Rings made from sections of bone were also hung from the ears. Dentalia were not used in this manner. Ear ornaments were worn alike by men and women. 301

Labrets and nose ornaments were not known.

Such ornaments and accoutrements as those described in this section were worn during the winter ceremonial season, at assembly meetings, special ceremonies and when visiting.

FACIAL PAINTING

Facial painting was practiced for decorative, ceremonial and practical purposes. All participants in the winter ceremonials painted their faces. Shamans painted before practicing. Individuals painted to escape or avoid illness, to withstand the cold and for a multitude of other reasons. The designs used were almost unlimited, for each person attempted to decorate his face somewhat differently from anyone else. Some designs were dictated by guardian spirits. However, certain designs were more often repeated than others. Some of these are shown in Figure 6. All designs had one feature in common: the eyebrows were always 302 581

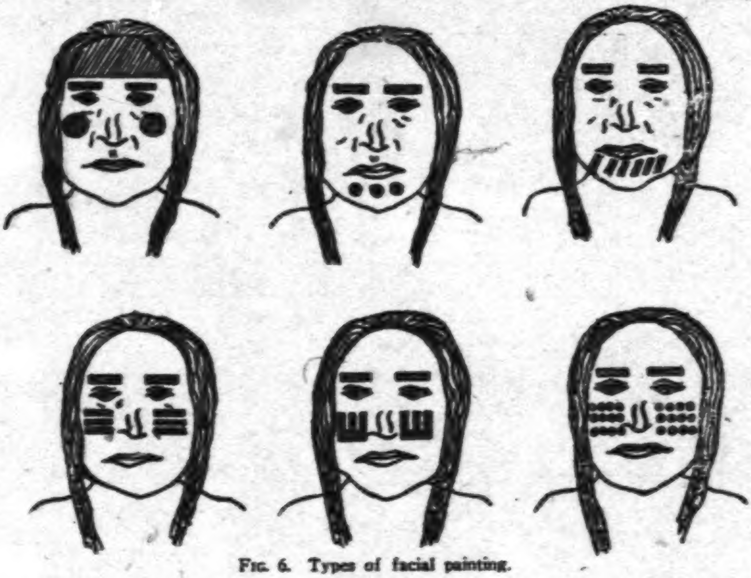


Fig. 6. Types of facial painting.

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and 302
tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was
assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened 302
sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an 412
eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were
bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses.
One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course,
about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth
apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended 826
with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The
ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of 855
medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother 856
faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb,
and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called
kəmtawiya'kı'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered 304
ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round 856
during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was
used as a pillow in the cradle.

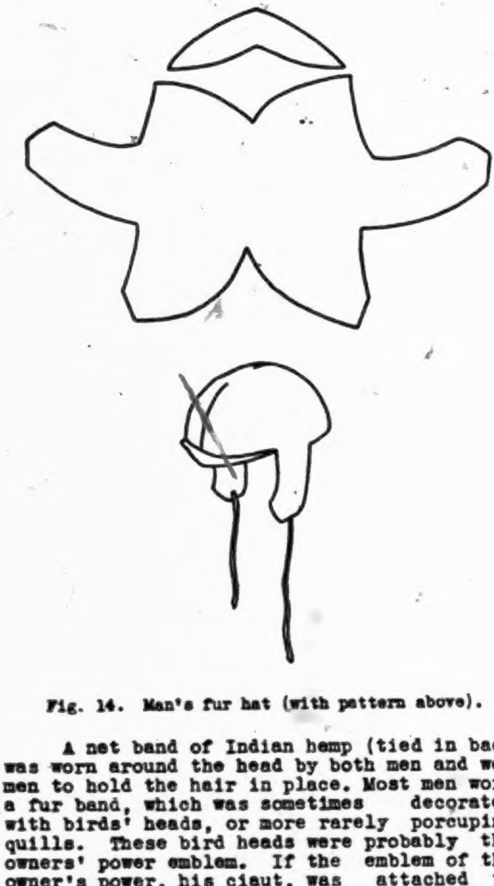
When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly 302
heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very 515
long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly 856
less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but
rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus*
L., (wuγwaγkä'lpᵊ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the
shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, 515
summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for 751
their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure
again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of 515
the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a
stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water.
The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam
bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

er animal were sewn on top or front as a 292
decoration. It was stated that if an old 778
man with strong power saw such a cap worn by [754]
a young man who lacked the privilege, he
would ask his power to kill the pretender.

A child might have a head covering of a 291
single groundhog skin wrapped around the
head and tied at the back by two buckskin
strings which were permanently sewn to the
skin.



[292 778]

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) 301
was worn around the head by both men and women
to hold the hair in place. Most men wore
a fur band, which was sometimes decorated
with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine
quills. These bird heads were probably the
owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the [778]
owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to
this head band, he could wear it the year
around.

Feather bonnets were said to have been 171
introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasxu´sm 292
(?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim
laid their introduction to the Nez Percé

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian hemp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy 515
leaves of dogwood. These were picked in
early August, stored for winter use, and when 314
wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to
produce a lather. Another soap was provided 317
by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds.

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip 171
from side to side just below the nose and
inserted a shell or string with a bead on 304
each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it.

When girls were two or three years old 301
their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced
with a bone awl. The hole was salved with 304
deer fat and first a greased thread, then a
stick inserted and worked back and forth fre- 852
quently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsiapū´stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings 304
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. 852
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason
for piercing the ears.

302

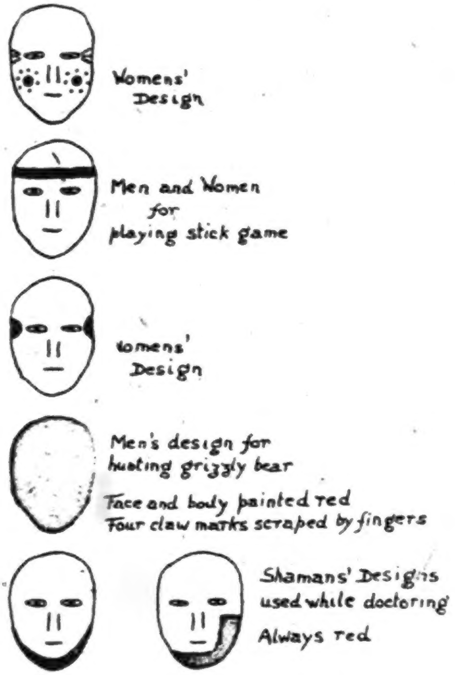

Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic 171
of the Northern Okanagon than of
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted
that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled
it near the point to carry the pigment,
which was thus deposited when the needle
was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs
were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

p. 49 (B)

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were 301 ●
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for necklaces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common, and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other animals, and others of teeth of elk and horse, were used. Some pendants were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used, also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was universal, and some people tattooed. 304

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use. 281x 294

Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used. [314]

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other 237 292 301

237 292 301 eagles and of hawks and occasionally of flickers and other birds were fairly common. The headband itself generally consisted of a wide band of skin, often embroidered with designs in quill and bead work. Pendants of beaded strings, feathers, animals' tails, ermine skins, and twisted strips of otter and other fur-bearing animals were attached to the sides, and sometimes also to the backs, of many kinds of headbands. Some of the most common styles of headdresses were as follows:

1. Headband with a single eagle feather erect at the back.
2. Headband with two eagle feathers erect at the back.
3. Headband with a single eagle feather or two hawk's feathers erect at each side. This was considered a hunter's style, as among the Thompson.[100]
4. Headband with a single eagle feather erect in front.
5. Headband with two eagle feathers erect in front.
6. Headband with two eagle feathers in front slanting away from each other, or rarely having their butts crossed.[101] This was a shaman's style among the Thompson, but it seems it was not particularly so considered by the Coeur d'Alêne.
7. Headband set with eagle, hawk, or other feathers all round. The feathers were placed erect in some and slanting slightly backward in others. Each was attached independently and some distance from the next one.
8. Headband set with eagle feathers close together all round. They were placed erect and, like No. 7, attached separately. Sometimes they were made to slant slightly outward by use of a light hoop. Generally from 20 to 30 feathers were used. This style was called a "chief's bonnet" by many of the Thompson.[102]
9. Headband set with eagle feathers all round, erect, and so close together that they overlap. The butts only were attached to the lower part of the headband individually; the upper parts of the feathers were connected with a string so as to form a crown. This was the war bonnet or common headdress of the plains. It was claimed to be the best for windy weather and for riding. It became the common headdress after the advent of the horse, superseding entirely many of the others.
10. A feathered headband with streamers or feather "tails." The "tails" with feathers set horizontally were used only with No. 9. Those with pendent feathers, like a Thompson style,[103] were used with No. 8 and others. The tails were easily detachable, and in many cases merely an adjunct to the bonnet.
11. An eagle feather headband or bonnet with ermine skins pendent close together all round the sides and back. Ermine-skin ornamentation of this kind was used with bonnets like Nos. 6, 7, 8,

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[100] a, fig. 180.

[101] See Thompson, a, fig. 183, and Field Mus., 111767.

[102] Peabody Museum, No. 272.

[103] a, fig. 182.

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301

and 9. Usually with the last named the ermine was put only at the sides.

12. A headband of twisted otter fur, about 2 inches wide, and often provided with from two to four long "tails" of the same animal.

Headbands like Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 very likely had some special significance, and probably were not used by everybody, but I did not clear up this point.

It seems that the headdress of the plains type became common after the Coeur d'Alêne became buffalo hunters. It appears to have been first copied from the Flathead tribes. Later some alterations of details took place from time to time through the influence of one tribe on another. In later days the Crow style was thought to be the handsomest and best, and all the tribes copied it. In still later days the Sioux style came into vogue, and many men of all the buffalo-hunting tribes copied it. It seems that the "tails" to bonnets with feathers laid horizontally (in pieces of skin or cloth) sticking out behind, or double, the feathers in the latter case sticking out to both sides, were adopted from eastern tribes. The thick ends of the quills were held in place by a thong which was passed up and down crosswise through a long piece of hide, so that a short stitch held down the butt end of the quill. A thin thread was also passed through the quills and they were often sewed down to the margin of the strip of skin. The feathers were attached either to one side or to both sides. "Tails" like these were generally used only on dress occasions and in dances.

Headdresses of animals' skins set with horns were common. Buffalo, antelope, 2-year-old buck deer, mountain ewe, etc., were used. The tips of the horns were sometimes pierced, and small tufts of hair of natural color or dyed were attached to them.[104] In later days red cloth, colored yarn, and ribbon were sometimes used. The sides of these headdresses, and sometimes also the backs, were set with fringes or pendants of skin, hair, strips of fur, feathers, or ermine skins. The last named were most frequently used, the entire skins being attached. Sometimes only the backs with the heads and tails were used, and sometimes the skins were twisted into strings. The long, twisted strips of otter, fisher, or other fur attached to some were wrapped here and there with fur of a different color, or with beaded strings, hair tassels, or feathers. Headdresses made of head skins of buffalo or grizzly bear were also used. The eyeholes were sometimes painted red or had a large bead set in each. Some headbands or caps made of the head skins of black-tailed deer, mule deer, white-tailed deer, and elk, were used by hunters. They retained the ears, which stood erect. Other caps were made of head skins of animals like coyote or wolf.[105] The animal's tail was some-

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[104] See Thompson specimen, Field Museum, 111956.

[105] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 178.

237 times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed
292 and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of
301 large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also
attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

294 WOMEN'S CAPS.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills,
beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women,
when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most fre-
quent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé[107]
285 and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown
294 with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on
which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé[108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

281 Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or
294 less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low,
somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps

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[106] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 4.

[107] *b*, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

[108] *b*, fig. 4.

[109] See *o*, pl. 66.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settlement 294
on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now, it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thompson.[125] 321
They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor, hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider flatter, and stiffer (more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some informants, 321
the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of 325
copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] a, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, b, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

301 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of 321 animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other 325 animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones. 237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium 321 shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the [170] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the [304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mɛtsɛmɛtsē'ɛlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and 301 ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair 321 or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length,
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 301
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132] It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and 412
of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

531 ORNAMENTATION OF CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nose-pins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]
304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.
302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear[26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] a, pl. 18.

[24] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.

[25] a, p. 227, fig. 210.

[26] This refers to 1909.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. 101 *[171] The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). ● [301] [439] The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

101 619 *[171] NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sel'lictcᴇn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsl'lixtcᴇn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sėlic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[1] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stlqetkometci'*(*nt*) ("people of *Sxqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Stxkå'lixtci'*(*nt*) ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispė'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispė'lᴇm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from *sälst* ("people"). If, however, the suffix -ic means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

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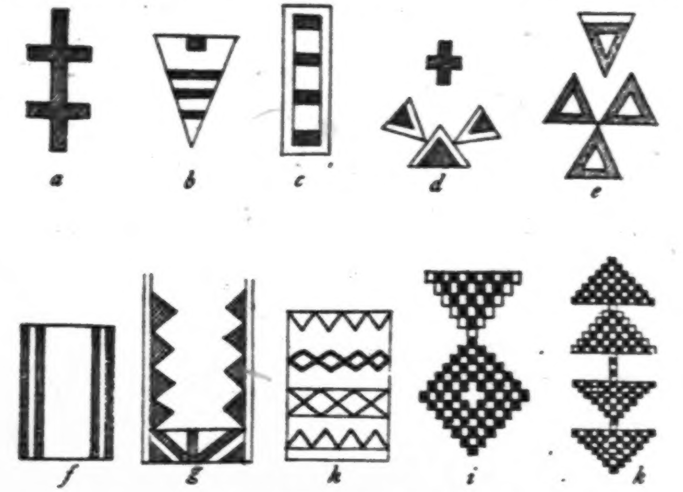

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

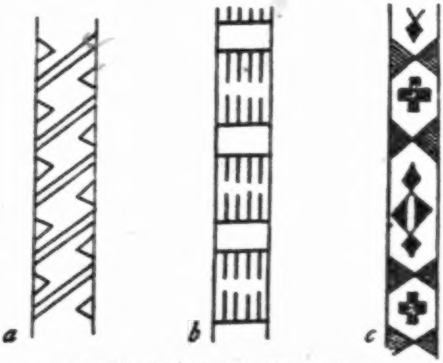

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally.

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171†
[237]

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[12] See Field Museum, 111690-111698, 111909, 111782, 111783.

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
• 301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
319 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*171 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

[103]

[291]
[531]

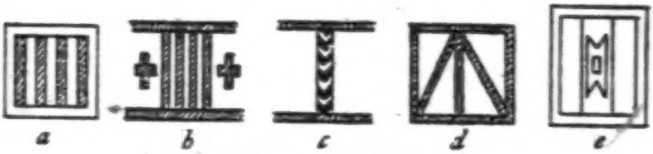

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'psl yu'ts:mən* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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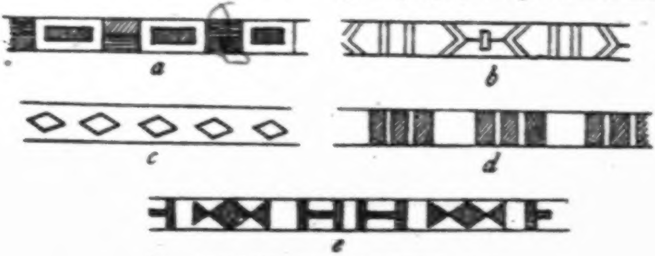

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

302 171* near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River.

304 171* [184] Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

302 171* I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed. [301] ● [292] [177]

V. SUBSISTENCE

222 171* Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*" ("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins, breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles. The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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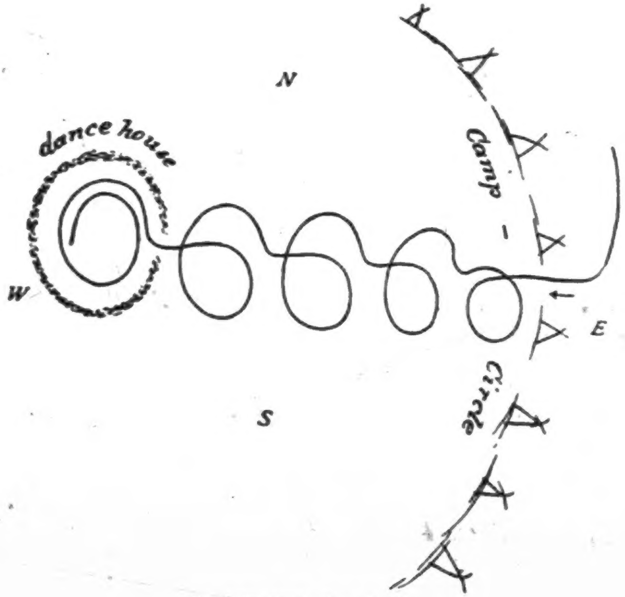

FIGURE 29.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
531 three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew,
forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from
arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result
in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

Ear ornaments (smâtsatci'na) were fashioned from shells of the fresh water clam in various shapes, notably round, triangular and rectangular. The edges were provided with holes through which sinew could be threaded for suspending the ornaments from the holes in the ear. The flat pieces of shell were polished by rubbing with sand and ashes. Rings made from sections of bone were also hung from the ears. Dentalia were not used in this manner. Ear ornaments were worn alike by men and women. 301

Labrets and nose ornaments were not known.

Such ornaments and accoutrements as those described in this section were worn during the winter ceremonial season, at assembly meetings, special ceremonies and when visiting.

FACIAL PAINTING

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Facial painting was practiced for decorative, ceremonial and practical purposes. All participants in the winter ceremonials painted their faces. Shamans painted before practicing. Individuals painted to escape or avoid illness, to withstand the cold and for a multitude of other reasons. The designs used were almost unlimited, for each person attempted to decorate his face somewhat differently from anyone else. Some designs were dictated by guardian spirits. However, certain designs were more often repeated than others. Some of these are shown in Figure 6. All designs had one feature in common: the eyebrows were always

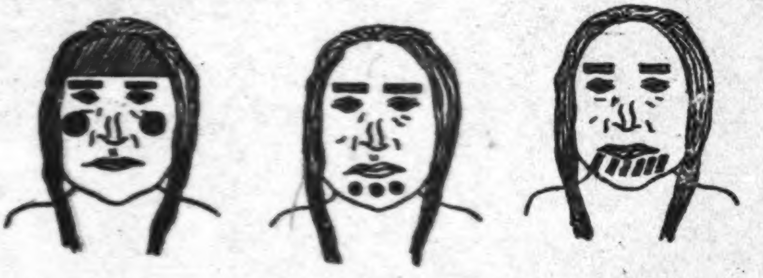

Fig. 6. Types of facial painting.

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nuknu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (sxtu'lman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease; or applied dry.

[756] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

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of otter or weasel skin. The binding strip was wrapped twice around the locks, tied in a bow knot and the hair thrown back. If the strands were short it was customary to gather the ends together, tie them, and suspend a weasel skin from the extremity.

Braids were often covered throughout their length with strips of otter skin sewed together. Strips of buckskin covered with porcupine quills were used likewise. The quills were used in their natural form or flattened after soaking in hot water. Holes for the thread were made with bone awls. The quills were sewed side by side on the buckskin strip, not end to end. Sometimes quills were inserted directly into the braids.

Braids were quite commonly tied together at the ends and weasel or otter skins, or shells attached for ornamentation. The use of feathers has already been described. Braids never were allowed to hang down the back.

Men who had been given power to become good warriors by their guardian spirits caused the short forelocks to their hair to stand in an erect tuft by admixing white clay with the strands. Other individuals occasionally colored the forelocks or the ends of braids with red paint.

Women always wore their hair braided except during mourning, when it was cut short and never combed. There was practically no variation in style. The part was in the middle, as with men, but the forelocks were never left loose or braided separately. Then too the plaiting did not start below the ear but behind it. The braids, which ordinarily fell in front, but occasionally in back, were nearly always tied together at their ends. Often the braids then were raised over the head, the knot allowed to rest on the back of the neck and the braids to fall in two loops, one in front of each shoulder.

Women tied pendants to the ends of braids or wrapped them with otter skin, as did the men. In addition they much more commonly painted the hair. Red or yellow pigment was mixed with a little water in the palm of the hand, then rubbed into the hair to lighten it, then spots of red added by dipping the fingers in paint and touching the tips to the hair.

Both men and women lately painted the scalp where it was exposed by the part, but natives consider this custom a recent innovation.

To add gloss both sexes rubbed salmon oil into the hair. To accomplish this end and at the same time to perfume the hair deer marrow which had been mixed with dried and pulverized hemlock needles was employed. Another method of applying oil to the hair was to rub it with testes of the beaver which had been wrapped in buckskin and allowed to stand until the oil soaked through. Such bags containing testes were worn attached to the clothing to be ready for use when desired. They were rubbed on the clothing and body as well as the hair.

Children's hair was allowed to remain loose until perhaps eight or ten years of age. After that time the hair of a boy was combed and dressed by his mother, that of a girl by herself. Young boys sometimes had the hair cut in bangs. Two styles of plaiting were popular. One consisted of a single braid down the back, the other of three, one in back and one at each side. During puberty girls parted their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and 302 tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened 302 sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an 412 eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended 826 with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The 855 ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother 856 faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmɩtawiya'kɩ'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered 304 ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round 856 during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle.

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly 302 heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very 515 long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly 856 less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'lpᵃ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, 515 summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for 751 their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of 515 the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial. 515

The sweat lodge (kwiʔ'stan) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing these at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats. 343 515

The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squatting or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[1] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses. 515

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsasuni'na', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called naχaχuaxa'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of tweezers (laqtcɪntcu'tɪn). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the 302 303

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[1] See page 179.

765 793 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

765 784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Burke) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness, ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The 302
clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped 765
off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide) buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not removed until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some 765
time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was 587
customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time 765
had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling resulted.

For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. 551
Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," tamtamani'. A woman whose husband has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as slu·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137

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A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes. 757

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sat'si'lsent, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakani'lp*, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (ṗətsṗətsanı'kul, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lp*, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tal'tal'ti'lp*, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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278
757

23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (χoχti'łpᵘ, "cut-off bush"). Th roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, t form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful part sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultic in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hai wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (χoχo'i'łpᵘ). The stickers and outer cov ering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split int fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color which was used for colds.

[515]

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stəmtəməni'i'łpᵘ, "grave-bush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

[302]

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis linguisticifolia* Nutt., (q̓atsəásuni'nə', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'χpoχiłpᵘ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̓iq̓i'təni'łpᵘ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

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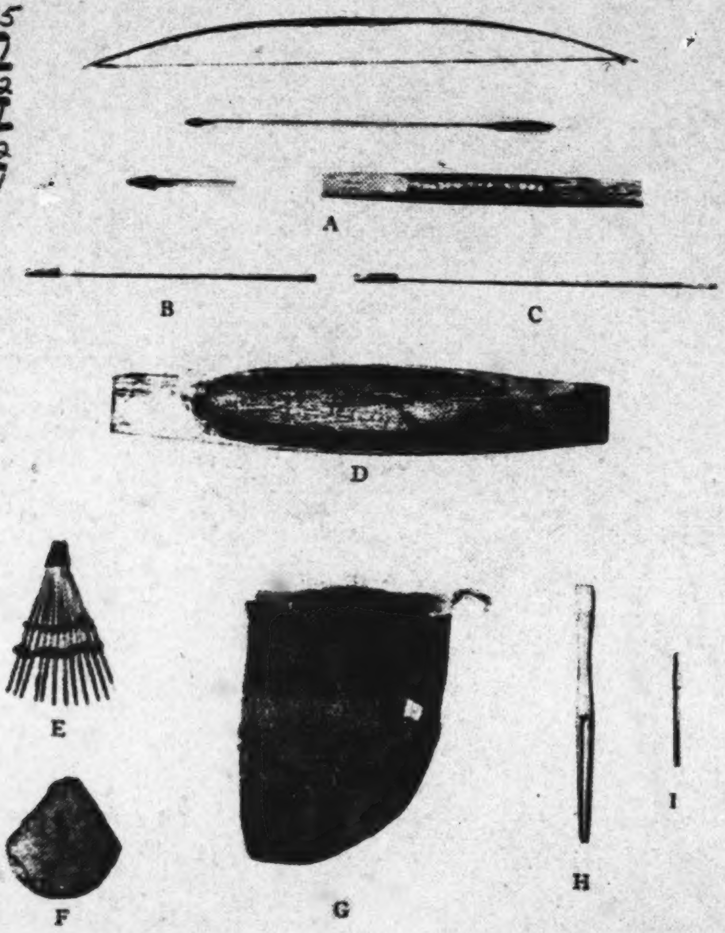

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

[1][i.e., bear-hunting party. -- Analyst]

The leader of the party[1] had to have considerable 224
power. Nevertheless, his power would be of 624
no avail if he went bear hunting during his
wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. 841
This was necessary for the hunter of any
game under the same circumstances, but in
this case the bear would certainly kill the
hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, 224
he painted his body red, being nude save for
a breechclout, and drew red marks on his
cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over 302●
his face, he scraped claw-like marks with
his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224 He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 825 An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224 Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
others had them, they were not formerly used
292 by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

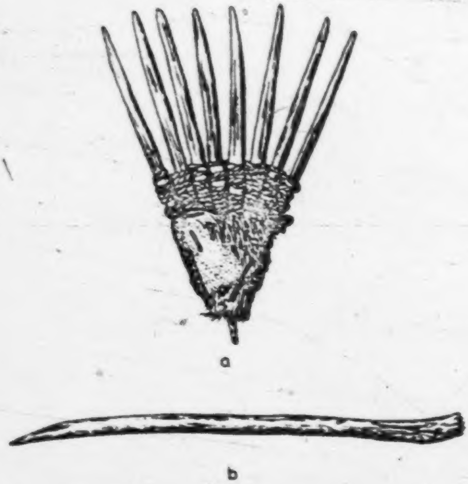

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
211 bonnet, feathers were worn with the following significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
single matter of business, two feathers indicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
622 one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48 (A)

293 211 554 622 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being. Since scouts and messengers would be chosen from among men of prestige and ability, who would also naturally have sufficient power to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency here. Apparently after the introduction of the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 622 A feather fan, that is the wing of a swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a chief. This was presumably of the Plains type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them from blowing about. [881] At puberty girls folded up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

[145] Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated. The grease was collected from the tops of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy 515
leaves of dogwood. These were picked in
early August, stored for winter use, and when 314
wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to
produce a lather. Another soap was provided 317
by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds.

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip 171
from side to side just below the nose and
inserted a shell or string with a bead on 304
each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it.

When girls were two or three years old 301
their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced
with a bone awl. The hole was salved with 304
deer fat and first a greased thread, then a
stick inserted and worked back and forth fre- 852
quently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tslapU´stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings 304
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. 852
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason
for piercing the ears.

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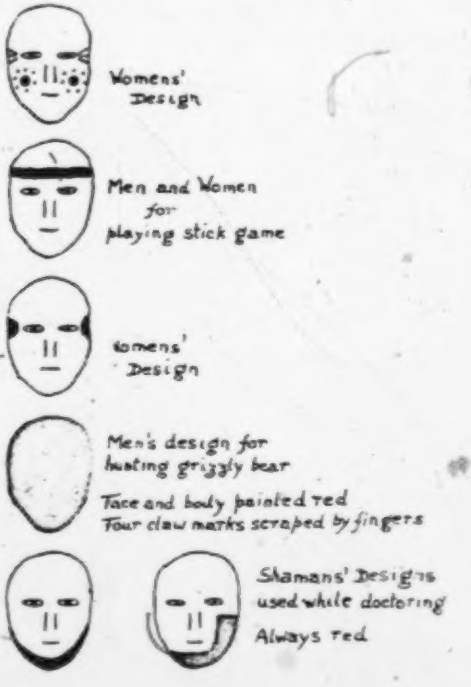
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic 171
of the Northern Okanagon than of
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted
that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled
it near the point to carry the pigment,
which was thus deposited when the needle
was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs
were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went to skŭnqwŭnfép to camp with them. One of the
73 Kartar men went to see where the enemy was. The enemy saw him and were going to shoot,
791 but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski´nt. That night when they want to sleep, Lxwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
791 with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
[727] war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually paint their whole bodies with red clay and
● [302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
721 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

72 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca'sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

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[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 374
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372
Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow,
or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made
of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and
"woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the
women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm
weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all
except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded
by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the
evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it
was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was
very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were
sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were
fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160. [74] a, fig. 161. [75] a, pl. 18.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, 301
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132] It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 412
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

302 3. Gathered to the sides and tied in a knot near each ear. This was the common style of girls at puberty.[137]

4. Cut square across the back of the neck, or sometimes lower down, about on a line with the tops of the shoulders. This was the style of widows and all people in mourning.

5. Gathered at the sides and braided full length in a single cue at each side. This was a common style for both men and women; but the women always parted their hair in the middle, while many men parted theirs slightly to one side.

6. The same as No. 5, but the ends of the cues were tied together and worn on the back. This was a common style for women, but was never used by men. For women it is said to have come into use in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many people say that long ago braids of hair were tied together and hung down on the back.

7. The same as No. 5, but each cue braided for only from half to three-quarters of its length, where it was tied, and the ends allowed to hang loose. This was a woman's style.

8. Gathered at the sides and simply tied at each side on a line with the neck. This also was a common style for women.

9. Part of the side hair braided on each side (the lower part next to the face and ears) or rolled in wads, more and more hair being caught in the braid, until at the back all the hair was in one braid or the other. The braids were then untied and folded upward to the back of the neck and tied. This was a woman's style less common than the others, and used chiefly by young women.

10. Braided in two plaits on each side. A man's style, used by a few.

11. Gathered at the sides in two cues, the same as No. 5, and strips of otter skin interbraided with the hair or wrapped about it. A man's style.

12. Gathered together loosely at each side (without braiding), and tied rather close to the head. This seems to have been called the same name as No. 11, probably because of the similar attachments to the hair. Hair ribbons of several kinds, beaded strings, strips of otter skin and ermine skins, braids of scalp locks, scalps, etc., were attached to the hair. A man's style.

13. Simply combed back and tied behind. This style was chiefly used by men.

14. (*a*) Divided into three parts and gathered at each side and at the back, where it was tied close to the head.

(*b*) Sometimes the hair at the sides was braided and the hair at the back left loose. The hair was full length, not doubled up. A man's style.

15. (*a*) The front hair was done up in two small braids, one at each temple; and strings of beads or shells were interwoven in the

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[137] See Thompson, c, fig. 208.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

302

braids or attached to them. Usually the rest of the hair was loose or merely tied at the back of the neck.

(*b*) Sometimes the front hair was divided into three parts. If the person had a cut forelock it hung down in the middle above the nose and the small braids lay just back of the eyes over the temples. This was a fairly common man's style of hairdressing.

16. (*a*) The side hair was cut on a level with the neck or shoulders and tied at each side. Rarely was it left loose. The back hair was left full length and tied close to the head. To it was attached the entire head, back, and tail of an otter. Sometimes, instead, hair ribbons and beaded strings of various kinds were attached to the back hair. This was a common style for men.

(*b*) Instead of being merely tied, both the side hair and the back hair were braided in cues, three in all. Ornaments were attached to the braids. This style of hairdressing was rare.

17. Forelocks were used by many men. Usually the lock was narrow and cut even with the top of the nose. Sometimes it was combed down flat over the middle of the brow, but more generally it was crimped, so that the end curled up. Occasionally the short crimping-rod was worn in the hair. Hairdressing with forelock had a special name. Rarely was the forelock braided. The rest of the hair might be done up in any fashion. It seems that women never had forelocks, at least not like those of the men.

18. The top hair combed back from the brow, then brought forward and tied in a bunch above the brow or on the top of the head,[133] but not braided or stiffened with clay. The rest of the hair was fixed in different ways—tied together at the sides, made into a braid at each side, or made into small braids at the temples, the rest being tied behind the neck or left to hang loose. This was a man's style.

19. All the hair gathered on the top of the head, and tied there, with the loose end upward and protruding or hanging forward. Occasionally the knot was pointed, and stiffened with red mud or paint. This was a warrior's style.

20. Much the same way as No. 19, but the hair rose in a high point above the top of the head. A bunch of dry tules tied together was set on end on the top of the head to form a support for the hair, which was bound all round it. The ends of the tules protruded above the hair. The crown of the head, and all the lower hair next to the head, were well saturated with water. A woman then lighted the ends of the tules, which burned down with the upright hair until the whole point or "horn" became flat and the fire went out in the wet hair next the head. This style was used by some men when dancing the scalp dance.

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[133] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 207, but without braiding

5; Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

302 Sometimes the hair was painted red or white by men, all over or in parts. Down was sometimes put in the hair. Almost all people of both sexes painted the partings of the hair red. The red lines followed the bare skin exposed by the parting. Many people oiled their hair regularly with pieces of hard fine tallow or with bear's grease. A hair parter of wood was used for parting the hair evenly. The points of combs were also used. Loose untied hair was often crimped.[139] Rods of an unidentified reddish wood were used for the purpose. The wood was heated, and the lock rolled around it. At the present day nearly all the men have their hair close cut, like the whites. A few of the old men wear it long or cut across the neck. Most of the women wear their hair in two braids tied at the back or hanging loose at the sides.

303 PERFUMES.—Scents were much used by both sexes, and especially by young people. Sweet grass (*Hierochla odorata*) and other strong-smelling grasses and leaves were used. Small rolls of these were made up and often inclosed in skin. They were used as pads inclosed in knots or folds of the hair, or simply attached to it. Sometimes tiny bags of these scents were made up for attachment to the hair and clothing, or to be placed in workbags, workbaskets, and clothes bags, to perfume the contents. Sometimes the bags were sewed on to wearing apparel permanently. The fragrant leaves from which the scent was made were often dried, then powdered fine and poured into sacks, which were sewed up like tiny cushions. They were used in the same way as the rolls and small bags with strings attached. Powdered scents were frequently rubbed on necklaces, hair ornaments, clothes, the skin of the body, and the hair. A small skin bag about 4 by 3 centimeters in size, entirely covered on the outside with quill or bead work and provided with strings, was filled with scent and attached to the back of the hair as an ornament. Slender rolls of sweet grass without any covering were often wrapped in the hair. Besides vegetable scents, beaver castor was much used. Some people also used parings from the hard, strong-smelling gland inside of horses' legs. The parings were crushed fine and inclosed in skin bags.

302 FACE AND BODY PAINTING.—The face and body were painted in various ways, but I did not find time to go into this matter in detail. Painting was in solid masses and in designs. Some of the latter are said to have had no known significance, being merely for ornament, while other designs were connected with dreams and the guardian spirit. Some designs were considered protective in battle, while others were more for good luck. However, some styles of painting were mere fashions; and, according to some, this was the prevailing motive for their selection. The most common paint was red, but

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[139] Many Shoshoni and Bannock are said to have worn their hair loose and crimped.

yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint. 302

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women. 307 532

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.–Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.[140] 304 531

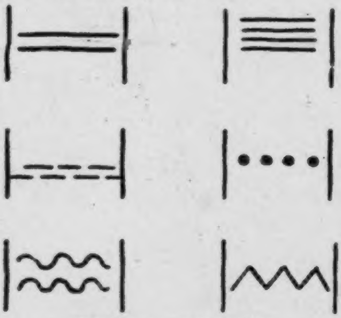

FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

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[140] See p. 169.

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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War Dress.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.) [302] 292 717 776

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people. 173 728

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes, [777] [166]

202 784 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

567 Slavery.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered [302] members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

173 567 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
854 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably
when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that
long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne
for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur
d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many
of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of
infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many
families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled
[597] very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 **Whipping Ordeal.**—It is said that a long time ago, when all the
Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal
each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people
had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the
winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and
good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as
was practiced by the Thompson [301] until recently.

961 **Puberty.**—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes.
They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life
by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious,
and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially
those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of
them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo
hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that
they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced
by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions,
and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the
Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne
informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats,
where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and
they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During
the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice
various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
[777] certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years.
They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[300] The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

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[301] a, pp. 309, 310.

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[533]

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds. [515]

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

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SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[300] *a*, pp. 317–321, *b*, 247–250.

291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

531 Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nosepins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]
304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.
302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear[26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] a, pl. 18.

[24] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.

[25] a, p. 227, fig. 210.

[26] This refers to 1909.

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
317 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*171 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
[103]

[291]
[531]

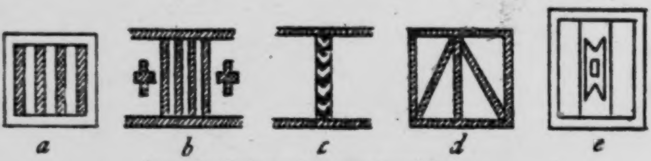

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'ts:mɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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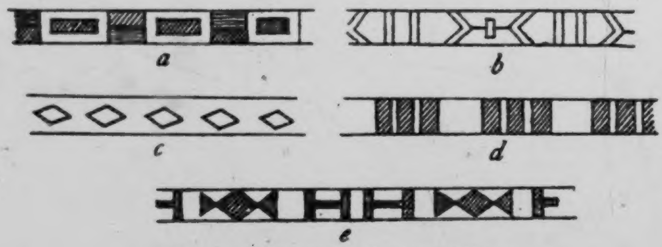

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

302 171*

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River.

304 171* [184]

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

302 171*

[301] [292] [177]

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

V. SUBSISTENCE

222 171*

Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, 555
and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered 796
in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, 171*
and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left
the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions 535
continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount 555
his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared 796
wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. 171*
His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below
the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this [292]
way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a
great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial [302] •
weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of [178]
their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing 535
and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance 796
chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers 171*
squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
*171 dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other
foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older
dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in
this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in
the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance.
Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding
themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of
the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time
twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping
forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The
dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the
chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them,
and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The
earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle
counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations
and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute
and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will
soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about
five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again
all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music
starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men
with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the
music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the
music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest.
Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers
perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers
advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for
tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
[534] used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint, but stripes of red, yellow, and black
were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays
men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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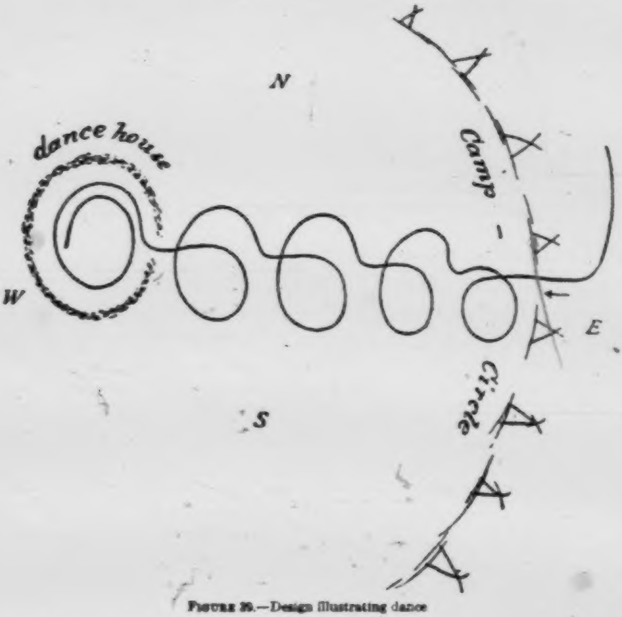

FIGURE 29.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial. 515

The sweat lodge (kwi'l'stən) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing those at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats. 343 515

The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squattin_ or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[41] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses. 515

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (qatsa.suni'ua', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called nagapuaxa'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of tweezers (laqtomtcu'tʊn). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the 302 303

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[41] See page 179.

303 pincer ends were made broad and thin. In two forms the bases of the bones composing the tweezers were fastened rigidly together, in one case with rivets of bone, (Figure 7, a); in the other with wrappings of sinew (Figure 7, b). In the former the arms were gently curved, in the latter they were angular. The third type (Figure 7, c) consisted of two bone arms pivoted at the base and bound with sinew. The points only were curved. The wooden tweezer (Plate 2, Figure H) was fashioned from a single piece of hardwood. It resembled a slender handled fork with two wide prongs. This was the largest of the types, averaging six inches in length. Tweezers were sometimes painted.

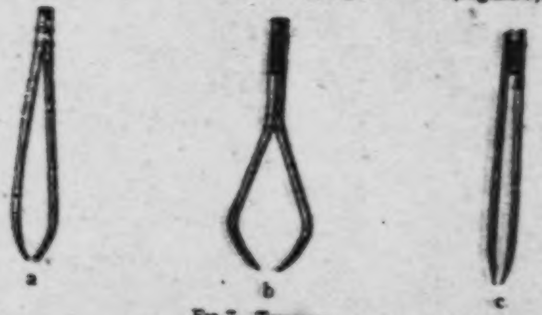

Fig. 7. Tweezers.

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38. An umbelliferous species, (àlàpi'spes). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

39. tcuqtcuqti'lp" (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

[841]

40. mosmosain'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[33]

41. tcstcu'slamilx", "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulqulani'lp" (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. xa'mas (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[309]

Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soqe'iman ti'tax"), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'kutan..........	"time that it snows"
kisa'tsa'lta'n.........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kat..............	"time that it is white"
skanı'γuman..........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kapatctilta'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti-'xuman............	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kami'kto'tan.........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[33] Cf. page 134.

302 Sometimes the hair was painted red or white by men, all over or in parts. Down was sometimes put in the hair. Almost all people of both sexes painted the partings of the hair red. The red lines followed the bare skin exposed by the parting. Many people oiled their hair regularly with pieces of hard fine tallow or with bear's grease. A hair parter of wood was used for parting the hair evenly. The points of combs were also used. Loose untied hair was often crimped.[139] Rods of an unidentified reddish wood were used for the purpose. The wood was heated, and the lock rolled around it. At the present day nearly all the men have their hair close cut, like the whites. A few of the old men wear it long or cut across the neck. Most of the women wear their hair in two braids tied at the back or hanging loose at the sides.

303 PERFUMES.—Scents were much used by both sexes, and especially by young people. Sweet grass (*Hierochla odorata*) and other strong-smelling grasses and leaves were used. Small rolls of these were made up and often inclosed in skin. They were used as pads inclosed in knots or folds of the hair, or simply attached to it. Sometimes tiny bags of these scents were made up for attachment to the hair and clothing, or to be placed in workbags, workbaskets, and clothes bags, to perfume the contents. Sometimes the bags were sewed on to wearing apparel permanently. The fragrant leaves from which the scent was made were often dried, then powdered fine and poured into sacks, which were sewed up like tiny cushions. They were used in the same way as the rolls and small bags with strings attached. Powdered scents were frequently rubbed on necklaces, hair ornaments, clothes, the skin of the body, and the hair. A small skin bag about 4 by 3 centimeters in size, entirely covered on the outside with quill or bead work and provided with strings, was filled with scent and attached to the back of the hair as an ornament. Slender rolls of sweet grass without any covering were often wrapped in the hair. Besides vegetable scents, beaver castor was much used. Some people also used parings from the hard, strong-smelling gland inside of horses' legs. The parings were crushed fine and inclosed in skin bags.

302 FACE AND BODY PAINTING.—The face and body were painted in various ways, but I did not find time to go into this matter in detail. Painting was in solid masses and in designs. Some of the latter are said to have had no known significance, being merely for ornament, while other designs were connected with dreams and the guardian spirit. Some designs were considered protective in battle, while others were more for good luck. However, some styles of painting were mere fashions; and, according to some, this was the prevailing motive for their selection. The most common paint was red, but

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[139] Many Shoshoni and Bannock are said to have worn their hair loose and crimped.

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmıtawiya'kı'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 156

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuɣwaɣka'lpᵊ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the ennervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

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The cradle bag or night bag (ktu'xtsa) was made in two forms. The first was fashioned from two pieces of buckskin, one ovoid forming the back, the other a narrow band equal in length to the perimeter of the back. The ends of the band were sewed together and one edge of it sewed to the periphery of the ovoid piece, with the seam at the bottom (narrow end). Thin strips of buckskin were used for sewing. Loops were provided along the lower portions of each free side of the front piece so that a buckskin thong could be passed alternately through them to draw the bag together. The other bag was made of a single piece of buckskin roughly triangular in form. It resembled somewhat a center seam moccasin, except that the actual seam extended for only a short distance and the remainder was looped for lacing. The top was left open. Neither bag was provided with carrying straps. Skin other than that of the deer was sometimes used for these bags, such as coyote skin. The child was kept in the bag at night until about a year of age.

The cradle board (moxwa'l') (Plate 1, Figure B) was the same for either a girl or a boy. It was used until the child was able to walk. Subsequent to that time it was used only while travelling or when the child wished to sleep in the daytime. During the early months of life the infant was removed from the cradle only to be bathed, changed, and at night. Except in rare instances a board was used for only one child. When no longer in use it was usually buried. If an infant died while still using its cradle it was sometimes, though not always, buried with it.

Cradle boards were usually made of cedar. Poorer ones were of pine. The body of the board was sometimes trapezoidal with the longer parallel side at the top, but more often roughly oval with the narrower part at the bottom. A knob or handle usually projected from the middle of the board at the top, and sometimes two legs from the bottom. The handle was carved in various shapes, but most commonly was triangular or circular. In some cradles there was no projecting handle but an oblong hole in the top of the board. Sometimes the whole board was covered with buckskin but often only the bag was of that material. Holes were bored to take the stay strings of the hoop and for attaching the bag. A large hoop of willow or service berry limb was hinged with buckskin to each side of the board at a point where it would rise above the baby's head. Two buckskin thongs extending from the hoop to the foot and to the handle of the board held the hoop in position. These could be untied at the foot and the hoop lowered when the child was to be removed. Buckskin carrying straps were fastened to the back of the board. The bag or pouch was always made of buckskin. It was not a true bag in that its back was formed by the board itself. A long narrow rectangular strip of buckskin was sewed together at the ends and fastened to the board by placing it on edge in the shape desired and securing it to the board through the holes previously drilled. Sometimes the pouch was made double thickness. Holes were pierced along the edge of the opening and a strip of buckskin inserted to provide loops so that the bag might be laced tight. A triangular wooden piece was fitted inside the bag at the head, with the base at right angles to the board. It was fastened here with two thongs through holes in the board and one or two extending from the apex to the head of the board. It was more or less adjustable

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but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the head of the bag open. 304/854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the legs. 854 Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kāli'᾽s, snɪknɪktki'n, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used.

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. 524 854 In addition many other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the shell exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck.

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place to place. 854 Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline.

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.*

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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*See pages 113-14.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power 756
to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after 787
depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared 796
and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with
the man who received it and inevitably married him.[30] It was possible to cause the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so. The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans.

A winter dance was in progesss at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman 753
with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman
was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of 756
the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness 796
and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance. When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life.

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power 756
sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily 796
push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out. After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over to it and pull it out with ease.

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kole'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[30] See page 142.

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian hemp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

515 314 317 Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds.

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to ~~have~~ been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

171 304 Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it.

301 304 852 When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsIapU´stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as 304 ●
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. 852
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears.

302

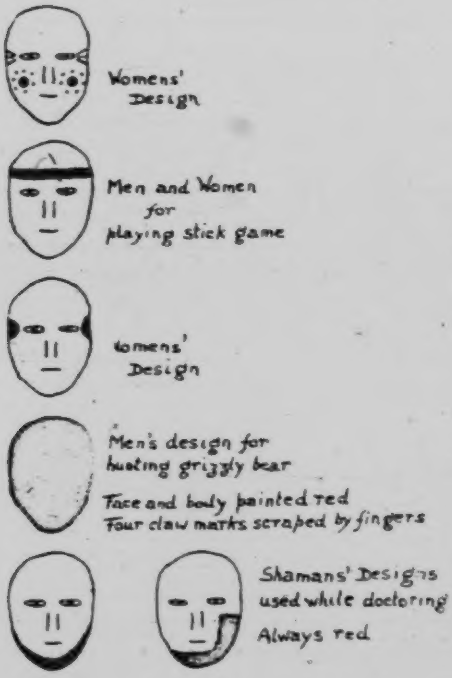
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more char- 171
acteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the needle was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

304 cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman
capable of drawing blood from wounds might
[791] tattoo a line of dots from each corner of
his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not
clear whether the designs had any connection
with the power animal or other significance.
[681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a
person because he was a murderer or thief, as
Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were
in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The
form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal
or keystone-like in shape and had an extension
at the top to serve as a handle. A
pouch to hold the infant was usually, but
apparently not always, attached to its face.
This pouch fell far short of reaching the
edges of the board. A second type had a
pouch similarly arranged, but the board was
oval. In neither of these types was the
board wholly covered with skin. In the third
type an oval board was entirely encased in
skin; this casing itself served as the pouch.
This third type is clearly of more recent introduction
than the first. It was said to
171 have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce
854 now resident on the reservation. There is
some question with regard to the age of the
second type, but it probably resolves itself
into the attached pouch being ancient,
the oval board modern. This type was said
to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia
at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

P. 50(A)

ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge. 684 626

If a man kills several people, he achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon. 626

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest men sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

According to Suszen Timentwa, the present chief, in pre-white days the chief ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a straight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound. 681 304

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

p. 93 (B) If a chief found in the old days that Indians were killing animals for fun, or wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

681 304 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 693 797 Punishment of crime has become much more rigid since the advent of the Catholic priests. They are said to have introduced a simple judicial system with policemen (cülEnka'm), trial (cqwakwa'lIckIm), witnesses (sIn·mIpa'l^x), a judge, a whipper (cō'ItsEm) and a counter of the strokes (tsEka'm).

696 625 The policeman, who carries a stick when summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to the chief. Fo[illegible]ing this work, he receives no payment. The only punishment meted out is whipping. The people all assemble in front of the village to hear the trial and to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man as judge to determine the number of strokes to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 696 From fifty to one hundred lashes are given for the first offense of murder, adultery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292. 1
48 Ibid., 293. 1

p. 94 (A)

293 554 622 wear it in battle and at group gatherings. Such men were not criticized by the people. In later days, anyone can wear such a headdress, but the chief's is always the most ornate. The woman skü'mált has no special dress, but she is better dressed than any other woman of the band, and always wears a shell through her pierced septum, a sign of wealth. [304]

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"[1]bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty."[1]

292 622 The Kartar chief, on special occasions, wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the seams and carries a fan made of the wing of a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

276 622 The new chief of the Kartar band is always given the tribal pipe which belonged to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special fringed buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sĭnaĭ'östn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sĭnaĭ'ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his oldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce the chief's wish to everyone. These forms of appointment seldom occur since most men die a violent death. [165]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 96 (B)

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).[1]

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made. [856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 ●304 854 Most of the informants denied that there was any intention of flattening the head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpī́liakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 854 A flat stone or other hard substance was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 854 The stump of the umbilical cord was sewed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

[1] [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 122 (B)

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, 301
which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for necklaces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common, and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other animals, and others of teeth of elk, and horse, were used. Some pendants were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used, also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few
antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was uni- 304 ●
versal, and some people tattooed.

301 321 325 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones. 237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 321 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the [171] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the [304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mɛtsɛmɛtsɛ'ɛlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 301 321 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint. 302

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. 302 532 Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women.

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.[149] 304 531

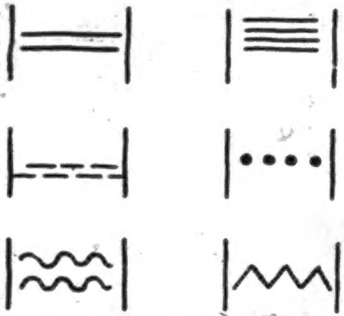

FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing.

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

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[149] See p. 169.

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531 by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

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262 FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Tendl	*sx̣a''ulutx̣wa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ätxwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *c'lx̣wa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'it'ɛm.*

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[141] See p. 192.

cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present 854 day, and some of them were provided with hoops.

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,[300] and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier 127 or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far 854 back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

Head Deformation.—During the life of the child on the board 304 carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its 854 head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind,

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[300] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

304 854 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. [597] The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 **Whipping Ordeal.**—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson [301] until recently.

861 881 **Puberty.**—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. 302 861 881 Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow [777] certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302 longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible] The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

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[301] a, pp. 309, 310.

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The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515] This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

Tattooing.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304 done at the age of puberty. 881 Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

Scarification.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[illegible] a, pp. 317–321, b, 247–250.

304/881 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in [illegible] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

582 MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[illegible]

583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[illegible] a, pp. 321–325.

776 Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guardians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

778 Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflèches.[231] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

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Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, robes, shields, and weapons.

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Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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[231] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 2.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

304 531 778 one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[333]

532 778 Rock Paintings.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

532 776 Images of Guardian Spirits.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

531 Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nose-pins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]

● 304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.

302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear[26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] a, pl. 18.

[24] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.

[25] a, p. 227, fig. 210.

[26] This refers to 1909.

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[1] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head. 854

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers. 304 854

FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents. 597

EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the 861

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[1] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

7.Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River. 302 171*

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs. 304 171* [184]

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed. 302 171* [301] [292] [177]

V. SUBSISTENCE

Roots and Berries.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles. 222 171*

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

845 171* **Twins.**—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

854 171* **Baby Carriers.**—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. [177] According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board[1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

304 ● 856 171* **Head Deformation.**—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. [178] After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier. [113]

● 304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening
*171 of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
*171 Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
*171 skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
*171 country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable
distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

[462] only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made
421 skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the
421 Thompson.[289] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and
311 lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food
421 preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for every-day fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[289] a, p. 248.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 311
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 421
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just [462]
the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[280]

FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431
were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527
one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which
generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, 53
no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[280] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta'ʼmot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 482
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultəma'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastī'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Purah, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called quqəpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (slodəke'n) were utilised extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

285 313 314 feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk. The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

251 285 314 415 The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (pi'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

285 314 415 [137] Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large numbers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots, the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrapping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqa'istən). Indian hemp was used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches. [531] The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple design of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

283 Three strand braided ropes were made of willow bark. The bark was kept in water until it was needed, and the braided portion of the rope was continually laid back in the water while the length of rope was being completed. Lengths of three to four hundred (?) feet were made in this fashion, strong enough to lower a man down the face of a cliff when hunting for eagles.

Mountain goat hair was twisted into cords according to Chilowhist Jim (an informant from the southern end of the territory). The longer hair, six to eight inches in length, was shaved from the skin with a knife. A pile of this hair was moistened, matted together, and roughly twisted. To twist this, a lithe stick provided at one end with a right-angled hook was used. One end of the bundle of hair was engaged in the hook while the longer arm of this stick was rolled between palm and thigh, or between the palms, to twist the hairs into a cord. Two persons engaged in the task; one spinning the wooden hook as he pulled on the cord, the other holding the free end and adding hairs to lengthen it. This cordage was made of ten or twelve strands of hair. Horsehair was spun in the same way to make rope, which was valuable because it withstood wetting.

Weaving

286 It is doubtful if the Southern Okanagon wove, or at least that the southern bands did. (Chilowhist Jim, whose information may refer to the Methow, implied that his people wove mountain goat yarn.) Teit states that the Lake (Sinajextee) alone of all the interior Salish tribes wove. "It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom." Again, "Woven goat's-wool robes were known [by the Coeur d'Alêne] to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere."* Andrew Tillson, whose affiliations were with the northerly groups, stated that blankets were woven of goat's hair. The hair was twisted on the thigh and woven apparently without the use of any sort of loom. On the other hand, the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon, according to Tom Martin, had no woven blankets of mountain goat hair. Cecile, a Kalispel brought up among the central groups of Southern Okanagon, had never heard of blankets woven of goat hair or rabbit skin. They may have traded for them.

Wood and Bone Working

• 313 Trees were felled by chiseling away chips around the circumference near the base with a deer horn wedge and a wooden maul. The procedure was to drive in the wedge and pull it up to pry off a chunk of wood. An alternative method with a dry tree was to chip out several pits at the base with the horn wedges. Fires were set in these pits to burn

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*[For footnote, see p. 68(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

313 through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor.

322 To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner.

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

[372] Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down.

There were no carved or painted wooden [532]
images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on
the coast. One informant had heard of large
lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but [415]
these may have been trade articles.

321 Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft.

Dyes and Paints

386 Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kal´lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant.

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

342

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
● [313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the winter-
time. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
[592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
354 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside.
Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cook-
324 ing and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the
implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread,
352 and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been
415 noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsɩtsa'-
314 paxʷ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups,
415 berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory.
To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic.
484 Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cɩ'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce
285 roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or
314 three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working
415 with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were
[321] used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with
wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in
[352] the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

283 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (səl.lka'stia), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'xpuxilpᵘ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwəl'qwəlsmənì'lpᵘ, "blue brush").

293 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the [137] root of the western scouring rush. *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stən), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwai'p̓. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta'"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 492
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven.
The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or
nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in
width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household
articles and trinkets were termed ntutumasti'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth
than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardised in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of
a bush called quqəpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark,
qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a
short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverised
and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (słoqəlx'n) were utilised extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285
raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313
be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk.
The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314
was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251
U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log
a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about 285
four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 314
to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the 415
midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large num- 285
bers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314
above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots,
the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrap- 415
ping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and
slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (stadqa'istən). Indian hemp was [137]
used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pələp, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, naqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches.
The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [321]
sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

285 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as
314 food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths
415 up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nes Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regard-
177 ing the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and
524 pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[6] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot,
415 always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[6] See page 162.

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian hemp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy 515
leaves of dogwood. These were picked in
early August, stored for winter use, and when 314
wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to
produce a lather. Another soap was provided 317
by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds.

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip 171
from side to side just below the nose and
inserted a shell or string with a bead on 304
each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it.

When girls were two or three years old 301
their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced
with a bone awl. The hole was salved with 304
deer fat and first a greased thread, then a
stick inserted and worked back and forth fre- 852
quently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tslapŪ´stĒn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and

285 415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314 415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).[1]

Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom (b) were folded up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. 531 A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category 116. -- Analyst]

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet
415 high. Such buckets were used for fetching
water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the
251 like were used for storing berries, etc., and were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Flageolets were used principally in
[832] courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

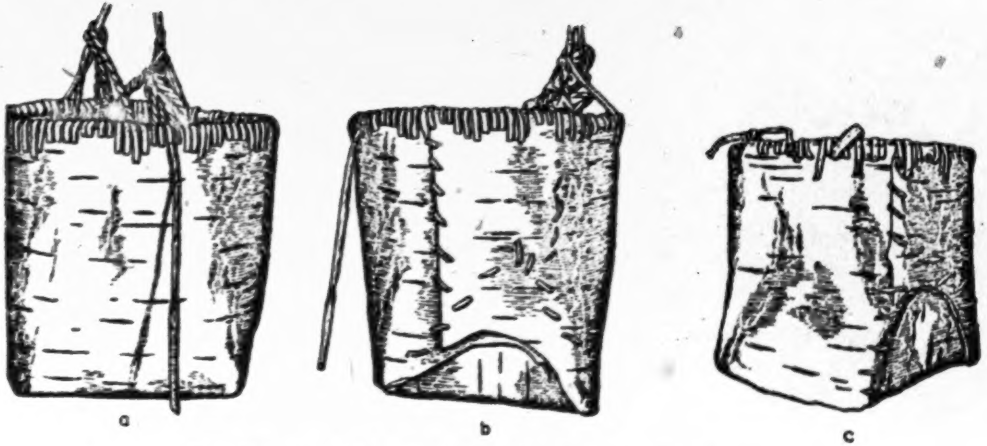

Fig. 32. Birch bark buckets (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 64 (c)

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3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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31 Numbers and dimensions are: a, b, no. 2-265, 8½" deep, 8" diameter; c, no. 2-264, 7" deep, 7" diameter.[1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p.64 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 64 (D)

534 [463] [533] over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

● [314 415]

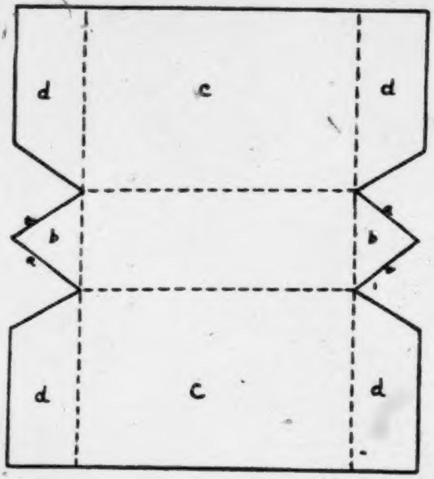

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

p. 65(A)

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276
These include the elbow pipe, the tubular
pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of
the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35).
Women's pipes were like men's but smaller:
they were made for them by the men. No woman [562]
could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and 276
a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red cat-
linite pipes were traded ready-made from the 316
Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how
to work this stone. A red stone was ob- 439
tained on the Methow River, a dark blue-
green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black
soapstone from the Similkameen River. A
light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which
was considered superior to other materials,
was also gotten from the Similkameen River.
To obtain it a man had to be let down the
bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge,
where he crawled back under the shelving
rocks and took the stone from under water.
The stone was immediately cut into pipes
while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes
was also traded from the Thompson for Indian
hemp. Clay was also used when stone was
lacking, according to Suszen, although he had
never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied
this. The Methow used a blue translucent
stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked 276
on the stone was cut out with a flint or ob-
sidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored 324
with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was
smoothed and polished with horse tail (*Equis-
etum*). The short stems of stone pipes were
sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow
willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b)
rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds [531]
and animals or straight lines were incised on
the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian
flake and filled with red paint made of red
clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and
grease. Those who were too poor to own a
pipe or who were on a hunting trip without
one, would make a hollow in the mud for a
bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side.
This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone
position. Women's pipes were similar to
men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462]
formerly made by men, but are now made by wo-
men also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276
group or band pipe) in the custody of the
chief of the band. This pipe was passed 623
around the council circle to the right, start-
ing with the chief, before the discussion be-
gan, each man taking two or three puffs. The
heads of winter houses were also said to have
large pipes for formal gatherings like those
of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314
weeding the wild plants, but was gathered
along creeks and in moist places. This plant [137]
was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were
stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for 276
about two days. The dry leaves were then

P. 65(B)

314 276 put into buckskin bags and pulverized by rubbing the sides of the bag together. The tobacco was then stored in another bag. One informant, Suszen Timentwa, stated that the tobacco was pulled up by the roots, dried for ten to fifteen minutes over a fire, then stored in tight cedar-root baskets. He also stated that it was kept moist by putting in the basket fresh roots or grass, but on another occasion denied this. It seems improbable that the tobacco plant was rooted up, as this would destroy the supply, but it was said to keep better intact. (This was in fact contradicted by other informants.)

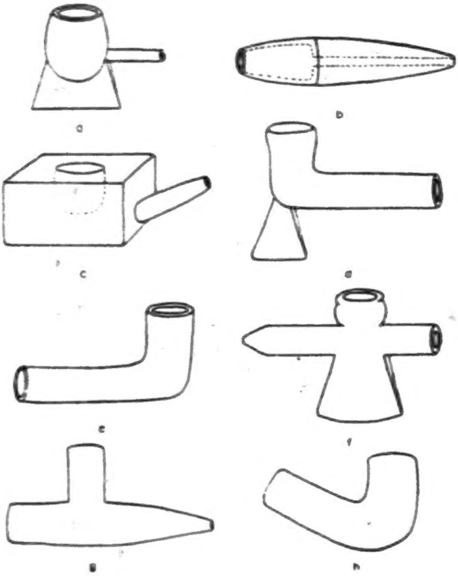

Fig. 34. Types of pipes.

"Kinikinik," properly bear berry (Arctostaphyllos uva-ursi [L.])[1] was mixed with tobacco just before being put into the pipe in the ratio of two parts of kinikinik (skûlsû-tmEn) to one of tobacco. Sunflower leaves were substituted for tobacco, as also a plant called cqElûxcma'nûc (which grows by streams) and the dried pulverized root of xa'cxa'c. [278] (The last named was also used to revive unconscious persons.) All three were mixed with kinikinik. Not so sman'xû, a "grass" growing near Riverside, which was smoked alone.

276 Formerly the pipe, tobacco, and kinikinik were carried in two separate bags worn at the waist. These bags were made by women for their husbands according to the latter's

[1] [For footnote, see p. 66 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

276 [1] [For context of this footnote, see
314 p. 66 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

32 Identified by Mrs. Martha Flahaut of the Washington State Museum.[1]

28 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

• 314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

283 314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (spêĪ'tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was reserved for their own use, but the bulk was sold to the Thompson. [439]

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

1/^ [For context of this footnote, see p. 68 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

33 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 66, 219, 251. 1/^

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were 324 pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have 412 been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alêne and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. 321 Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, 285 common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making appears to have been willow. [314] ● Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]). 113

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

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baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

Openwork Baskets.—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[32]

Birch-bark Baskets.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[33] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[34] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[35] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

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Cedar-bark Baskets.—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[36] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[32] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[33] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[34] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[35] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[36] Ottawa Mus. VI, M. 72, Field Mus. 111713.

285 314 415 These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

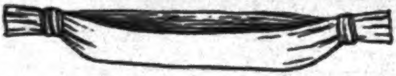

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

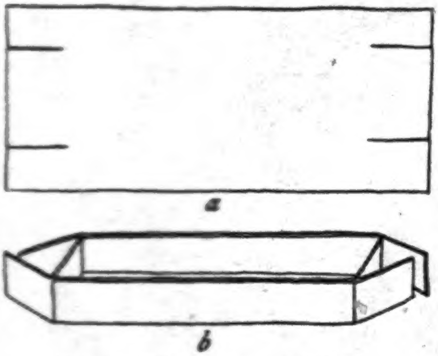

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no [322] pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [323]

[177] After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were sub-
stituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

the smoke out. 000 Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

BARK LODGE.—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year 314 in places where good bark abounded. 322 Both dry and green cedar bark was used. 342 These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.[63] When large, the horizontal side poles[64] were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles[65] and two fires were used [354] instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles[66] were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,[67] to hold up the ridge poles.[68] At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.[69] In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.[70] The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. [354] Usually there was only a single central fire in these lodges.

In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

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[62] *c*, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.

[63] *a*, fig. 137.

[64] *a*, fig. 137 *b*.

[65] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

[66] *a*, fig. 142 *b*.

[67] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

[68] *a*, fig. 142 *a*.

[69] *a*, fig. 142.

[70] *a*, fig. 138.

[484] **Brush Lodges.**—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 **Women's and Girls' Lodges.**—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

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342 **Underground and Other Lodges.**—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

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343 **Sweat Houses.**—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] *b*, p. 196.

[72] *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

251 343 417 Scaffolds.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. [251] Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

251 322 343 Caches and Cellars.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. [136] Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country.

285 314 352 House Furnishings and Utensils.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. [513] Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. [237] Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 237 374 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes. 415

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp. 281 291 [302] [484]

ROBES.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often 281x 294

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160. [74] a, fig. 161. [75] a, pl. 18.

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used 281x
long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 294
came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other
bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. [314]
In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of
cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather 237
headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were 292
used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on 301
war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'xwe* (Thompson: *stse'xwe*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stxtsamoxtse'nam.*
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacam.*
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*xo'xlp.*
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery).	*pä'qai.*
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sä'tc'xtci.*

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The *Opuntia* (*sxu'wêndtc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

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Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

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For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] a, fig. 212.

[144] b, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

222 237 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mö'smᴇn* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ämxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

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Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[285] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[286] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars. 276

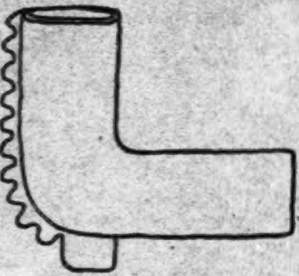

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

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PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

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[285] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[286] See Thompson, *a*, p. 312, fig. 284 a.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb
32 hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few
171 of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 Paints and Dyes.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for
531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville
439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the
386 Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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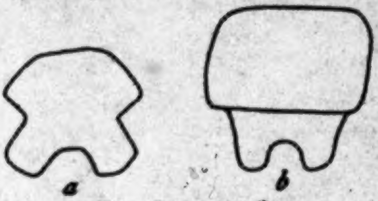

Figure 15.—Arrow smoother

281 Dressing of Skins.—The method of skin dressing and the tools
412 used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 Mats.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the
415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, c.

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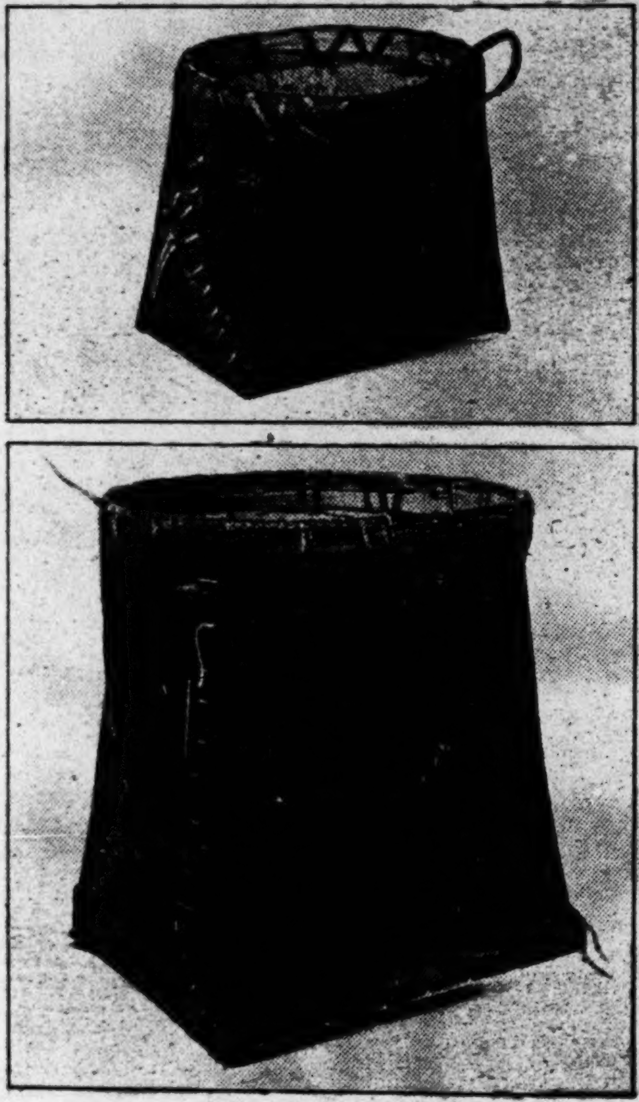

BIRCH-BARK BASKETS
Interior Salish.

opp. p. 219

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates 285 and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the Thompson. 415 Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even 314 by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the 285 Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. 531 Mats were also made of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin 286 blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328).

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the 285 Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. 283 The materials used were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark, and Indian-hemp twine. 415 A great many bags of different shapes were made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, d.
[12] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, e and f.
[13] See specimens in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[14] See ibid., VI. M. 78.
[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 73.
[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 76.
[17] a, p. 189, fig. 131, d, h, i.
[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 98.
[19] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 160.

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BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[26] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[27] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

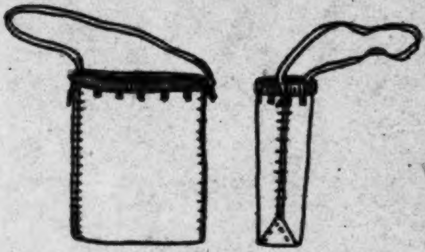

FIGURE 15.—Birch-bark basket

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the [531] Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting.

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[26] See Field Mus., Nos. 111859-111862.

[27] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

Coiled Basketry.[1]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes 285
long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and 314
many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands
of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made 415
little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring 439
bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials
abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets
and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia.
The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled
baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson
who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil
made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements,
as they also procured some from the Columbia. The
Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As
among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets,
and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots
were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used
instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce
in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of
uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by
the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river
within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of
cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees
in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication 177
on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285
about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced
to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531
some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314
this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was
principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple
designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the
inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely
cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville
appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil.
The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and
they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people
think it came from the south, and some think it must have been
learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely.
Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower
Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted.
About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased,
most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass
entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531
high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns
285

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[1] See a, pp. 140-142.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

285 631 *171 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

286 *171 [237] Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

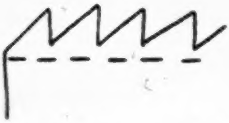
Figure 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 283 *171 294 237 *171 227 Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 *171 Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 415 314 Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement 415
of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314 •
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close 314
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend 184
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including
cedar.

Coiled Basketry.[7]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, 285
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane 285
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. 531
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain.
Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet. This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[7] See c, pp. 140-142.

7

342

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

342 CONICAL LODGE OR TENT.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, espe-
178 cially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
[592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 BARK LODGE.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one 171*
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314 ●
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These ele- [354]
vated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunt-
ers in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and coni- 342
cal forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little 171*
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Some-
times families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the 171*
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July cele-
brations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage pur-
poses, and caches in or above the ground were also in use. 171*

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend
d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-
named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food.
Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is
said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used
some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The
latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles,
and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets
were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276 These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman [562] could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and 276 a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the 316 Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained 439 on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. 276 The stem and bowl were bored 324 with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (*Equisetum*). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds [531] and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462] formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276 group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed 623 around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314 weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. [137] This plant was said to be a yard tall. 276 The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then

291 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

531 Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

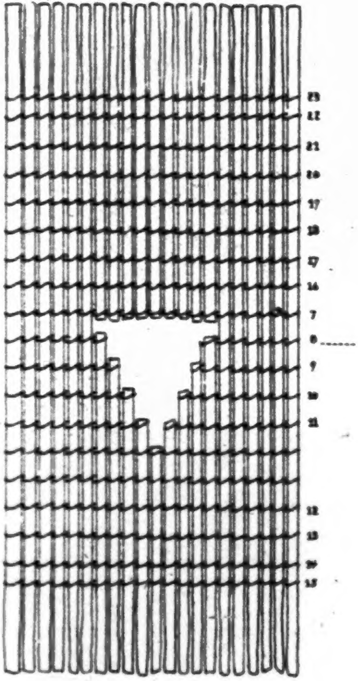

Fig. 12. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it [illegible] dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'ĕlŏ'q'ĕtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

on the hair itself. 302

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[11] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

p. 46 (A)

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 515 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tslapU′stĒn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint [439]
was mixed with water in the bowl of a mountain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317 ●
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags about four inches square. She named the following pairts obtained from them: Enaqa'lsp-EmEnû'laû, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red; tû'l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rēōlaû', "yellow earth"; Enp'ōmûlaû', "brown earth." Other clays obtained at Keller on the Sanpoil River, "were not so pretty," since the colors were duller. Here there was a dull red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan yellow, known by the names for light red and yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ēīō'q'- 317
ōtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth,
since it was said also to have been applied to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:
- pîtcqwî'ōcî'kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
- ntla'pa'cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
- ntqō'cElâq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
- kēaqōsa'xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
- nikōcwhēpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
- kEřmixq!ō'tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:
- nâq!ōtEqēōcEmîn, one span;
- acî'ltEqēōcEmîn, two spans;
- katEltEqēōcEmîn, three spans.

The stem, tEqēōcEmîn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:
- nákcqē'nîgst, one thumb broad;
- acîlqē'nîgst, two thumbs broad.

p.69(B)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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301
*171

them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

317
*171
[302]
[103]

[291]
[531]

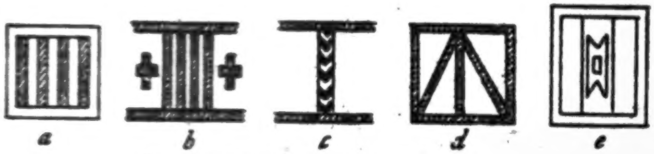

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

[291
531]

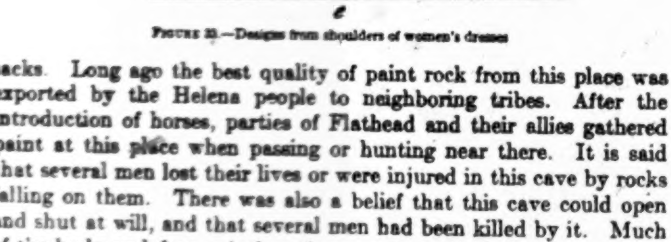

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439]

sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

[165]
[823]
302
*171

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe 177
and quite unable to adapt herself to it.

II. MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE, BONE, ETC.—The tools used by the central tribes 412
for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those 171
employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] 32●
chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers[5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been

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[1] a, pp. 183-184.

[2] See Thompson, a, p. 183, fig. 121.

[3] i, figs. 20, 25, 26.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, b, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 223 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. 32 Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few 171 of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for 531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville 439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the 386 Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

[314]

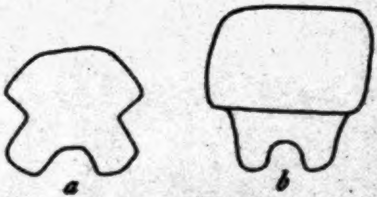

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools 412 used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the 415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 188, fig. 121, c.

181 141 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

105 177 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'ẋe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'ẋe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

324 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
32 The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

411 Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] [1] The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] [1]

237 322 411 The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

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[18] See Individual Life Cycle.

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 53 (C), category 116. —— Analyst]

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
531 unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
in natural color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
●321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with pro-
778] per power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'Ïstin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
278 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connect-
[821] ed with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsAtsExünt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(A)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

[412]

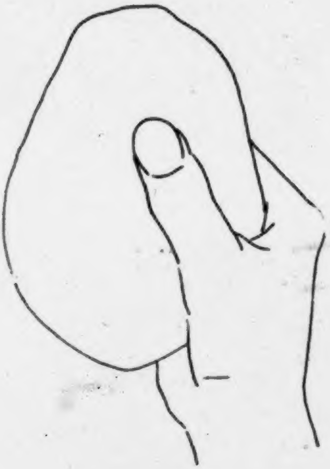

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

War clubs of the "slave-killer type were made of a stone called sqδa′sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

● [321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, [531] and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called sqûêasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25).*[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

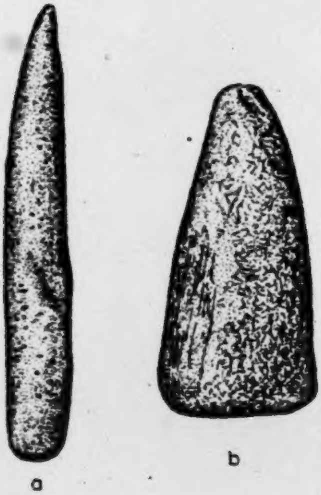

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 321 [435]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 416.-- Analyst]

p. 59 (A)

313 through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor.

322 To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner.

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [312]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321 ●

Dyes and Paints

386 Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kaI'lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant.

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar. 484 439

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange. 321 439

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade. 171 439 [186]

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box. [764]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were 324 pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have 412 been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alène and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. 321 Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, 285 common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making appears to have been willow. [314] Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 113 II, 1898-1900]).

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were 301
common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet,
which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common
use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by
men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a
good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other
robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered
with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across
the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or
triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a
wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded
or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these
styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills
applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were
common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for necklaces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of
copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common,
and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other
animals, and others of teeth of elk and horse, were used. Some pendants
were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were
attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used,
also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of
syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few
antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was uni- 304
versal, and some people tattooed.

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settlement 294
on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now, it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thompson.[125] 321
They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor, hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider flatter, and stiffer (more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some informants, 321
the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of 325
copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] a, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, b, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

301 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of
321 animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and
wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other
325 animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws,
generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially
warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were
abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces
of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones.
237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 NOSE ORNAMENTS.—Nose pins were used by many women and by
321 some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium
shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped
thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes
dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long)
ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of
these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends,
the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the
red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or
crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were
also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo
hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the
[17] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

EAR ORNAMENTS.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes.
They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color
and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter
often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string
into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small,
square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear
ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the
[304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there
were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mxtsxmxtsɛ'xlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.)
were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear
with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 HAIR ORNAMENTS.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and
301 ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair.
Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair
321 or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by
women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men;
and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or
beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered
skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In
later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth
took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short
pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeûr d'Alène

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, 301
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 321
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened
around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to
the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young
men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132]
It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

ARM RINGS.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of
dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were
held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

COMBS.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

TWEEZERS.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 412
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and
of hair on other parts of the b[illegible] was not practiced. Tweezers were
used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and
appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the
oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

HAIRDRESSING.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least
20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, e, fig. 231.

[133] a, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] b, p. 221.

[135] a, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, a, fig. 209.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of 314 321 534 other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[295] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving [202] signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[296] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

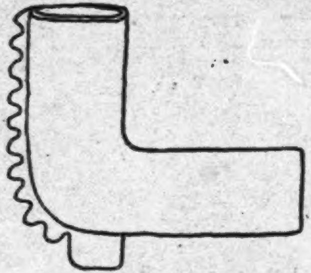

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

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PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose [439] countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

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[295] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[296] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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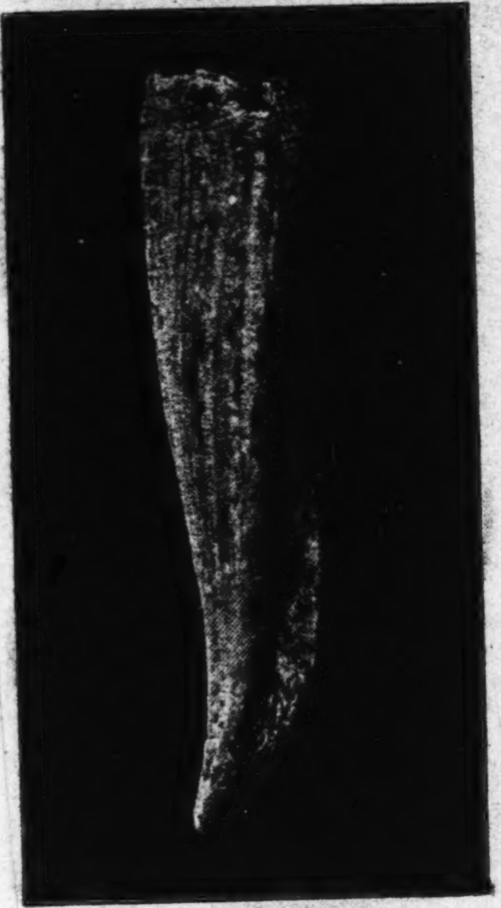
321 ●

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 1



CHISEL OF ELK HORN

Thompson River Salish.

opp. p. 218

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaxwa'iakənstək): 342 the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house. These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally; no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end of each period of occupation. 342 Since the advent of the white people the log cabin has come into general use as a winter house, 173 while the canvas covered tipi has replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom, Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young, but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342 former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (xo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with a flat or conical roof. [322] The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope. Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354] this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, 332
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 342
easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the
matter of drainage and consequently less used. [354]

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 342
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 352
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 513

The winter mat house (samaia'iłu, stktani'ł^{e}) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends.
Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (snta·”min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɪ'ksman) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called snix'tiam, "little canoe," 322 in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415 canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (hu'man). 321 It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322 a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, 415 the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531] incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint.

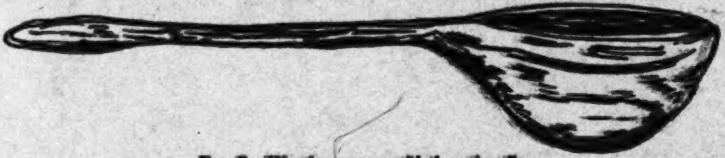

Fig. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were substituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [585] hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264 was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415 mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322 made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 204 stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaxami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large ~~322~~
logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden 324
mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the 412
hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk [132]
was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length, served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

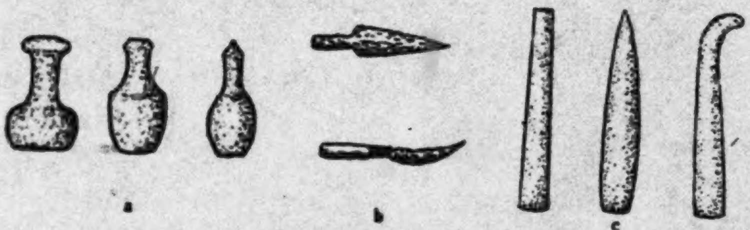

Fig. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372
The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'liman) itself was perma- 412
nent; the seat or hearth (xu'lkɪpᵉ) was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukɪ'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while 372
travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[141]

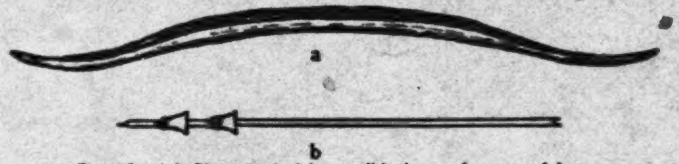

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[13]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

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41 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkʷ) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wux̣wa'xailpʷ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpʷ), was used in the manufacture of

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[13] See page 89.

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the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (pukkni'lpᵘ), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluqᵘ tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish. [137]

The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

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Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow.

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[16] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'qᵘ on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (puspustani'ultan, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course. [187]

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

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[16] Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321
A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322
with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412
They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281
three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415
were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

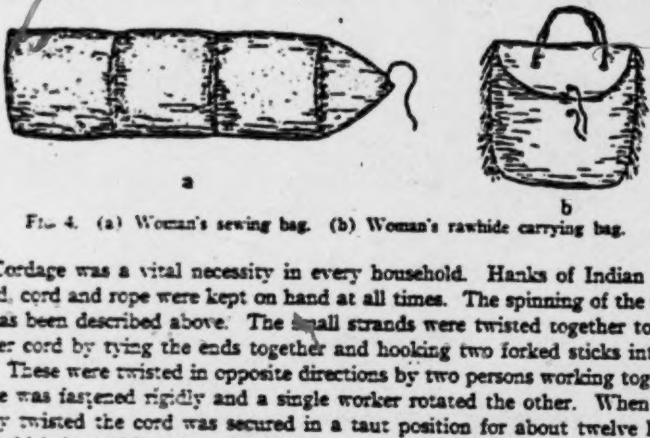

Fig. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283
thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322
basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412
inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

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Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 415
pages 93-94.

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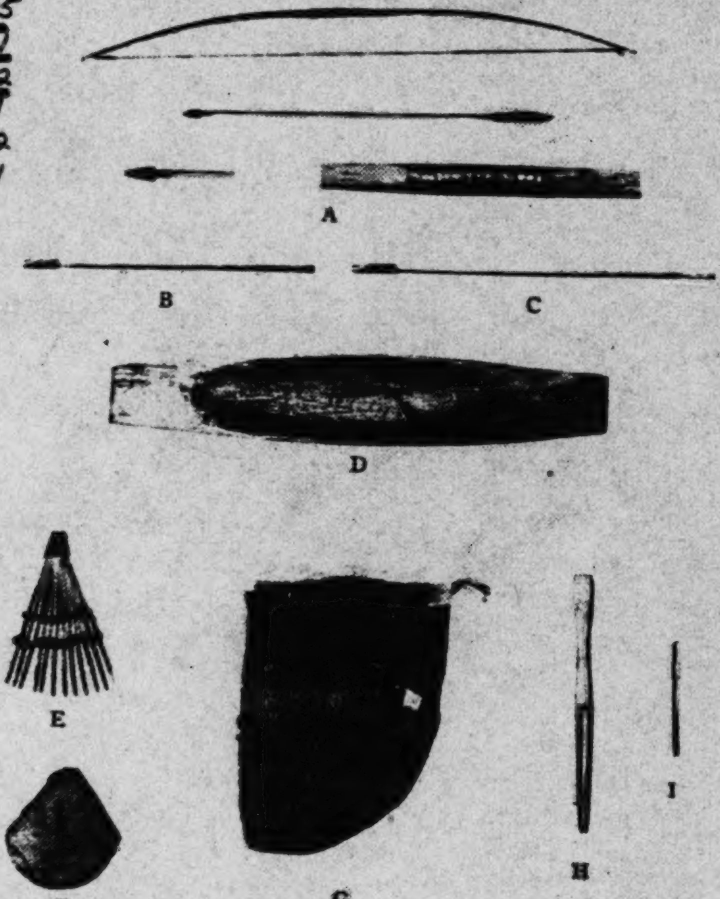

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. *(D)* Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-158, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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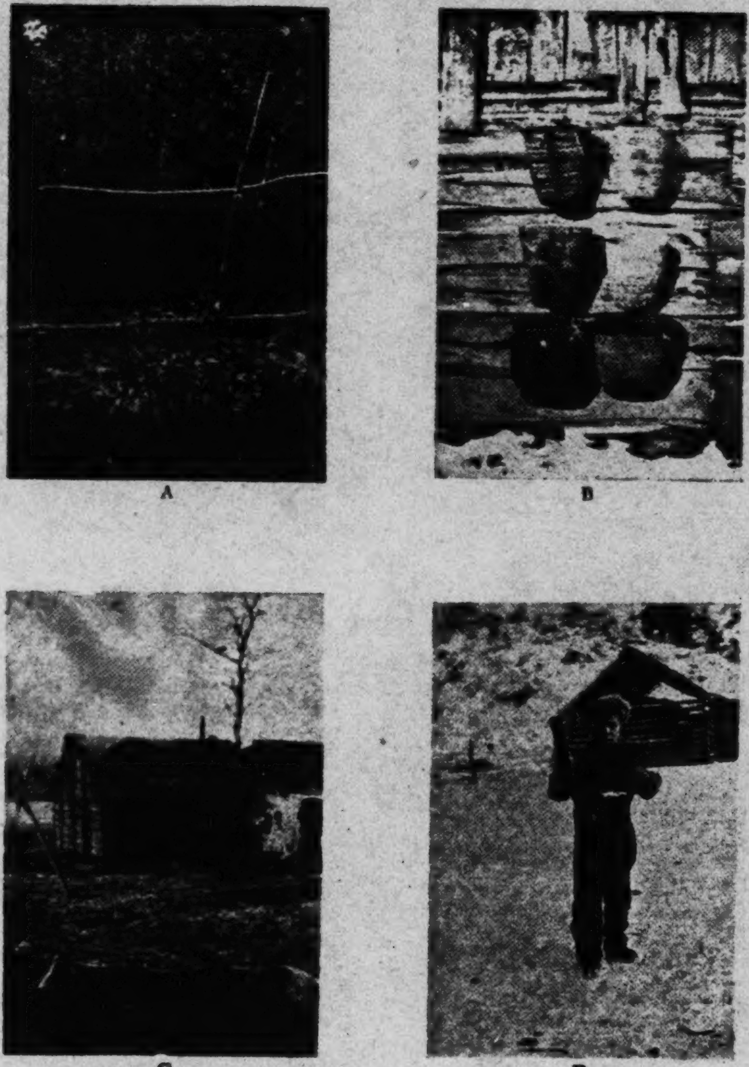

PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] $\overset{1}{\wedge}$ The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] $\overset{1}{\wedge}$ 411

The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped. 237 322 411

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

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18 See Individual Life Cycle.

$\overset{1}{\wedge}$ [For footnotes, see p. 53 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283
or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled
on the thigh by women. One end of the [237]
string formed a loose loop, the other was
lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow 411
was not in use the loop end was loosen-
ed and slipped down the bow. Great
care had to be taken that the string be new
and strong, for if it should break, the bow
would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411
a half feet long, while war arrows were per-
haps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was 322 ●
used for arrows, as the pliability of this
wood when moist permitted easy straightening,
and its stiffness and elasticity when dry
made it admirable for shooting. A fairly
straight piece of wood was selected, stripped
of its bark and bent straight while heating
it before a fire. The teeth were used as a
vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about
five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench.
Wrenches were also made of bone and horn.
Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes
arrows were straightened by weighting with
flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing
with a handful of service berry shavings or
tough grass; never with a stone. Just below
the nock the arrow was made thin to provide
a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of ea-
gle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes
were always parallel to the axis of the [237]
shaft. Each feather was split and the wider
half discarded. The quill of the narrow and
stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible,
while being held between teeth and hand. The
vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew
from the back of a deer. One end of the
chewed and shredded sinew was held in the
teeth while the other was started around the
arrow about three quarters of an inch below
the nock, after pine pitch had been applied.
The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft
at one end under the sinew with the left
hand while the arrow was rotated with the
right, thus rolling the sinew around the
shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place
the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had
been wrapped on. The forward ends of the
vanes were fastened in the same way. There
were no grooves into which the quills were
set; neither were they bound in the middle,
but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the
binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211
were often decorated with paint to facili-
tate finding them in the bush and probably 531]
also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411
of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double
spiral, about that portion of the shaft 531
where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was
smeared over this section and charcoal, red
ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor. 313

To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner. 322

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321

Dyes and Paints

Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kal'lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant. 386

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

324 412 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 237 324 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 322 324 412 Work in Bone, Wood, Antler.—Wedges for splitting wood were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e, f, g;* Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23–25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, 322
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for
incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone[17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 412
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of 386
them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *adpl yu'tsamɛn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *b*, pl. 6, No. 14.

285 314 415 These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

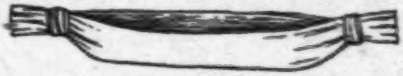

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

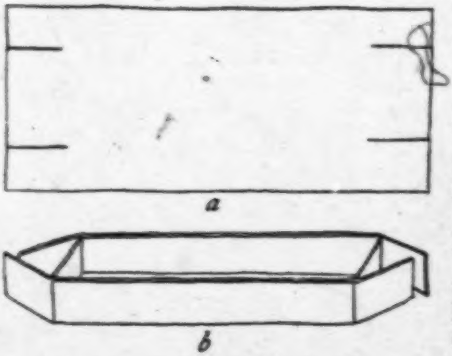

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

[322] [323] No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn.

[177] After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62] 000

Bark Lodge.—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year in places where good bark abounded. Both dry and green cedar bark was used. These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.[63] When large, the horizontal side poles[64] were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles[65] and two fires were used instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles[66] were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,[67] to hold up the ridge poles.[68] At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.[69] In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.[70] The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. Usually there was only a single central fire in these lodges.

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In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

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[62] *c*, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.
[63] *a*, fig. 137.
[64] *a*, fig. 137 *b*.
[65] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.
[66] *a*, fig. 142 *b*.
[67] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.
[68] *a*, fig. 142.
[69] *a*, fig. 142 *a*.
[70] *a*, fig. 138.

Scaffolds.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more per- 251
manent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343
keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered 417
with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against
the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching
skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for
drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251]
camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other
tribes.

Caches and Cellars.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251
in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322
used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, 343
roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping
outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms
built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower
limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of
poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were
not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were
used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abun-
dant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

House Furnishings and Utensils.—House furnishings, as among 285
other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where
people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 314
rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to 352
some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests.
Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513]
a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials.
Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237]
as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

285 314 415 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 177 524 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regarding the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[8] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 415 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot, always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[8] See page 162.

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its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

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[136]
A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

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Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

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Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet
high. Such buckets were used for fetching
415 water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the
like were used for storing berries, etc., and
251 were kept under the storage arbors. They
were set up on sticks so that their bottoms
would not rot from the dampness. On the
other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing
meat and fish were kept on the platform of
the arbor.

171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

● 323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Flageolets were used principally in
courtship by men, but on other occasions
[832] were played by women also. They were made of
elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an
eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged
bird. The elderberry flageolet was about
ten inches long and had from six to ten stops.
The pith was pushed out by means of a stick.
Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal
slot into which a piece of chewed tree
gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two
strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. 285 The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, 314 being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, 415 and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

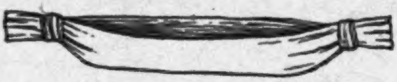

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

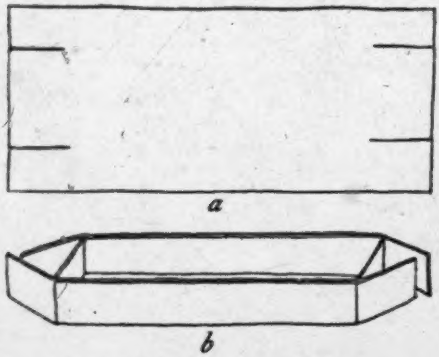

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no [322] pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [323]

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe [177] changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
177 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'ẓe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'ẓe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
[412] made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design 531 in natural color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not provided with stone heads but were simply 321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those designed for large game were fitted with 324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in [463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song. 778]

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'i'stin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were sometimes poisoned with a concoction of 278 rattlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning. 789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was [821] connected with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the Colville did. The distinction is doubtful. [825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsâtsExûnt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow [754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, 411
and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop
was attached. This club was used mainly as
a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

Little information was obtained concern- 412
ing stone knives, which have long been out
of use. A single type of knife served all 324
purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin.
Mary Carden reported that knives to be used [411]
in warfare were provided with short stout
handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal.

Spears of various lengths were used in 411
warfare and to a very limited extent in deer
hunting. A spear about ten feet long with a
bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft [224]
was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

Shields of varied shape and construc- 713
tion were used in warfare to parry arrows
and spear thrusts. One type was circular 411
(about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or grey stone called sqüéasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 ● 462]

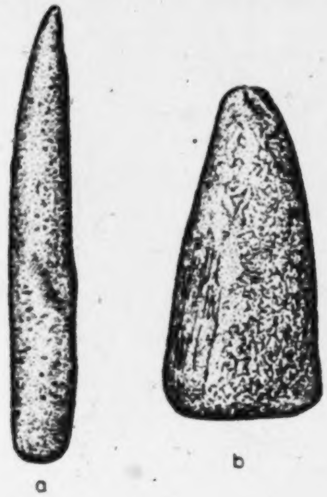

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 321 [435]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 41b.-- Analyst]

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276 These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: [562] they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and 276 a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the 316 Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was ob- 439 tained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked 276 on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored 324 with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on [531] the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462] formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276 group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed 623 around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314 weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant [137] was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for 276 about two days. The dry leaves were then

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power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian 825
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaōta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued 791
this command were strong creatures such
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert
worker in stone, who received a price for it. [324] ●
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE

The Columbia and Wenatchi are said to have been superior in stone-work 324 ●
and in weaving to the tribes of the Okanagon group; also woven articles and 285
objects made of stone were more plentiful among them than similar articles 412
among the Salish tribes to the east and northeast. Besides arrow-heads, spear-heads, knife-blades, and drills, which were all chipped of various kinds of stone found in their country, many stone mortars, pestles, hammers, adzes, and celts were made by them. It seems that more stone-work was done by the people on the west side of the Columbia, where various kinds of good stones were more abundant, than on the east side. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, and knife-blades, according to description, appear to have been of the same form as those used by the Thompson. The common materials employed in the making of these as well as some other implements of stone were found scattered over the surface of the country. Real quarries were scarce. The principal stones used for arrow-heads, and the like, were quartz, agate, jasper, light and dark obsidian, red, yellow, and mottled chalcedony. Black arrow-stone or glassy basalt is said to have been scarce in most places. Stone was flaked with instruments of antler and bone, similar to those used by the Thompson. Most knives had leaf-shaped blades and were double-edged, but a few had triangular blades and were single-edged. If a piece of stone was unsuitable for working both edges, only one edge was worked. Celts and clubs were made of greenish mottled stone, probably serpentine and jade, and some of the former were long and double-edged. Skin-scrapers, large and small, for use with one or both hands, were of flaked arrow-stone or of thin pieces broken from boulders. In shape they were the same as those of the Thompson. Stone arrow-smoothers and whetstones seem to have differed in no way from those of the Thompson.

Stone mortars of various diameters and depth of pits were made, and used for catching grease drippings and for grinding paint, tobacco, roots, dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. Flat stones were used as anvils, for crushing bones or for the extraction of marrow, and probably for other purposes. Some small mortars had pits on both sides, and some mortars were ornamented with incised rings, short incised lines around the rims, and other kinds of ornamentation. Elongated hammer-stones of a dark tough rock were used for battering and shaping hammers and pestles. Stone pestles were common. Some were short, for one hand, and others over a foot long were used with both hands (one I saw was eighteen inches long). Pestles for berries were made of wood, and a great many mortars, especially those used for mashing roots, were made of wood incased in hide. Hand-hammers with wide flat bases were common, and appear to have resembled those of the Thompson. Some had deep and others shallow striking-heads, and a few had bases rather square in shape. The tops of some were hat-shaped, like the tops of many

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were 324 ●
pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have 412
been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alène and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, 321
and the like. Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, 285
common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat- [314]
making appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 113
II, 1898-1900]).

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and 164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 MIGRATIONS.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred [144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. 157 They are of fair stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few 577 being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 WORK IN STONE.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut 412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

324
412

stone, and also for cutting some of the finer-grained stones. Adze blades and chisel blades were made of fine-grained hard stones of several colors, and were cut and sharpened with quartz crystals and grit stone. They were all, or nearly all, of short type. However, stone adzes and chisels were not much used. It seems that no long celts, like those of the Lillooet, Thompson, and Columbia, were made or used. Adzes were hafted in the same way as among the Upper Thompson [1] and other tribes. It seems that adzes and chisels were more commonly made of antler. Stone hand hammers and pestles were made of river bowlders selected for size and shape to save labor. They were worked down by pecking with the edges of hard unworked stones or river bowlders selected for hardness and for handiness of shape and weight. The pecking was first done in rings [2] parallel to one another or in spirals, and then the intervening ridges were battered down, the process being repeated until the desired size and shape were attained. They were finished by smoothing with grit stone.

Pestles were conoid in shape. They had a rather small and almost flat base, and tapered gradually to the head which was often more or less pointed. A few had heads carved to represent animals, or had simple rim enlargements at the head. They were of two sizes—short ones, about 12 or 15 cm. in length, for use in one hand;[3] and long ones, up to double that length, for use in both hands.[4]

Hand hammers were of about the same length as the short pestles, but varied in size and shape. They were round, and usually had wide, deep striking heads and well-defined tops, like some of those used by the Thompson Indians and Nez Percé.[5] Most tops were flat; but some were pointed or rounded, and others hat shaped.

Stone mauls were made, some of which were of the type figured by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[6] Others were shaped somewhat like stone hammers; but they had deeper, narrower bases, more or less square or flattened, and the handles were longer and thinner than hammer handles. Some of them may have resembled the flat-sided hammer of the Nez Percé,[7] but were not so short and thick, while others may have more nearly resembled wooden mauls or some stone clubs of the Thompson Indians.[8] In these mauls the side of the base was the striking surface, instead of the bottom, as in hammers. Both ham-

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[1] *a*, fig. 123.

[2] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 25.

[3] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 8; compare Yakima, *i*, fig. 21, 22.

[4] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, Nos. 6, 7; compare Yakima, *i*, figs. 29–36.

[5] *a*, fig. 120; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 10; Yakima, *i*, fig. 27.

[6] *c*, fig. 1.

[7] *b*, pl. 8, No. 9.

[8] *a*, fig. 250.

324 412 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 237 324 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 322 324 412 WORK IN BONE, WOOD, ANTLER.—Wedges for splitting wood were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23–25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, 322
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone[17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 41a
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. 386 White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *aāpl yu'tsamæn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *b*, pl. 6. No. 14.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week
among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes
merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal
boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
197 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to
have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the
last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse,
however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the
plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'xe* were probably identical in material
culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the
Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes
until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture
of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed
a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest
and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and
southeast, although the difference between them was not great.
The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'xe*, appear to have
more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other
tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any
of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
[412] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan
and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation
by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides.
Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from 177
the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be
used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settlement 294
on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change
became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming
settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get
supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be
worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago
the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now,
it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every
way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are
still used a good deal.

ORNAMENTS.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by 301
both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thompson.[125] 321
They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor,
hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were
tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider, flatter, and stiffer
(more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used
by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the
Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a
series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the
other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest
reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and
arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were 177
used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead 301
and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about
the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some informants, 321
the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east
of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced
by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long
ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came 301
into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); 321
flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut
in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of 325
copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over

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[125] *a*, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

301 slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of
321 animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and
wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other
325 animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws,
generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially
warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were
abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces
of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones.
237 Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

301 Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by
some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium
321 shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[128] (2) A bird's quill scraped
thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes
dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long)
ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[129] Many of
these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends,
the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the
red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or
crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were
also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo
hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the
[170] tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes.
They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color
and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter
often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string
into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small,
square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear
ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the
[304] lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there
were holes. Slender rods of wood (*mᴇtsᴇmᴇtsĕ'ᴇlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.)
were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear
with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

281 Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and
301 ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair.
Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair
321 or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by
women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men;
and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or
beaded,[130] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered
skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In
later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth
took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short
pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[128] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 197.

[129] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 198.

[130] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 177.

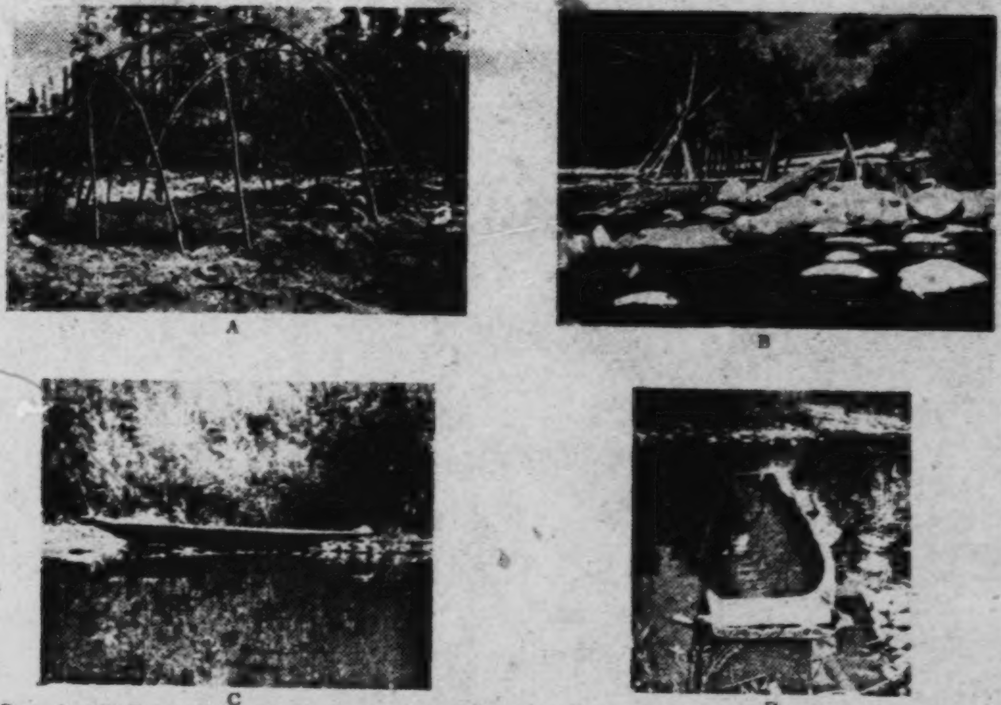

PLATE 3. (A) Frame of sweat lodge. Note fir boughs and stones (B) Small fish trap on the Sanpoil River. (C) Dug-out shovel-nose canoe, side view. (D) Same canoe, end view. Note repaired ends.

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xəxwa'iakənstək): 342
the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house.
These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a
menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally;
no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all struc-
tures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end
of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342
has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173
replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used
simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the
only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the
mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years
ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom,
Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young,
but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342
former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (x̣o'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with
a flat or conical roof. The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep [322]
pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to six-
teen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the
conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top
of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the
periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope
was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to
the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope.
Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when
such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of
grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of
this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been ex-
cavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354]
this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the
top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke
to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart
upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder pro-
jected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not
known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, 332
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 348
easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the
matter of drainage and consequently less used. [354]

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 342
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 352
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 513

The winter mat house (səmaia'iłu, stktəni'lᵉ) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or 342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway 251 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid 352 on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house 352 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor 354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces 591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses 342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and 422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the 768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

225 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

237 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet for the smoke.

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

[484] **Brush Lodges.**—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 **Women's and Girls' Lodges.**—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

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342 **Underground and Other Lodges.**—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

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343 **Sweat Houses.**—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] *b*, p. 198.

[72] *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

286 294 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[99] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

531 **Designs on Bags.**—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

Designs on Baskets.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

● 332 342 **Underground Lodge.**—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[99] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 481.

[1] 4, pp. 193-194, and figs. 135, 136; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. 332 The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge 342 of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon.

CONICAL LODGE.—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule 342 mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.[2] As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof.

SQUARE OR SQUARE-TOPPED LODGE.—The Lake also used a type [354] of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.[3] The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials.

LONG LODGE.—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were

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[2] For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. 27072; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. [illegible]; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, a, p. 197, figs. 138, 139, and pl. 16, fig. 3.

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6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

342 rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.[4] The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

Bark and other Lodges.—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.[5] Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.[6] [332] Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats 343 and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,[7] half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,[8] but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with

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[4] See Thompson, e, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Coeur d'Alêne.
[5] See Ottawa photos nos. 23165, 23168.
[6] Ibid., nos. 26280, 26281.
[7] Ibid., no. 27097.
[8] Ibid., nos. 26976, 26977, 27073.

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in warfare. 178 181 554 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəmı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages. 221 262 242 484 621

During the early part of the following month, kəpxtctltx'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come. 221 224 262 342 462 621 796

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared with those who had had to remain. 221 476 758 888

221 226 462 776 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 [illegible] Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 185 776 796 221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsa'tsa'ttə'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kət, "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaxwa'ïnkənstək): 342 the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house. These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally; no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342 has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173 replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom, Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young, but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342 former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (ʒo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with a flat or conical roof. [322] The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope. Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354] this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 35.

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, 332
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 342
easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the [354]
matter of drainage and consequently less used.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 342
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 352
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 513

The winter mat house (səmaia'ilu, stktani'lᵊ) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke, and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

285 342 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 251 352 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 352 354 591 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 342 422 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 768 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

342 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household
423 was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen
361 with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 The temporary mat hut (səpı'a'ilᵉ) was utilized during the summer while
285 moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the
484 winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat
342 houses, (səntəsaqwı'łtan, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures.
361 These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House
571 groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted
852 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and
342 grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
354 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking
324 and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the
352 implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been
415 noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsɪtsa'paxᵘ),
314 served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups,
415 berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic.
484 Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cɪ'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce
285 roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or
314 three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working
415 with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were
[321] used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles.
[330] Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

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en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIü´p'^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

(15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. [342] While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade.

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxülō´sa, white round camas at Waterville; I´t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka´üōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qōqanī′x̣h^{u}, "cracked hilltop."

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● 342
352
In the tule long-house, food was stored in compartments (x̣alī′na) built one on each side of the door (see the section on Houses). These were walled with tule mats, and piled as high as the roof. Small quantities were also kept in each family's section. Food was taken from the out-of-door caches to replenish the house supplies as needed. It was estimated that the sacks of food prepared for one family for the winter would make a pile six feet high.

252
262
Food was often eaten cold in winter. Most of the cooking was boiling, so that soup would be obtained for older people and children. Although berries and roots were cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was cooked at a time and only one kind of root or berry with it. No dried food was eaten when they had fresh. They would try to keep the preserved foods as long as they could, and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil. The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were mixed together for great treats), and marrow. 271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water was consumed, particularly by young adults; much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

[1] [For context of footnotes, see p. 32 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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p. 32(A) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.[1]

[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.[1]

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1] The underground or semi-subterranean house appears to have been [178] a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[4] Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[3] An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the [823] length of the house. One door preferably faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 37 (A)

342 as the smaller. One was cited as forty feet long, which took a week to construct.

To form an end frame two poles were tied together near their tops and raised into position (Figure 3, a, a). About a third of the way down, two poles were tied to each of these foundation poles, one vertical and the other, slanting in a plane parallel to the main axis of the house (b, c). A third pole was tied somewhat below this point, slanting in a plane between that of the main axis and that of the original poles (d). This made the end of the house rounded. The interior frames consisted simply of two crossed poles (e, e) tied together near the top with Indian hemp or willow twigs. These were ten to twenty feet distant from the end frames, depending on the size of the house. The butts of the frame poles were planted about a foot in the ground. Horizontal poles, set end to end, were then tied to them the full length of the lodge along each side and around the ends, leaving a door space about five and one-half feet high at each end. The number of rows of horizontal poles (f, f), which were about three feet apart, varied according to the size of the lodge. Four or five rows were common, making a lodge about forty feet long and fifteen feet high at the ridge. To the bottom row of horizontal poles short vertical sticks were lashed (g, g), about a foot and one-half apart, their butt ends buried in the ground a foot, like the frame poles.

342
285 Mats of round tules were tied to the finished framework, upon which one could climb without fear of its collapsing. The tules ran vertically, their natural length limiting the breadth of the mats to four or five feet. They were sewn together (placed with butts and tips alternating at the edge) with Indian hemp in a needle of bone or wood about seven inches long. The lines of sewing were spaced about five inches apart. A willow stick slightly larger than a tule in diameter terminated each end. The mats varied from ten to twenty feet in length. Since dry tules were used, the mat was very light and could be easily transported. One row of them, end to end, was tied to the framework all the way around the lodge, leaving a space at each end for the doorway; then the next row was tied above it, and so on, until in the finished lodge each row of mats overlapped the one below it like shingles. The top row of mats was lashed to the top pair

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of horizontal ribs, so that the space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

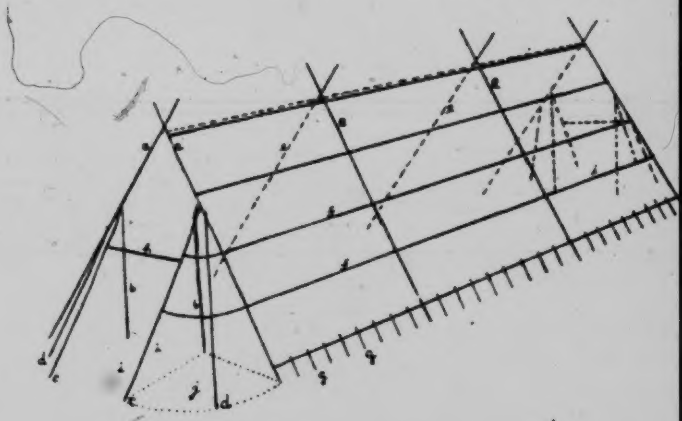

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3). [551] In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

342
592
Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

p. 38 (A)

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
space directly under the open ridge. Protection
342 from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pillowing
513 the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were

raised two feet from the ground and were six
feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
[753] shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled and the mats rolled up and stored in trees for use the following winter, or some of them were carried along for use on summer shelters.

171
342 The Colville were said to have had mat lodges precisely like those of the Southern Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

poles were tied together near the top, one 171
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622

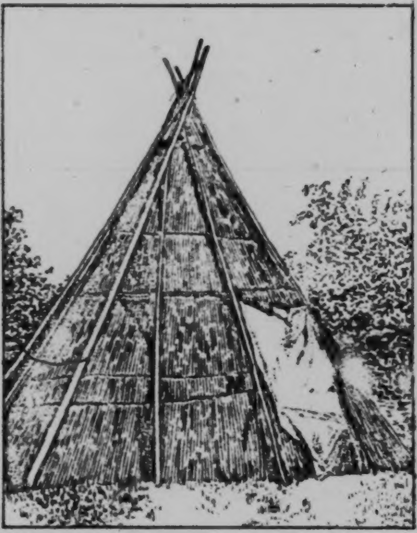

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531]
which covered the chief's lodge were decorated
on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large [791]
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our
area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular
pit about a foot deep was dug, and
three or four poles (both numbers were regularly
used) sharpened and tied together at
the top were set up inside the excavation.
Other poles of smaller diameter were then
tucked in among the foundation poles, the
butt ends of all poles resting against the

a [For context of this footnote, see p. 39 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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4 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 69.a

side of the pit. Two or three rows of trans- 342
verse branches were tied on, completely en-
circling the frame, as in the mat lodge.
Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered 342
with several rows of round-tule mats, the
tules vertical, each row overlapping the one 285
below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top
row of mats was of single thickness, each row
below having one more layer of mats than the
row above. The mats were not always rec-
tangular, as those of the long lodge, but
curved, a condition accomplished by laying
all the large ends of the tules along the
same border of the mat and not alternating
them with small ends. After the mats were
in place, slender poles were laid against
the mats and heavier poles on these to keep
the mats from blowing about. An opening was
left at the top for the escape of smoke,
flanked by two ears supported at the top by
poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method
of construction of these was not obtained, ex-
cept for the information that they were made
of tule mats. Presumably they consisted sim-
ply of two tule mats fastened to the top of
the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis
with cloth covering show such ears (Figure
5). There were storage spaces at the en-
trance, said to be like those of the long
lodge. Details are lacking beyond a descrip-
tion of vertical poles inside the entrance
tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The
door was like that of the long lodge: a mat
of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with
the tules horizontal so that it could be
rolled up and tied. One side was raised for
entering. The door faced south, for protec-
tion from the weather. Poles were laid
against the mats on the outside to keep them
from blowing in the wind.

In winter cedar bark was set up within 342
the margin of the pit outside the poles and
covered with grass and earth, or earth was
piled up a foot or more over the outside
mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat
affixed outside of this.

The size of the tipi varied according 342
to the number of occupants. Only one or two
families lived in a tipi: a larger number 592
would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi
was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family
tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the
tipi and the number of rows and layers of
mats varied accordingly. There was only one
fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis
were reported, although Curtis[1] says they
were as often elliptical as circular among
the interior Salish.

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen 171
by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried
(i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the 177
soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to 342
the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated
that the first skin tipis, possibly copied
from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty
years ago.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 39(A), category 116.--Analyst]

p. 39(B)

● 342 361 According to one informant a summer camp usually had two rows of tipis or temporary structures facing each other with a long street between. Each one had built in front of it a flat-roofed shelter of the type described below. This was the general living and eating place during the summer, cooking being done at the outer edge nearest the street. Other informants referred to the arrangement of a summer camp as rather haphazard.

342 Data on the earth-covered lodge is equivocal. Billy Joe spoke of underground houses (among Northern or Southern Okanagon ?) about seven feet deep and rectangular in shape, usually fifteen by thirty feet, larger ones being forty feet long and smaller ones twenty. The smaller earth lodges were probably all round. There were two longitudinal ridgepoles, only three or four feet apart, supported by four stout uprights. These ridgepoles were only three to five feet above ground level and were held apart by stout braces. Smaller poles were placed as close together as possible with one end on these and the other end on the ground. Pine bark, grass and earth were laid over the poles, two feet deep, except for a space about four feet long between the ridgepoles for a smoke hole and again (?) at the entranceway. The entrance was said to be on the sloping roof and on the side away from the wind. A trench was dug around the house to carry off the water. Both floor and earth walls (against which small poles were set upright) were lined with brush or tule mats, or both, to keep out the dampness. These houses had but a single fire, even though the largest might hold eighty people. A sloping notched log served as ladder, its direction immaterial. A rope ladder was also mentioned but seems improbable. It was generally said that the wealthier and more industrious people used

342 to live in such houses. A person with the power of a burrowing animal would initiate the building of one of these because then the dirt could be more easily dug. It took about fifteen to twenty days to build one.

Mary Carden's father was reported to have heard of round underground houses among the southern bands of Sinkaietk, the largest of which might hold eighty people. A circular pit was dug. Big green logs of pine were placed "flat across the top about three or four feet apart." Small pieces of driftwood were placed over these; then a foot-thick layer of green rye or meadow grass, and another foot-thick layer of dirt. The circular hatchway, three feet in diameter, was at the center. The hatchway had a coping made of a willow hoop wrapped with tule or willow bark to make it smooth. A green pine log, notched, served as a ladder. It is not clear whether this house, presumably in the southern part of our area, had its roof flush with the ground (that is, a mere covered pit) or was a conical structure raised over a pit. The former is more probable. Billie Joe and Johnnie stated that there were no houses with roofs flush with the ground.

Julie Josephine, now about eighty, had never heard of earth lodges among the Kartar people. It is possible that this means that there were none at Kartaro, a locality famous for its mild winter climate.

Methow houses, according to Chilowhist Jim, were circular (fifty feet in diameter) and had their roofs flush with the level of the ground. Yet they did not let water drain in. The inner frame was four or five fir posts supporting a series of poles laid close together, the whole covered with tips of fir boughs and dirt. At the center was a square hatchway, through which two separate

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk; Wenatchi

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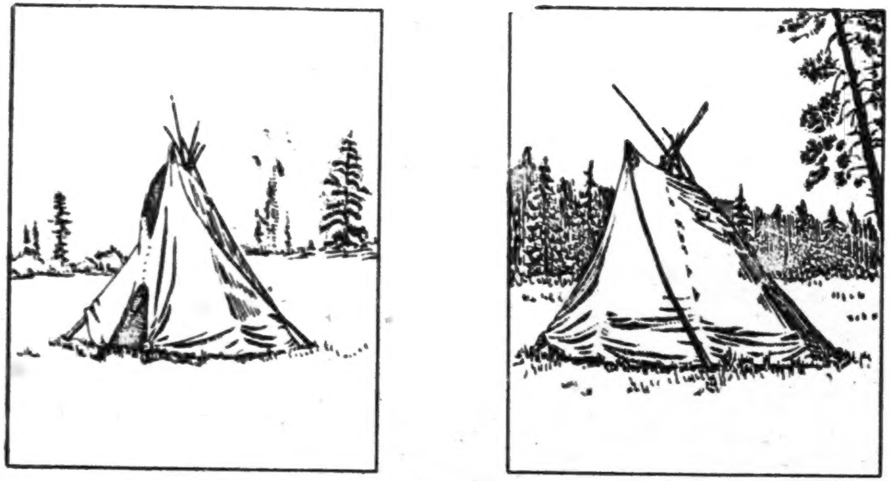

Fig. 5. Tipi of Wenatchi woman at Disautel (front and rear views).

p.40 (C)

342 ladders slanted. These were notched logs, or rather, provided with small holes for the feet. Beside each ladder-log were two slim poles for hand-rails. The single fire was at the center of the house. At night the hatch was closed to keep snow out and the warmth in. So warm were they that no blankets were needed.

Underground lodges on the Similkameen River, again, were reported to have been round. Big Joe had seen an underground lodge in Inkamip (Northern Okanagon) territory. This had a notched log ladder and a little door at the ground level for the use of old people. The Colville were also said to have had underground lodges.

171 342 An obscure description of an earth lodge near Oroville in Northern Okanagon territory was obtained from David Isaac. This resembled an earth-covered tipi with a round hole at the top and set into a circular excavation. The pit was about twelve feet in diameter and eleven feet deep. It would seem that four main poles were set obliquely at as many points of the periphery of the bottom of the pit, to meet a round frame at the center of the roof. A vertical prop supported each of these four at its midpoint. Other poles were laid on this framework to form a cone (?). The roof was covered with successive layers of bark, grass and dirt. The excavation outside of the conical roof was completely filled with dirt. A notched log protruding through the smoke hole in the roof gave access.

Andrew Tillson once saw an earth-covered lodge among the Lillooet in the Nikola Valley, but he could give only fragmentary information. It projected four or five feet above the ground, the decking consisting of poles covered with six or more layers of peeled bark, bark side in, over which earth was thrown. These poles were preferably of cedar, otherwise of fir or tamarack. They were supported by four large posts set up in deep holes at the corners of a square. A circular pit was then dug. Smaller posts, mortised into their tops, reinforced the four main posts. These apparently leaned inward. Crossbeams rested on these, mortised in and held by the weight above, so that no fastenings were necessary. Other horizontal poles were set in notches in the leaning side poles. The entrance was about ten (?) feet square, exactly at the center (openings were always at the center) and was never closed. Whatever snow fell through was easily removed. The ladder set in the hatchway was a single log, sloping and notched on its upper face. It was set about a foot into the ground and rested against the rafter poles, which were notched to receive it. It protruded above the opening about five feet for convenience in grasping. The "front" of the house apparently faced west, since women were allowed to approach only from the east because game was kept "at the back:" but this information does not explain the direction in which the ladder sloped. At its foot was the fireplace, on the bare

171 342 ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

342 The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

342 484 Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

343 [841] The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

361 621 622
For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a recognized head whose authorization is from his spirit power.

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

342 361
The mat houses are built in a single row along a creek or river (sometimes there is more than one row), their long axes running parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

342 476 622
All working together, they build first the chief's house, which is the largest, and then the others. There is some question as to whether others than those who are to occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

342 592 621
In each house live a number of people who are not necessarily related but who are congenial. The house group is not formed casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

342 574 796
When all the houses are finished, and then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. The following day the chief's wife selects women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,'
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen village
[361] site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInlaŏta´kc. However numerous his
guardian spirits, only one of them told him 276
to have this. The animals which usually issued
this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert [324]
worker in stone, who received a price for it.
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342 ●
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

789 791 Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

342 791 825 Guardian spirits also aided in house building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

224 791 562 A shaman with special power for hunting deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sásIō´s kêláspI´x̣Em. Women did not customarily hunt deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

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HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, 221
as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon 342 ●
and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the winter-time, because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson, only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through 417
the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson. It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer, but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter, parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds, hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This
accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same 343
as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia. The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[48] I did not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on

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[48] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62] 000

BARK LODGE.—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year in places where good bark abounded. Both dry and green cedar bark was used. These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.[63] 314 322 342 When large, the horizontal side poles[64] were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles[65] and two fires were used [354] instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles[66] were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,[67] to hold up the ridge poles.[68] At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.[69] In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.[70] The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. Usually there [354] was only a single central fire in these lodges.

In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 544 621

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[62] *c*, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.

[63] *a*, fig. 137.

[64] *a*, fig. 137 *b*.

[65] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

[66] *a*, fig. 142 *b*.

[67] *a*, fig. 137 *a*.

[68] *a*, fig. 142.

[69] *a*, fig. 142 *a*.

[70] *a*, fig. 138.

CAMP CIRCLE.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory [537] was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 481 621

TRIBAL REGULATIONS.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[285] 622 626 681

WAR CHIEFS.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

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[285] b, pp. 244, 245.

286 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of
294 the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[29] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and/wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

531 Designs on Bags.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

Designs on Baskets.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

332 Underground Lodge.—The underground house of the Thompson
342 and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[29] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

[1] 4, pp. 193-194, and figs. 133, 134; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon. 332 342●

CONICAL LODGE.—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.[2] As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof. 342

SQUARE OR SQUARE-TOPPED LODGE.—The Lake also used a type of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.[3] The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials. [354]

LONG LODGE.—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were

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[2] For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. 27672; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. 26628; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, a, pl. 16, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, a, p. 197, figs. 128, 129, and pl. 14, fig. 3.

342 rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.[4] The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

BARK AND OTHER LODGES.—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.[5] Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.[6] [332] Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats 343 and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,[7] half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,[8] but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with

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[4] See Thompson, a, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Coeur d'Alêne.

[5] See Ottawa photos nos. 26165, 26168.

[6] Ibid., nos. 26280, 26281.

[7] Ibid., no. 27097.

[8] Ibid., nos. 26976, 26977, 27073.

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343
boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and 342
hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir
was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this
purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used
as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352
skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use.
In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back
rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin 342
tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes
had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a
skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common
among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The
Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted
them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo
they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling.
Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are
used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed
more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A
few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among
the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log
cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of
the whites.

Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343
as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings
were earth-covered.[3]

Cellars.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

Household Utensils.—Household utensils consisted principally 415
of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and
bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have
already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352
materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with
mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo,
sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various
kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a
heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were
also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush
down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about
the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251
methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and
water were in no way different from those which obtained among
the Thompson.

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[3] See Thompson, e, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not 342 ● used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few 171* by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the 184 Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. [417] Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all 344 large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. 361 They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public 171* gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them 361 mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes 342 used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five 171* dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, [592] having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. [364] Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

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361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

342 CONICAL LODGE OR TENT.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 BARK LODGE.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342 ●
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts, from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These ele- [354]
vated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunt- 342
ers in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and coni- 171*
cal forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass, and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the 171*
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage pur- 171*
poses, and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial. 515

343 515 The sweat lodge (kwi'l'stən) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing these at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats.

515 The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squatting or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[1] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses.

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called naxaxuaxa'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

302 Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of tweezers (laqtcəntcu'tən). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types 303 were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the

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[1] See page 179.

251 was never made of pine wood, but rather of cottonwood, willow, birch or cedar. If pine had been used soot would have accumulated on the salmon and the flavor would have been undesirably affected.

Not only salmon was dried, but fish of any species and eels were sometimes so preserved. However, no other fish but salmon was ever dried in any considerable quantity.

Each family dried its own fish.

251
349 Salmon was stored as soon as it was taken from the drying racks. The heads and flanks were placed in separate storage bags, usually made of tule,[22] which were of a standard size, about twenty by thirty-six inches. Sometimes the bags were lined, and layers of fish separated, with dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus* L.), to keep maggots away. When filled the bags were closed by sewing. The average weight of a well filled bag was approximately a hundred pounds. Salmon roe was wrapped in salmon skins which were then sewed up, and stored on elevated platforms. The roe decayed somewhat with time but in such a state it was considered more desirable food. Salmon oil was not stored in skins.

Both storage houses and elevated storage platforms (stxala'ks) were used. The former were ordinarily situated on islands in the Columbia; the latter were erected at the sites of the winter camps. The houses consisted of four walls made of logs laid horizontally one upon the other and secured in place by vertical posts sunk in the ground. The inside of the enclosure was lined with tule mats. The bags were deposited within the enclosure, then covered over with planks or poles on top of which stones were piled.

Elevated platforms for storage were supported by four posts sunk in the ground, one at each corner. The planks or poles forming the platform itself rested upon transverse poles extending between the supporting posts. The platforms were high enough to walk under. Around each of the four posts, at a height of four or five feet, were tied several prickly pears (*Opuntia polyacatha* Haw.) to keep mice and other small climbing animals from reaching the food. When bags of food were stored on elevated platforms they were covered with large tule mats. The snow which always accumulated added a further protective covering. Not only dried salmon, but other preserved foods such as meat, berries and roots, were stored on the platforms and in the storage houses.

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[22] Or, later, parfleches. For a description of the storage bags and parfleches, see pages 37, 93-94.

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1] The underground or semi-subterranean house appears to have been [178] a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[2] Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[3] An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the [823] length of the house. One door preferably faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

[For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116.--Analyst]

p. 37 (A)

171 342 ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

342 The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

342 484 Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

343 ● [841] The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

343 arched over these at right angles, their butt ends on alternate sides of the lodge. Where the wands crossed, they were tied with willow twigs. Finally a heavy wand was bent over the frame from back to front and broken off at the top of the entrance (between the middle pair of arches first erected, on the side of their butt ends), where it was tied. All the wands were set in holes made with a short stick pounded into the ground with a stone. The finished frame was round at the base and dome shaped. If the structure was a permanent one it was covered with successive layers of bark, grass, and earth. For temporary use it was covered with several layers of blankets. A blanket was hung over the entrance and lifted to enter. Originally this was simply a bundle of fir boughs. The floor was covered with fresh fir tips just before use.

The pit for the sweating-stones was a hole about a foot deep and a foot wide, situated inside to the right of one entering.

343 In very large houses it might be at the center. This was dug before the framework of the lodge was erected. Hot stones were carried into the lodge and placed in the pit; water sprinkled on them furnished steam. The sweat house was always so oriented that its entrance faced the stream beside which it was built. The fire for heating the stones was built near the lodge, a little to one side of the entrance. Sticks were used to carry in the hot stones, except by those whose power permitted them to carry hot stones barehanded.

A somewhat different type of sweat house was seen at Kataro, Disautel, and near the mouth of the Okanogan River (Figures 7 and 8). This was made of four willow poles which crossed and were tied at the top. The rock pit was at the left (?) of the person entering, whereas in the lodge described above the pit was on the right.

Each village was said to have a large

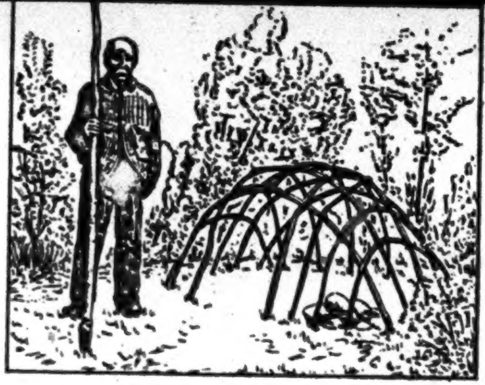

Fig. 6. Framework of temporary sweatlodge.

p.42 (c)

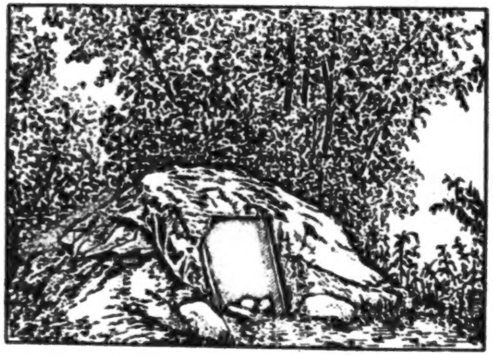

Fig. 7. Sweatlodge near Kartaro.

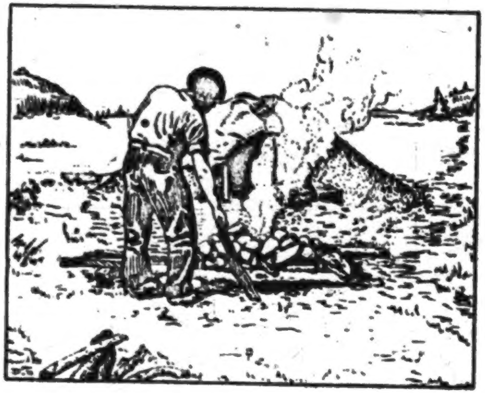

Fig. 8. Heating stones for sweatlodge at Disautel.

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Each village was said to have a large 364
sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5]

Trenches and piles of rocks were report-
ed as camp defence and refuge for women and 361
children during attacks. Ladders were some-
times needed for access. Summer sites were 712
reported on inaccessible hilltops for the
same purpose. No barricades of logs were
known.[6]

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the North-
ern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of 291
breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leg-
gings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women
wore either a long dress or a short shirt
and skirt, together with moccasins and short
leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the
year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer;
although in hot weather men and children
would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoid-
ed nakedness, even guarding their genitals
while going to and from swimming, a precau-
tion not paralleled by women. Clothing was
made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter
skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear,
goat, and large deerskins were used for capes
and robes. In summer, garments made of
shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in
earlier times. When first dressed, a child [858]
wore the same styles as adults. All wore
moccasins, including children. All clothing [462]
was made by women.

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (*circa* 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.

[6] See Warfare.

[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.

[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

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785 866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

881 841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, or pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

• 343 881 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

p.110 (B)

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqÛntEmI´····n sEnqEqÛlÛxtsI····n
Help me Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

çenqEqÛntEmI´····n sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881 825

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote."

p. 111 (A)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under 825
her pillow. It is believed to have great
potency. "Once when the people were starving,
nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as 881
to allow these to fall out. This sets the
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343] ●
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 111 (B)

512 521 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snēI′mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ŭlakI′m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to 821
stop lest the wind start to blow.

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanRwaIa) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi´lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qölüncötn assigned it an es-
sential place in Indian life, a tradition 773
justified in actual practice. Constructing
a sweat house or using it had spiritual val-
ue and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when
they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi´lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qûwa´ksEn qwänënmI´nEm
Take pity on me,
nölâûtiksq'ûAl
Let me live to be old,
kûwá´kskInxI´tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around."1/A Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,"1/A it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were separate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 ● 515

1/A [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

343 need from the stream first, so as not to be
515 present while the women swam.

The sweat house song was invariable
sung by all who entered the lodge. Each per-
343 son usually prayed also (addressing the
sweat house as ta'tö'pa, greatgrandfather)
515 for additional strength and luck to attain
his desire at the moment, such as success in
783 the hunt or in love. The sweat house was im-
portant for success in gambling. An individual intending to play in any gambling game remained in the sweat house for some time, singing and praying for good luck. Prayers were often improvised to the tune of the sweat house song. After the sweat the gambler was required to take a swim, as this completed the physical cleaning and it was believed that cleanliness brought good luck.

If a woman entered or approached the men's sweat house, its strengthening influence was supposed to be destroyed. When an important issue was at stake, such as a hunt or a session of gambling, several sweats were taken, and women were avoided until after the activity in question was over. Sexual intercourse at such a time, or nocturnal emission, was supposed to counteract the beneficial effect of a number of sweat baths, and to lessen a man's chances of success accordingly. If complete sexual avoidance were observed, a sufficient number of sweat baths previous to a game were supposed to make success inevitable. If a man took forty or fifty sweats before going on a summer gambling trip, it was believed that the sweat house might allow him to lose almost everything he owned, but would eventually give him back all his losses and a great deal more.

p. 194 (A)

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Young children never used the sweat house. There was no ceremony connected with a child's first sweat. He was allowed to join the men in the lodge as soon as it was thought that his physical strength was sufficient.

Contests were engaged in by men to see who could stay in the sudatory for the longest period. Women do not appear to have held similar competitions.

One sweat house song was known to all. It might be sung by men or women. An individual often had an additional sweat house song which had been taught to him by his power.

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Although it is probable that the sweat house was ordinarily no more than a social gathering place for groups of one sex, it was certainly regarded as a spirit which could be propitiated or angered. Any irreverence was promptly punished by the sweat house itself. An illustration of this punishment is the story of J., who, at the age of fifteen, becoming annoyed because he was not able to light the sweat house fire, kicked the stones in the fire-pit, scattering them. Upon returning home he was struck with severe pains and lay ill for a week, until a relative discovered that the illness had been inflicted by the offended sweat house. He cured the boy by the customary shamanistic methods, warning him never again to offend the lodge in any manner. The seriousness with which J., who is half white, now recounts the story, and the care which he still takes to pay reverence before every sweat, is an indication that the sweat house is still sacred.

p. 194 (B)

HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, 221 as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon 342 and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the wintertime, because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson, only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through 417 the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson. It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer, but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter, parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds, hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same 343 ● as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia. The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[48] I did not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on

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[48] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also used by some people when travelling. 343 ●

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood.

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shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

[484] Brush Lodges.—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 Women's and Girls' Lodges.—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

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342 Underground and Other Lodges.—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

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343 Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] *b*, p. 198.

[72] *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more per- 251
manent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343
keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered 417
with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against
the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching
skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for
drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251]
camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other
tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251
in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322
used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, 343
roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping
outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms
built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower
limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of
poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were
not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were
used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abun-
dant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among 285
other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where 314
people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 352
rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests.
Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513]
a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials.
Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237]
as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

342 rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.[4] The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

Bark and other Lodges.—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.[5] Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.[6]
[332] Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats
● 343 and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,[7] half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,[8] but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with

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[4] See Thompson, a, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Coeur d'Alêne.

[5] See Ottawa photos nos. 26165, 26169.

[6] Ibid., nos. 26260, 26261.

[7] Ibid., no. 27097.

[8] Ibid., nos. 26976, 26977, 27073.

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343
boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and
hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir 342
was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this
purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used
as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352
skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use.
In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back
rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin
tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes 342
had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a
skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common
among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The
Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted
them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo
they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling.
Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are
used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed
more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A
few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among
the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log
cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of
the whites.

SWEAT HOUSES.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343
as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings
were earth-covered.[1]

CELLARS.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—Household utensils consisted principally 415
of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and
bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have
already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352
materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with
mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo,
sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various
kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a
heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were
also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush
down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about
the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251
methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and
water were in no way different from those which obtained among
the Thompson.

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[1] See Thompson, e, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

222 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard
412 woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as
252 among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon,
251 Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the
411 pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. 242, fig. 222.

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Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.[3] The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.[4] The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

[343] ●

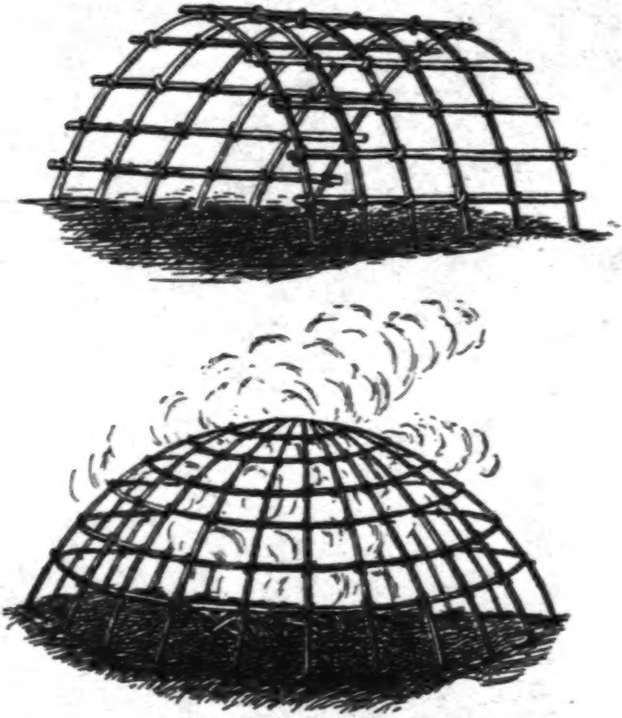

FIGURE 18.—Structure for drying meat

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[3] a, p. 240, fig. 222.

[4] a, p. 240, fig. 217.

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated [354]
lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters 342
in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical
forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little 171*
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes
families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the 171*
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations,
when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343 •
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, 171*
and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[572] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

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344

for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[89] Nez Percé,[90] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. [574] It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. [561] When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. [533] During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. [354] The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[89] See *a*, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles *a* were placed outside of the horizontal poles *c*. The top horizontal pole *c* (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles *a*. The support poles *b* were also heavy.

[90] See *b*, p. 196.

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and
very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters
or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or
posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered
divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it
were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally
six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire
[354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally
small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off
the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also
sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent
or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three
of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever
used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village
sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the
sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees
almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction
with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites
of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same
[622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According
to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision
of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering
were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or
taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the
[422] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property.
[358] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use,
and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and
the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the
chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding
the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this
was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule,
the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the
people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination.
All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles
laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of
some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but
where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the
butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some
people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds.
[354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection
against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors
of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw
the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

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[61] See b, p. 180.

[62] Cf. p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqɛt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemī'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Anastɛmɛlpo'* (?) (full name *Tɛmplpo'sɛmɛn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonxwá'lqo* or *xwɛlltspo'sɛmɛn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'má'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings
of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
203 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
624 assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
377 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

342 [redacted] 621 used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

484 621 Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. [537] Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

622 626 681 Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[30]

224 624 728 War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt,

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[30] b, pp. 244, 245.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used. 342 171* 184 [417]

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing 344 ● 361 171* 361 342 171* [592] [364]

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These ele- [354]
vated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

OTHER LODGES.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunt- 342
ers in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and coni- 171*
cal forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Some-
times families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the 171*
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July cele-
brations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage pur- 171*
poses, and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scouting,
guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding
positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 361
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231
171*

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center 352
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 342
easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the [354]
matter of drainage and consequently less used.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 342
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 352
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 513

The winter mat house (səmaia'iłu, stktəni'łᵉ) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This
[illegible] door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or
342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below
the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner
doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway
851 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept
there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid
852 on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes
thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house
852 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor
354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces
591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number
of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it.
A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes
soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the
passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they
were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra
clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows.
During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground
covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was
kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the
framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by
a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to
storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses
342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and
422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those
seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the
768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were
cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the
framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten
the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about,
haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter
event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly
shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of
October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

252 343 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsıtsa'paxᵘ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cı'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [535] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

251 feet in diameter and two to four feet deep, always round. They were lined with flat rocks twice the size of one's head, made by splitting larger rocks. Smaller pits might be built by individuals, larger ones by two or three families, each woman then marking out her own area on the floor with sticks, which radiated from the center. If many pits were dug together, only one type of food would be put into each, lest the flavors mix, for the sacks were put close together to keep the air from circulating. Sweet dry grass was laid down before the food was put in, and again on top of the food, perhaps some dirt, and then flat rocks piled on top. No skins were used for keeping out the rain; the rocks and grass were enough. Generally the cache stood several feet above the ground level. This was preferable since the freezing of the ground would then not make it difficult to get at the food. The food stored in such pits would be eaten late in the year, since it usually kept better than what was preserved in other ways. Cecile had heard of large lidded wooden boxes set among the rocks for food caches, but Michel said that none were ever made by Sinkaietk, which seems correct.

Two pits are to be seen two miles south of Okanogan on the east side of the river, about one hundred yards east of the road, under the high tension transmission lines. They are ten feet in diameter, eight feet apart, four feet deep now. The place is called qōqanI′x̣h^{u}, "cracked hilltop."

251 In the tule long-house, food was stored
in compartments (x̣alI′na) built one on each
262 side of the door (see the section on Houses).
These were walled with tule mats, and piled
342 as high as the roof. Small quantities were
also kept in each family's section. Food was
taken from the out-of-door caches to replen-
352 ish the house supplies as needed. It was
estimated that the sacks of food prepared
for one family for the winter would make a
pile six feet high.

[For context of footnotes, see p. 32 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

252 Food was often eaten cold in winter.
Most of the cooking was boiling, so that
soup would be obtained for older people and
262 children. Although berries and roots were
cooked with meat, only one kind of meat was
cooked at a time and only one kind of root
or berry with it. No dried food was eaten
when they had fresh. They would try to keep
the preserved foods as long as they could,
and to eat up at once whatever began to spoil.
The most highly valued dried foods were salmon eggs, service berries (these two were
mixed together for great treats), and marrow.
271 Deer pemmican was highly prized. Much water
was consumed, particularly by young adults;
much soup by children and the aged.

252 Cooking was done preferably in coiled baskets of cedar root, since they stand

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p. 32(A) [20] Note also the practise at the fall deer hunt described above.

[21] See the Dream dance in the section on religion.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also 343
used by some people when travelling.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made 372
of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the 415
floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of
mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood. 352

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294
ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531
a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

MATS.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285
three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352]
in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style[37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

WOVEN BAGS.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285
Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415
buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine[42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.

[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.

[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.

[38] *a*, fig. 133.

[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.

[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.

[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.

[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.

[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.

[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

251 343 417 SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. [251] They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

251 322 343 CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

285 314 352 HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. [513] The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. [237] For

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343
boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and 342
hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir
was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this
purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used
as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352
skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use.
In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back
rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin
tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes 342
had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a
skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common
among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The
Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted
them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo
they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling.
Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are
used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed
more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A
few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among
the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log
cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of
the whites.

Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343
as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings
were earth-covered.[9]

Cellars.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

Household Utensils.—Household utensils consisted principally 415
of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and
bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have
already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352
materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with
mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo,
sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various
kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a
heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were
also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush
down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about
the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251
methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and
water were in no way different from those which obtained among
the Thompson.

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[9] See Thompson, a, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

415 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were
*171 of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food
• 352 was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some
*171 extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo,
[237] deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead
[372] only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 CLOTHING (pls. 3, A 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing
*171 was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was
281 entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were
[184] also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and
[184] was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 142); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 85; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111680-111683.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 6); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaswa'iakənstak): 342
the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house.
These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a
menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally;
no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures
were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end
of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin 342
has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has 173
replaced the mat hut for summer use. 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used
simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the
only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the
mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years
ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom,
Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young,
but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark 342
former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 332

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (ɣo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with
a flat or conical roof. The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep [322]
pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen
feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the
conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top
of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the
periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope
was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to
the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope.
Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when
such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of
grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of
this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated.
However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of [354]
this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the
top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke
to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart
upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected
a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not
known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room.

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the matter of drainage and consequently less used. 322 332 342 [351]

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[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 55.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smokehole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 342 352 513

The winter mat house (səmaia'ihu, stiktəni'lᵉ) was a gable or inverted V type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families. 342

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approximately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at [332] 322 285 342

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This
[illegible] door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or
342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below
the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner
doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway
351 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept
there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid
352 on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes
thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house
352 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor
354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces
591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number
of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses
342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and
422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the
768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) *made from the root of the cedar* (tsıtsa'paxᵘ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xlakət'cı'n; water containers, əməmiT'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [330] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of Coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
space directly under the open ridge. Protection
342 from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
● 354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for
513 pillowing the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were
raised two feet from the ground and were six
feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
[753] shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled
and the mats rolled up and stored in trees
for use the following winter, or some of them
were carried along for use on summer shelters.

171 The Colville were said to have had mat
lodges precisely like those of the Southern
342 Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252 A piece of dried cedar wood, about
412 twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white
356 sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

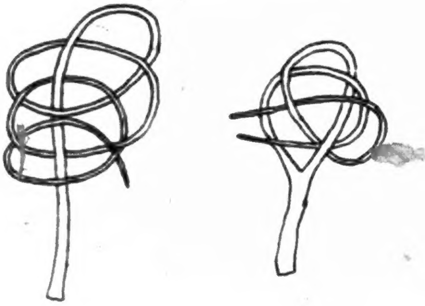
252 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks
354 which was fired from below.

Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflammable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their
[531] round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.



a b

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulne, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 342 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark [332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double [314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From [592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

237 342 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo- [531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end. [354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet for the smoke.

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for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[59] Nez Percé,[60] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. [574] It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. [561] When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. [533] During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. [354] The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[59] See *a*, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles *a* were placed outside of the horizontal poles *c*. The top horizontal pole *c* (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles *a*. The support poles *b* were also heavy.

[60] See *b*, p. 196.

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire [354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village sites near Coeur d'Alène Lake there are reported to be marks of the sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same [622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the [425] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property. [359] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use, and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule, the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination. All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds. [354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw

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[61] See b, p. 180.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

62. C.P. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62] 000

Bark Lodge.—Cedar-bark lodges were used at all seasons of the year 314 in places where good bark abounded. Both dry and green cedar bark 322 was used. These lodges varied in size and accommodated from one to 342 four families. They were short and oblong, constructed like the similar lodges of the Thompson Indians, covered with mats, bark, or brush.[63] When large, the horizontal side poles[64] were further supported in the middle by an additional set of cross poles[65] and two fires were used [354] instead of one; or, as was more generally the case, one, two, or several upright poles[66] were placed at equal distances apart, or, where required, between the gable cross poles,[67] to hold up the ridge poles.[68] At the same time the upper ends of other poles were placed underneath the horizontal side poles, as in some lodges of the Thompson.[69] In some of these lodges the gables slanted inward, as was common in Thompson lodges.[70] The bark is said to have been laid on the poles up and down, overlapping sidewise; or, as was much more generally the case, the strips were placed close together side by side and another strip was laid above over each seam. The corners of the lodge were often rounded, so that the gable ends were semicircular. The entrance was through one of the gable ends, and in large lodges sometimes there was an entrance at each gable end. In small lodges the strips of bark were rarely placed horizontally, overlapping like mats, as was common in some tribes, but this arrangement required longer strips of bark and more poles—a number of poles slanting inward being required to lay against the outside of the horizontal poles and as many again on the outside of the bark to keep it in position and prevent it from curling. This arrangement, therefore, was not favored because of the additional labor and weight. Only rarely in a very few places (when deemed necessary) was any of the bark stitched or fastened together or to the poles in any way by withes to hold it in position. The bark was cut in lengths equal to the height of the lodge and of as great width as the diameter of the tree allowed. These strips, when placed on the lodge with other strips over the seams, and a pole resting against the middle of the joint (on the outside) remained in place without any kind of fastening. The upper and lower full-width strips of bark were equivalent to a double thatch; and when winter weather set in all cracks and knot holes were chinked and covered and the house made quite snug. Bark was put with the outer side out. Some tribes used it the opposite way. Usually there [354] was only a single central fire in these lodges.

In the summertime bark shelters of the single lean-to type were used by small parties when in good bark country. They answered as

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[62] c, p. 106, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purposes.
[63] a, fig. 137.
[64] a, fig. 137 b.
[65] a, fig. 137 a.
[66] a, fig. 142 b.
[67] a, fig. 137 a.
[68] a, fig. 142.
[69] a, fig. 142 a.
[70] a, fig. 138.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon. 332 342

CONICAL LODGE.—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.[1] As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof. 342

SQUARE OR SQUARE-TOPPED LODGE.—The Lake also used a type of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.[2] The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials. [354] ●

LONG LODGE.—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were

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[1] For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, c, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. [illegible]; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. [illegible]; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, c, pl. 16, fig. 1.

[2] See Thompson, c, p. 197, figs. 128, 130, and pl. 16, fig. 3.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

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Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated [354] •
lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters 342
in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical 171*
forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes
families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the 171*
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations,
when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, 171*
and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled 171*
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend
d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named
tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food.
Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is
said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used
some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The
latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles,
and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

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412 356 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 354 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks which was fired from below.

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[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and
very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters
or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or
posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered
divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it
were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally
six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire
[354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally
small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off
the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also
sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent
or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three
of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever
used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village
sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the
sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees
almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction
with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites
of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same
[622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According
to some informants, the village "long house" was under the super-
vision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering
were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or
taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the
[422] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property.
[359] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use,
and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and
the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the
chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding
the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this
was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule,
the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the
people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination.
All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles
laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of
some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but
where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the
butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some
people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds.
[354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection
against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as con-
ductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw

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[61] See b, p. 180.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were
also used in skin tents.[62]

62. Cf. p. 104, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 / 137 / 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 / 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.

[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The 137
most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush
(*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chryso-
thamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort
(*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas.
The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called
the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow
pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance
north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nes-
pelem.[8]

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by 101
the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, 131
the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This 133
has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary 101
points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the 131
territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the
latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root 361
gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the
Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[9] Approximately 85 miles of the course
of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except
for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

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[8] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[9] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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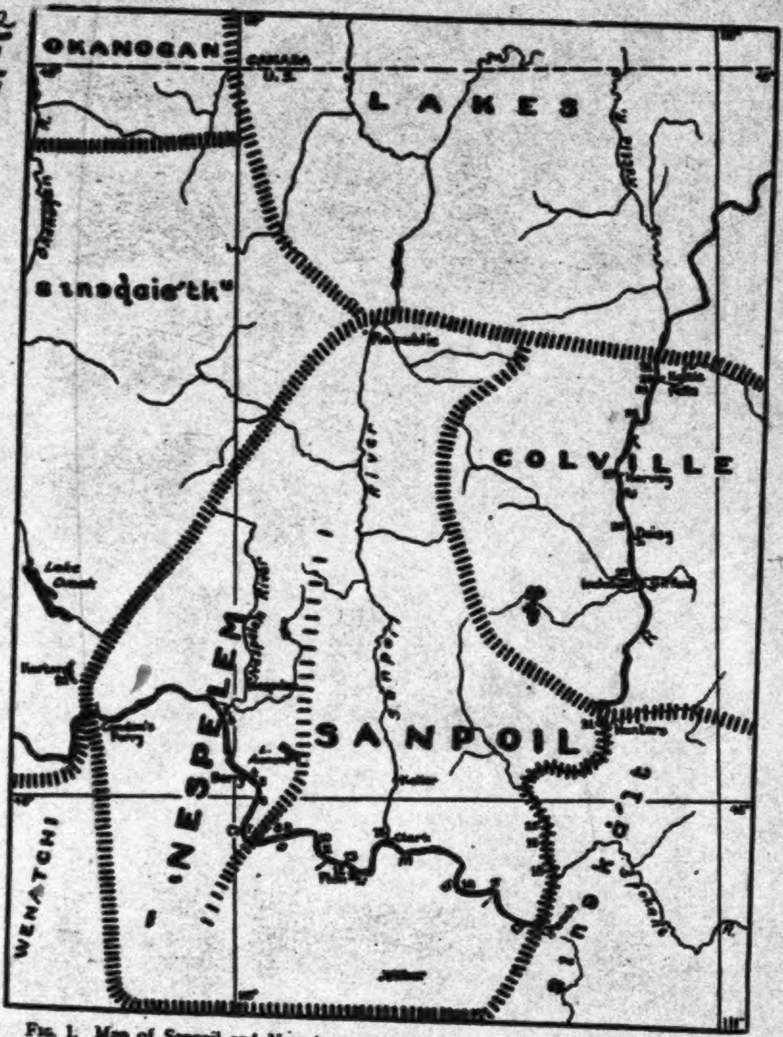
OKANOGAN
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LAKES
sɪnəq̓aie'tkᵘ
COLVILLE
Republic
Kettle Falls
Daisy
Lake Omak
River
SANPOIL
'NESPELEM
WENATCHI

Fig. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lxʷ) as obtained from John Tom, Bo Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1875 but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, most of the information is first hand. 101 166 173 361

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tkʷ and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptən ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptənuxʷ, located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[7] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August. 361 221

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population was made up of members of the snəqaie'tkʷ group usually residing during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'luxʷ (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn. 221 361 177

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150. [161]

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'luxʷ. This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters 361

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[7] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

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of a mile. It 4 was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. xaimi·'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'luxʷ. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'łau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to skləmtcə'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'xʷ, home of the ski'xʷ. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwi'ł (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. məsməsa'łmxʷ, home of the sməsməsa'łmxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'xʷ (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. skləm'tcə'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'łau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

...NPOIL VILLAGES

8. nłxxo'i'tqʷ ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ. About half way between sklə'mtcə'n (7) and na'a'qʷ (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

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[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [nspi'lam -- Analyst]

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 ~~Southeast Salish~~
Sanpoil

9. wał'wałá'skən ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wałá'skənxʷ, situated a half mile up the river from nlaxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11] 162 221 361 592

10. t'sakt'si'łkakən ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wałá'skən (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. xaxsula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sxaxsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kałpuspu'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kałpuspu'stənaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mikʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mikʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kałpuspu'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts [226]

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

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of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due to the extremes of temperature at this location.

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Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'sxənəm ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qətsəltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qətəpkunu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qəqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'sxənəm (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tləm ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'sxənəm (A).

G. skəxwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. əniuqá'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at nxoxoγu's (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved to npui·'luxʷ (15) with the approach of summer.

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17. nxoxoγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstʷ. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16).

18. snukɛ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɛ'iltkʷ. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snukɛ'iltkʷ travelled to npui·'luxʷ (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snukɛ'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[12]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[12]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxumaxʷ. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'luxʷ (15).

snəqaie'tkʷ VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[12] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

COLVILLE VILLAGES

162 361 25. ntcali·'am ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia at this point), home of the sntcali''xᵘ. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.

26. nqua'si'əm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'xᵘ. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.

27. qəqəla'pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqəqəla'piaxᵘ. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.

28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'naxᵘ. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qəqəla'pia (27).

29. ntcumu'tastum, home of the sntcumu'tastᵘ, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami'n (28), near Kettle Falls.

30. qduma''axᵘ ("level land"), home of the sqduma''axᵘ. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu'tastum (29).

31. snˑtcumu'lau, home of the snˑtcumu'lauxᵘ, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

221 361 From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the residents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying [551] prefix and suffix. Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came.

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui·'luxᵘ and proceeds northward up the river.

1. snluxu'la'xᵘ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi'kast ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. sqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'kast (2).
4. snzloə'pətə·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

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5. ṗa·'pastan ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller.
6. nmxo·'yàm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.
7. nxwi'i'pam ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.
8. sə'á'á'tcast ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.
9. àtcxulki'pàstam ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.
10. nloqloqalxə'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cash creek. Hunting base.
11. nxat'ltcəni'tkʷ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cash creek. Hunting camp.
12. antxulu'stan ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cash creek. Served as a hunting base.
13. nlu·'piam ("birch"), a mile and a half above antxulu'stan (12), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.
14. släkumu'laxʷ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piam (13). Hunting base and root gathering camp.
15. nxlalxalci'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.
16. mə'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.
17. huxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above huxluxxu'm (17) may or may not have been used as camp sites. Burke was not certain.

18. aqlqapuxwi'lpʷ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.
19. tṣwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.
20. ˌkli'i'puš ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

POPULATION

175

It is exceedingly difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of individuals constituting the Sanpoil prior to the nineteenth century. In 1782 began a series of epidemics which greatly depleted the population throughout the area. Smallpox made the most serious inroads, but measles and influenza caused considerable losses as well.

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population. It was followed by epidemics of the same disease in 1846 and 1852-53, introduced in both cases by the white people.[16] In one of these instances, probably the latter, a party of Sanpoil traders had travelled to Portland and there contracted the disease. Despite their illness they attempted to return home. Only one of their number survived the journey; it was through this individual

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[16] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations of America*, pages 13-14.

342 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household
423 was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen
567 with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season
the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of
these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 The temporary mat hut (sapı'a'īlᵊ) was utilized during the summer while
285 moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the
484 winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats
from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter
house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small
tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten
feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering.
These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger
of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat
342 houses, (ṣıntcauqwı'ltan, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures.
361 These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House
571 groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The
first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location
for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were
placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the
house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required
for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended
upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary
for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the
framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles
with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying
the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure
(away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back
side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were
cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted
252 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and
342 grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish.
This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing
winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping
quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

226 251 262 (?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

[221] Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[4] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

226 361 The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (aka·kr'tam). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June.
226 Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

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[4] See pages 34-35.

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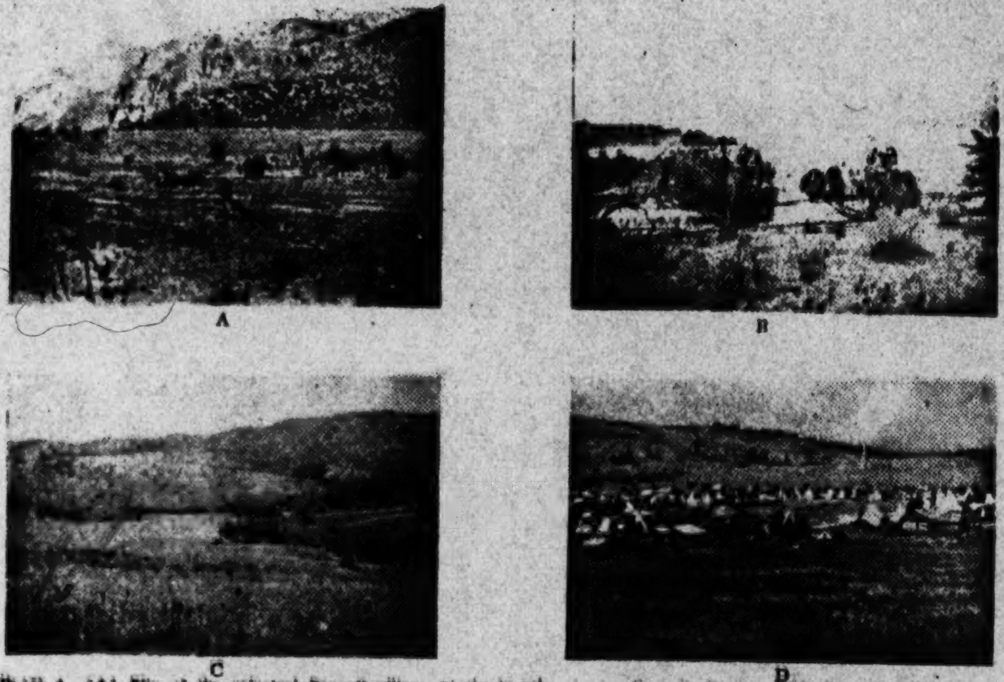

PLATE 4. (A) Site of the principal Sanpoil village, at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. (B) The Columbia River opposite fig. A, with the Sanpoil River in the foreground. (C) Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake) with the Sanpoil mountains in the background. (D) Modern camp circle at the present village of Nespelem.

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true of the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 162 361 The Southern Okanagon now live on and about the western part of the Colville Indian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 177 The aboriginal culture is now largely a thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANAGON OF WASHINGTON

THE SUBSISTENCE QUEST

By RICHARD H. POST

SEASONAL ROUND

221 262 361 The foods utilized by the bands of the lower Okanogan River were typical of those found among northern plateau Indians generally. They took every variety of fish and game, root and berry that was available; also moss, seeds and the cambium layer of pine trees. Very little camas grew in the valley and no kouse, but the former root was well known through trade and special trips to camas grounds. Since the activities of collecting and preserving varied continuously with the seasons, the material will be presented in calendrical sequence. There are two main seasons, the sedentary winter and the nomadic summer. The latter was spent in camping, sometimes for several weeks, to obtain salmon and deer, but for much shorter intervals for other foods.

In winter the bulk of the people were in the villages, living in the tule longhouse or the underground house. A number of families from each band were generally scattered through the hills; usually those who did not lay in large supplies and depended more on winter hunting and fur taking. Hunting for furs became more frequent after white contact. Such families were visited frequently by young men sent by their chief to bring them food if needed. Game was soon scared from the vicinity of winter villages. If food was scarce men would go on long hunting trips, singly or in pairs. But game was thin and poor until summer.

Bears were taken in March and April, when they first came from their winter quarters and were still fat. Overnight trips were not generally needed except for grizzly bear hunting in the mountains, one of the few trips when women did not accompany the men.

During the last three weeks of April the fish locally known as suckers were running in the Okanogan, and families from the whole valley went to the falls in McLaughlin Canyon (twenty miles below Oroville) to work traps. They would remain a week or two, gathering and drying enough to last until the first salmon runs in June. The run of steelhead trout at this early season was not so important, but at Keller and other places considerable numbers of people used to gather. From here some people went directly to the summer salmon camps, particularly those at Oroville and Kettle Falls.

221 When several bands came together at a
fishing site they camped separately and the
262 chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After
fishing all day they might come together in
[517] the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races.
The chiefs might meet to pass about their
pipes and compete in showing off.

361 During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were made in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

221 262 361 huckleberries. Extensive game drives for deer were held in the fall..... In the spring roots were dug, and the people returned about June to the streams and speared salmon.... In July began the season of digging fresh camas, which continued indefinitely until a sufficient supply had been accumulated. After the great fall hunt, the tribe disbanded (each small group of related families building its long lodge in a sheltered place in the valley)."[1]

262 It is difficult at this late date to estimate the proportions used of different foods. There was variation from band to band, from family to family, and from year to year. Some of the families, spending much time at the fishing grounds, would take enough salmon to last almost the year around, and the few who stayed in the hills subsisted very largely on deer. To judge from the mention of foods in tales and anecdotes, I should estimate that approximately equal thirds were used of game, of fish, and of vegetable foods, but close questioning brings up the vegetable quota to one-half. Undoubtedly the Indians preferred fish and game to the latter, and particularly deer meat. Probably more salmon was eaten than deer meat. Small game and smaller fish played a very minor role, and none were preserved but suckers.

[251] Chilowist Jim stated that some twenty salmon were stored in a single tule sack. Each family had about ten sacks of these and as many of deer meat. About equal amounts of deer and salmon were used. All these sacks containing a family's winter food supply made a pile six feet tall.

Johnnie stated that fresh deer meat was preferred to all other food. The Southern Okanagon ate four or five times as much salmon as game during the year. The Colville took enough salmon, largely at Kettle Falls, to last them the year around, but few others did.

SALMON FISHING

226 The brief account of fishing given by Teit[2] is quite proper for the Southern Okanagon, as is the somewhat longer account of Curtis[3] for the interior Salish. Salmon were of the most importance, and were taken during every big run.

Of the five species of salmon frequenting the Northwest Coast,[4] evidence was found in the Okanogan River of three: (1) Oncorhynchus tschawytscha, or Chinook salmon, which ran in May, June and July in the headwaters of the Columbia. They are by far the most abundant, now as formerly, and run for the longest period. They rarely went higher than Oroville. They begin spawning in the

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[1] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 70-71.
[2] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 246
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.
[4] Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4.

342 361 According to one informant a summer camp usually had two rows of tipis or temporary structures facing each other with a long street between. Each one had built in front of it a flat-roofed shelter of the type described below. This was the general living and eating place during the summer, cooking being done at the outer edge nearest the street. Other informants referred to the arrangement of a summer camp as rather haphazard.

342 Data on the earth-covered lodge is equivocal. Billy Joe spoke of underground houses (among Northern or Southern Okanagon ?)

about seven feet deep and rectangular in shape, usually fifteen by thirty feet, larger ones being forty feet long and smaller ones twenty. The smaller earth lodges were probably all round. There were two longitudinal ridgepoles, only three or four feet apart, supported by four stout uprights. These ridgepoles were only three to five feet above ground level and were held apart by stout braces. Smaller poles were placed as close together as possible with one end on these and the other end on the ground. Pine bark, grass and earth were laid over the poles, two feet deep, except for a space about four feet long between the ridgepoles for a smoke hole and again (?) at the entranceway. The entrance was said to be on the sloping roof and on the side away from the wind. A trench was dug around the house to carry off the water. Both floor and earth walls (against which small poles were set upright) were lined with brush or tule mats, or both, to keep out the dampness. These houses had but a single fire, even though the largest might hold eighty people. A sloping notched log served as ladder, its direction immaterial. A rope ladder was also mentioned but seems improbable. It was generally said that the wealthier and more industrious people used

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Each village was said to have a large sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5]

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Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6]

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

291

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear, goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women. [858] [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (circa 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.

[6] See Warfare.

[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.

[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

177 622 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other Sinkaietk informants. She said,

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> "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 361 619 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 361 619 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

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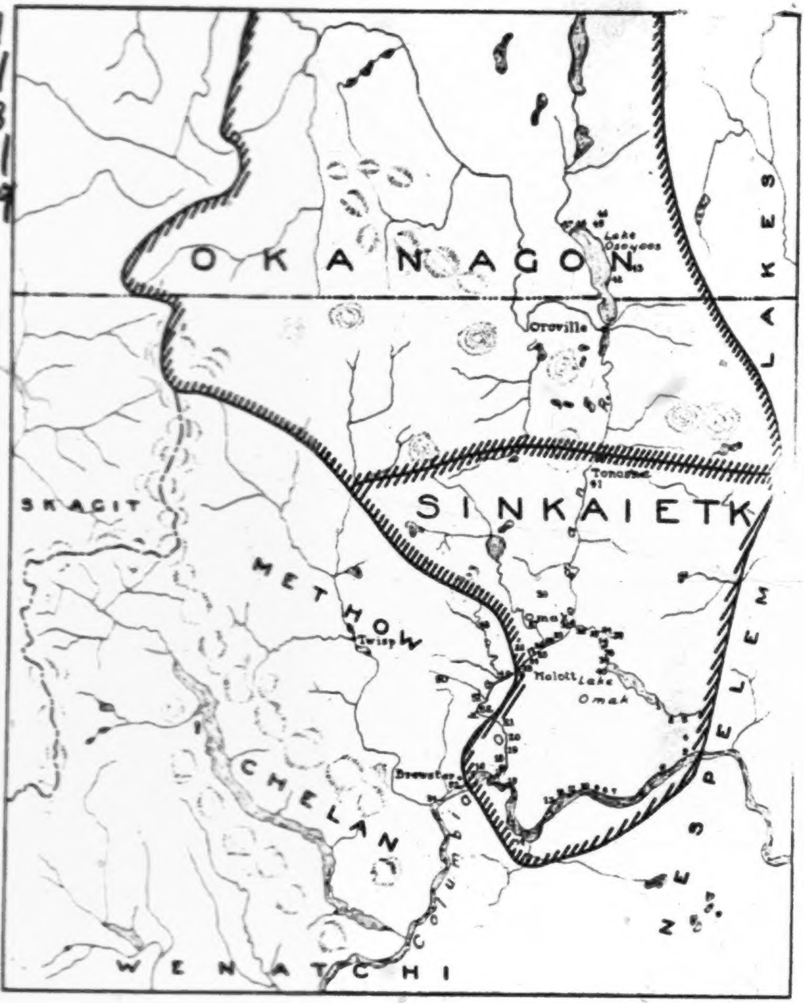
OKANAGON
Lake Osoyoos
Oroville
LAKES
Tonasket
SINKAIETK
SKAGIT
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Lake Omak
Brewster
CHELAN
Columbia
NESPELEM
WENATCHI

Fig. 38. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

p. 85

103 361 619 The Tukoratum (stEkōra·′t^{ŭx}) have winter sites from Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to about four miles above Monse, Washington. This band is sometimes called the snEkEkŭm'tcI′n^{aŭx}, "people at the mouth of the river."

6.[36] [1] Enkukcl′ptEn (Wenatchi word), "driftwood in the water."
7. ákĭtItqwEtá′n, "tules by the mouth of the creek."
8. sqe′tastŭm, "rocks ready for a tipi."
9. nitá′p, "driftwood around the rocks."
10. tuxtĭatá′ks, "rocky point."
11. kalI′tsman.
12. ya′kĭâmalâmō′l·^{xŭ}, "brush at the mouth of the creek."
13. sIŭxtI′na, "below the cliffs."
14. spŭkpŭkōmI′n, "scattered rocks."
15. tŭkōra·′tŭm.
16. EnIōxtcI′n, "below the mouth of the river."
17. nEkEkŭm'tcI′n, "mouth of the river." This village is divided and built on both sides of the river.
18. sInkáspi′tlŭxtEn, "old camp sites." This is one of the best winter sites belonging to the Tukoratum band. It is very old.
19. stsōsIxŭwō′x·ŭx, "fish hawk." This site is so named because birds called tsI′ōŭk catch fish there.
20. sxa′IxkalŭktEn.
21. skŭpkŭpŭ′naŭx^{ŭ}, "sand point."

The Kartar (skata′r^{Ex}) band have winter sites from the foot of Lake Omak to the Columbie River."[37] [1]

1. ya'akspI′tsEn, "place where Indian hemp grows."
2. kata′r^{ŭx}, "strip of brush."
3. kaIEĭEŭ′l·t, "trail between the cliff and the brush."
4. Ensŭpsŭpōxwe′nk^{u}, "holes in the cliff."
5. EnÂkaka′iŭxstÂmxōlaŭ, "between two rocky points."

The Konkonelp (skŭ′nqwŭnIEp) band have winter sites from about three miles above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak.

22. EnxasxasI′tk^{ŭ}, "good water."
23. Name forgotten.
24. kaŭōqânI′Ix^{ŭ}, "snowdrift marks."
25. nixwItI′tk^{ŭx}, "little creeks."
26. qō′nqōnIIp or skŭ′nqwŭnIEp.
27. paka′ŭōtsI′st, "white rock."
28. smōqâtcI′n, "swallows."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 86 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

Sinkaietk; Methow
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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29. kaŧá´kŧák, "little rows of brush off the hill."
30. kátöma´ŭk^{ŭ}, "one hill on the flat."
31. ŧáámI´na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpI´tsa.
33. Enaqetká´tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
34. nxuxalI´nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca´ktküŧp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa´tqŧp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi´nt.
38. sŭmŭkwa'aqa´In, "snow on the brush."
39. nĕ´aömEn.
40. sInál·alaqwaI'I´p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaŭxölö´s band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaŭxölö´s.

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The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of and on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. tŧátsEnI´tk^{ŭx}, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwaI´e··nIk^{ŭx}, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxŭwI´ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inŧEl·ŧamEltsI´n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamI´p, "at head of the lake."
47. pŭstIntsĕ´ntEn.

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A group of Methow (smĕ´txaŭ^{wI}x) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci´löxwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

p. 86 (B)

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36 Numbers refer to sites indicated on the map (Figure 36).[1]

37 In 1853 Gibbs mentioned the Saht-lil-kwu band as though resident at the lake between Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413). This must be Omak or Goose Lake and the band the Kartar people. Teit lists a Southern Okanagon village Saɫī'lxᵘ ("heaped house") situated "near the mouth of Similkameen River," according to his Northern Okanagon informant. The informant may very well have said "near the mouth of the river," meaning the Okanogan River, but which Teit took to mean the Similkameen. Immediately following he gives another village "TEkwore'tEm - On Okanagon River, close to .saɫī'lxᵘ" (our no. 15) Teit, Salishan Tribes, 206). Saɫī'lxᵘ must be a Kartar village and the same as Gibbs' Saht-lil-kwu. —L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 86(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86 (c)

48. carI´pa.
49. lŭ´plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI´kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lŏxwist.
52. ənlăxŭlăxswa´tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lă·x.
54. snxEncI´na^{ŭx}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The po[illegible] concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a 361
recognized head whose authorization is from 621
his spirit power. 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single 342
row along a creek or river (sometimes there
is more than one row), their long axes running 361
parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

All working together, they build first 342
the chief's house, which is the largest, and 476
then the others. There is some question as
to whether others than those who are to
occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. 622
Yet cooperation is essential for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

In each house live a number of people 342
who are not necessarily related but who are
congenial. The house group is not formed
casually, but by special invitation. Actually, 592
the winter house is composed predominately
of the same group from year to year, 621
stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

When all the houses are finished, and 342
then only, individuals move into their private 574
dwellings and store their provisions.
The following day the chief's wife selects 796
women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen vil-
● [361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (circa 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

p. 88 (B)

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqûntEmI´····n	sEnqEqûlûxtsI····n
Help me	Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

qenqEqûntEmI´····n	sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me	Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361] ●

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881 825

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote."

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

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It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

Villages of St. Joe River division

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	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakɛcɛn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tetti'ctacɛcɛn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsɛtd'wɛs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcat'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *ntca'mitsɛn*("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

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There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sɛntsɛn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alene

Coeur d'Alêne River Division

103
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	Location
1. *tcla'tcalxʷ*	On Coeur d'Alêne Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alêne River.
2. *gwa'lit* (probably "black pines").	Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. *alqwa'rit*	At Harrison.
4. *ne'ataxa'xstᴇm*	On Coeur d'Alêne River a little above the preceding
5. *nēst'a̦'qwast*	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. *qoqole'tēlps* ("black pines," *Pinus contorta*).	A little above No. 5.
7. *sma'qᴇqᴇn*	At Medimont.
8. *hinsā'lut*	On Coeur d'Alêne River, a little above No. 7.
9. *sᴇncā'lᴇmānts*	A little above No. 8.
10. *nalstqā'lxwᴇn*	A little above No. 9.
11. *sk'wat'o'*	At old mission.

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River Division

	Location
1. *ni'a'q'ᴇn*	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alêne Lake
2. *tcēlā'icᴇlilicᴇmᴇn*	Halfway down Coeur d'Alêne Lake, on the east side.
3. *nic'ᴇmqa'lnqwa* (probably "head").	At Coeur d'Alêne City.
4. *smᴇlᴇle'na*	Near No. 3, on the same side.
5. *tp'ō'ᴇnē'lpᴇm*	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. *ncā'rᴇpt*	A little below No. 4.
7. *stcatkwe'i*	A little below No. 6
8. *q'āmi'len* ("throat," "gorge").	At Post Falls.
9. *hinsaq'e'lpᴇns*	About 1 mile above the Spokane bridge.
10. *ne'ᴇwa'calqs*	A little below No. 9.
11. *nisetsakwolsa'ko* (?)	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. *nᴇsxwa'xwe*	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. *nesli'xum*	A little below No. 12.
14. *tcanokwā'kᴇn* (?)	A little below No. 13.
15. *mu'lc* (probably means "cottonwood").	At Green Acres.
16. *tcatenwa'xelpᴇm*	A short distance below Green Acres, and about 20 miles above Spokane City.

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alêne on Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alêne and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

Pᴏᴘᴜʟᴀᴛɪᴏɴ.—The Coeur d'Alêne claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages,

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6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
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101 621 131 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwī'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

101 621 ●361 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spä'xamxn* or *Spä'xxmxn*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spä'xamxn*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkama'pxlxks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkama'pxlxks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pxntī'ktxn*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkamī'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkamī'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kerxmyī'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnū'lox*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snäzäi'st*, *Tcutcuwī'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamxn* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 206.

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nkaitxtiax*.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been 101
located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the 621
lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly 361●
many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pəlzks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia.

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen 361
people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites.

Upper Similkameen Band:	
1. *Nlkai'χzlôχ*[14]	About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.[15]
2. *Snazäi'st* ("striped rock")[16]	On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley;[17] 10 houses.
3. *Tcuicuut'χa* or *Tcuicuut'χa*[18] ("creek" or "little creek").	On same side of river, a little below No. 2; 3 houses.
Ashnola Band:	
4. *Acnū'lôx* ("—— ground")	On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nerē'pus a aχa'nzχ*[19] ("where the stone sticks up or is planted").	A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)
Lower Similkameen Band:	
6. *Kerəmyē'us* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]).	On the north side of the river, near Keremeous; several houses.
7. *Kekerəmyē'aus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]).	Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkuraü'lôχ* ("—— ground")	On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smela'loχ*	On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

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[14] Said to be a Thompson name.

[15] The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

[16] A Thompson name (from *snaz*, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and *-ist* "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

[17] There were 6 houses and a church at *Snazäist* proper, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

[18] This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

[19] Also *.n.arē'pus Lza'ncz*. So named from a large bowlder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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10. *Skmapei'n* ("source" or "head").	Short distance below No. 8, on same side of river.
11. *Nkmapis'n*	On south side of river, opposite No. 10.
Old Similkameen village sites in Washington:[30]	
12. *Nasli'tok*	Just across the international boundary in Washington.
13. *Xe'paitç* ("—— ground")	A little below No. 12, near a lake.
14. *Kmapeli's*	A little back from Similkameen River, below No. 13.
15. *Tsakeali's*	Below No. 14.
16. *Skwa'mi*	Below No. 14.
17. *Ke'nkmelp*	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
18. *Tsaka'xqxatmax*[31]	On a creek along the trail between Keremeos and Penticton; 1 or 2 houses.

The following were the chief villages of the Upper Lake Okanagon division at the same date, and some others which are old villages not now occupied:

Douglas Lake Band:	
1. *Spa'xomen* or *Spa'xamen* ("a shaving," "paring,"[32] or "shaved,"[32] "bare," "smooth").	At Douglas Lake on the Upper Nicola River. A large village.
2. *Kemkena'tku* or *Kemkxna'tku*[33] ("head water").	At Fish Lake on the headwaters of the Upper Nicola River. A small settlement.
3. *Kā'lewtix* ("bushes," or "willow bushes").[34]	Near Guichon, at the mouth of the Upper Nicola River, where it falls into Nicola Lake. A fairly large village.
4. *Kwilces'na* ("red ——").[35]	At the mouth of Quilchena Creek.
Komaplix or Head of the Lake Band:	
5. *Nkama'pelaks* or *Nkama'pelaks* ("bottom, root, or neck end").[36]	Near the head of Okanagon Lake, about 8 miles north of Vernon.[37]
6. *Snilxeapta'n* ("place where slaughtered").[38]	Black Town, a little north of the head of Okanagon Lake.
7. *Tse'kstin* ("—— lake")	At a small lake a little north of Black Town.
8. *Nkakma'pelaks* ("little end or head of the lake").	At the head of Long Lake, a little over a mile from Vernon.
9. *Txele'tem* ("where drawn together").	At the narrows of Long Lake. No permanent camps now.

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[30] There are no permanent camps at any of these places now.

[31] Said by some to belong to the Ashnola band.

[32] With reference to the open rolling country devoid of trees.

[33] The Thompson and Okanagon names respectively.

[34] So called because of dense patches of willow, cottonwood, and other deciduous trees along the river, near this place.

[35] Said to be so named because of red bluffs on the side of the valley a short distance up the creek. The Thompson name of the village up the creek means "red face or bluffs." This small village is counted as belonging to the Douglas Lake band, but the Thompson claim the country all along the creek, and the people are mostly of the Thompson tribe.

[36] With reference to the end or head of the lake.

[37] There were several old camps at *Nkama'pelaks*. This name was frequently used in a general sense for the district around the head of Okanagon Lake.

[38] So named because a number of people were massacred here many years ago by a Shuswap (?) war party.

10. *Stxhatsi'xqaxi'st* ("lake on side").	Little above Mission ? on opposite side.
11. *Tsxiko'qzm* [29] (with reference to a little lake at side of big one).	Near the lower ~~end of~~ Long Lake about 19 miles south of Vernon.
12. *Nqako'stzn* ("arrow-smoother").[30]	Place near Kelowna, and also general name for the district around there and Mission. No permanent camps now.
13. *Skela'ux.na* ("grizzly bear").	Kelowna, near the present town. No permanent camps now.
Penticton Band:	
14. *Stxhatkolqaa'ut* or *Stxhatxiqaxi'st* ("lake at the side").	On the opposite side of the lake from Mission.
15. *Penti'ktzn* ("place at end of lake" or "place where the lake is gathered in").	Penticton, near the foot of Okanagon Lake.
Nkamip Band:	
16. *Sqoxqai'tk·* ("swift rough water or rapids").	Lower end of Dog Lake. No permanent camps now.
17. *Nkami'p*[31] ("at the base or bottom").	On the east side of the upper end of Osoyoos Lake.
18. *Soi'yus* ("gathered together" or "meeting").	Near Haynes or the old customhouse just north of the American line. No permanent camps now.

The main camps of the tribe in the Okanagon Valley (within British Columbia) are said to have numbered at one time about 18. In Mr. Hill-Tout's list [32] of Okanagon villages the Enderby village (No. 1 of his list) is included. This village is Shuswap and has never been Okanagon. The present-day villages are situated on small scattered reserves. The upper Okanagon have some 15 reserves under the Okanagon Agency and eight (belonging to the Douglas Lake band) under the Kamloops Agency. The Similkameen have 17 under the Okanagon Agency. I collected no list of old villages from the Lower Okanagon. These people are nearly all on the Colville Reservation in Washington, where they have received allotments.

I obtained the following names of old village sites on Okanagon River south of the Canadian line:

Milkamaxi'tk or *Milkamixi'tuk* [33] ("—— water").	A name for the district around the mouth of Similkameen River and of the river.

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[29] The people of this place are counted as belonging to the *Nkama'pelaks* band, but originally, with Nos. 9, 12, 13, and possibly others, they composed a band by themselves.

[30] Said to be so called because of a hill where people obtained stone for making arrow smoothers.

[31] See Gibbs, "Konekonep" Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 724), probably either *Nkami'p* or *Ke'ukanelp* (see No. 17, p. 209).

[32] Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okana'k'en." (Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., vol. 41, p. 130.)

[33] See Gibbs, "Milakitekwa" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 861). The other band name given by Gibbs (Kluckhaitkwu, ibid, 713) the Indians think is *Sliqaxi'tk·* or *Sliqaxi'tk·* the name for a district and river east of the Spokan (?) or east of the Okanagon. The Intietook band mentioned by Ross (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 611) is with little doubt a corruption of the Indian name for the Okanagon Lake division, from the name of Okanagon Lake. The word means "lake."

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Smχlkammī'n	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sāli'lχ·[34] ("heaped house"[35])	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tskwere'lχm[36]	On Okanagon River, close to *sāli'lχ·*.
Ōkinā'qēn[37] ("—— head")	An old name for *sāli'lχ·*.

101 621 361 177 The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoi'lχχχ* (Sanpoil or Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespi'lχχ* (Nespelim). The name of the former division is said to be derived from that of the district around Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespi'lχm* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

101 361 I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoχielpi'tuk*,[38] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[34] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.
[35] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.
[36] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 761).
[37] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).
[38] Compare the tribal name.

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1. *Skəχi'kəntəm*	On the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke. This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center.
2. *Nkəma'pəlks* ("base or bottom end," with reference to the end of the lake)	At the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River. Called "Comaplix" by the whites. Said to have had a large population. It was a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries), and root digging.
3. *Kəpi'tse* ("buffalo robe")	At the upper end of Arrow Lakes, where the town of Arrowhead now is. This also was a salmon-fishing place, and a noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*.
4. *Ku'əχəna'ks*	Now called Kooskanax. On Upper Arrow Lake, a little above Nakusp.
5. *Neqə'ep* ("having buffalo")[10]	Now Nakusp, near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, on the east side. A noted fishing place for salmon and lake trout.
6. *Tci'ukən*	A little below Nakusp; a center for hunting. Some fine caribou grounds were near this place.
7. *Snəχai'ləkχtəm*	Near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City. This was a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries.
8. *Χai'kən*	At a creek below Burton City. A center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish.
9. *Qəpi'tles*	At the mouth of Kootenai River, just above the junction with the Columbia. A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighborhood.
10. *Snəkəkəle'um*	At a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail. This was a center for gathering service berries.
11. *Nkəli'la*	Close to Waneta, on the east side of Columbia River, just above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreilles River. Many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by.

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[10] There is no tradition of buildings occurring here.

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The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Snkxmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takxlxxaitcxkst* ("trout ascend"? [from *ai'tcxkst*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sikwi'lxx*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kā'ntcā'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'xtxn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skxtu'kxlôx*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntxkxli'tk*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nxml'mxltxm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntxxltxxli'tuk* [a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Stce'xxllk*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntxxtxxrri'xxm*	At or very near Northport.

[131] The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kxluwi'sst* (now Rossland), and *Tcxaulxxxi'xtsa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kxia'mxlxp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

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[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. [illegible].

Seven or eight miles east of Nelson.

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seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here. 101

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I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below.

1. *Ti'kʷt* ("lake" or "large lake").	Arrow Lakes.
2. *Nixaẋ'ʷtkʷ* ("straight or smooth water").	Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.
3. *Sxene'tkʷ* ("swift, rapid, or rough water").	Columbia River below Marcus.
4. *Nta'lltaẋi'tkʷ* ("ta'lltaẋ"[41] or ta'lltaẋ water," "water of the stalli people [?]").	Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.
5. *Ntaa'kulaxi'tkʷ* ("portage or carrying place for canoes").[42]	Bonnington Falls and neighboring parts of Kootenai River.
6. *Skolost'ulkʷ* [43]	Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general.
7. *Sloke'a*	General name for the Slocah River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.
8. *Nkoli'latkʷ*	Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).
9. *Stlaẋa'tkʷ* or *Stlaẋai'tkʷ*	Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokan.

Population.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had 161

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[41] Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. 202, said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

[42] The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

[43] Compare s'uilk, etc. (name for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in skol, skoie (see No. 18, p. 210), etc.; Calispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of skol s'uilk as "water above" (from skoil "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

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escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe 164 the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less 161 extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.[a]—It seems that there has 166 been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the 174 tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[b] 361 ● Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[c] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had [illegible]thold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

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[a] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. [illegible]-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[b] See p. [illegible]; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. [illegible]; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 6. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[c] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. [illegible] et seq.

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valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwi'x* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwi'x* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwi'x* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[48] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwi'x*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[49] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'txmi'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwi'x* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwi'x* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[50] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwi'x* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

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[48] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265, 266.

[49] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 406, 407.

[50] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 254.

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offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language. 166 174 361 ●

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—The Lake tribe had most intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes. 177

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'χ*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'χ* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

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000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'xɛ* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmstū'kɛnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

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The Sɛmtē'use.—The *Sɛmtē'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplĕ'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. [178] In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

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[37] Said to be the *Sɛmtē'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[38] Said to be the Flathead name.

[39] Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the
131 lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon,
Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near
Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may
have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtč'use*, as this place was
considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend
d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large
band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[40] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St.
Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse
this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not
quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
148 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission,
in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in
two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number
of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
619 divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsī'ni*
("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsīn*, "entrance, outlet, or
131 confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a
considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower
Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have
been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper,
the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large
camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake,
Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slātč'use*, and
sometimes *Tsentī's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah
by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwī'la*, the name of one of
their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people
considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they
spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However,
they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did
not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that
there were several in each division. There were probably at least
two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had
two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near
Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks.
They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug
camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

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[40] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

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Kalispel
Spokan

the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyĕ'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stsel'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

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The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[41] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

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[41] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. [illegible].

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwé'stsɛne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none at all. [177] At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend d'Oreilles more than either. 162 171 The Flathead numbered less than the Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmtē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'χe* were said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. 161 162 +171 It thus seems possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1850, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

000 648 127 [181]

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Sᴇmtĕ'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

648 [224 [178] [166] [361] [224]

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

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The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

SEMIUNDERGROUND LODGE.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used. 342 171* 184 [417]

LONG LODGE.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing 344 361 171* 361 342 171* [592] [364]

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

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361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage re-
garding positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven 361
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 231
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out-
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side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

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CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two

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small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tci'les lcimi'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'le lcimi'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotsitsă'tlxat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

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Each village was said to have a large sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5] 364●

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6] 361 712

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. 291 Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. [858] When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women. [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (circa 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
[6] See Warfare.
[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes. 230.
[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[illegible] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These
721 were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on
personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[18]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation
might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that
might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snakā'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages
at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil
frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls
(Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snaqaie'tk^{w} territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[18] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri-
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal 366
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snəkáʼlt, sqasiʼlni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkᵘ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkᵘ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but 439
the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 579
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish 439
people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, 487
where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country.

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded 439
with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a 487
tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by 173
Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost 366
anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern 439
Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the 487
Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles 567
long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes 439
dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in wars. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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[49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different 101
language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaṣami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length, served as a handle. 322 324 412 [137]

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

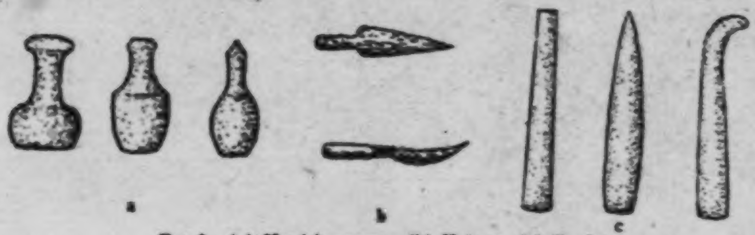

FIG. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372 472
The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'liman) itself was permanent; the seat or hearth (xu'lkup") was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukı'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for two or three days. 372

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon 37
or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks.

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321
A bone was beated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322
with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412
They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4. a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281
three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415
were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4. b).

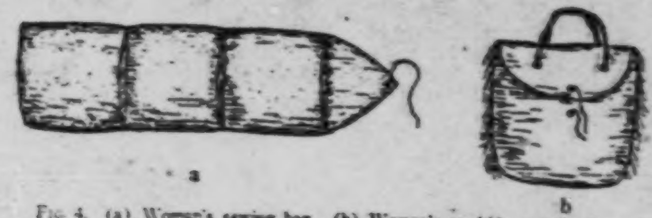

Fig. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 213
thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322
basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412
inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281
pages 93-94. 415

Stone Adzes

412

These were used for hollowing out dugout canoes and wooden storage tubs. They were easily made from a stone knife hafted to one of the branches of a forked stick, the other branch serving as the handle. At the hafting the branch was whittled thin to the same size as the blade. No gum was used, only a deerskin thong, since this was only a temporary tool. The wood was from certain thorn bushes, which are not apt to split. Mary Carden stated that the adze scraper used in tanning bear hides was never used for trimming wood.

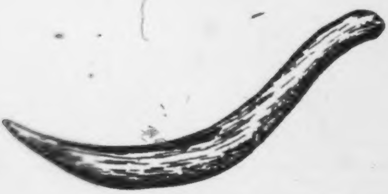

Fig. 26. Horn spoon.

Fire-Drill

372

The drill, made from wood taken from the topmost twig of a dead pine tree and well dried, was sharply pointed. The hearth was a board about one foot by six inches, of either dry pine or cottonwood root, shaped either flat or convex transversely on the upper face. In the convex type the hole in which the vertical drill was rotated was on the center line and the tinder, dry grass or shredded dry willow bark, was placed around it. In the flat hearth the hole was near the edge and was connected with the edge by a shallow groove. The tinder was placed beside the board so that the ignited dust would fall on it by way of the grooves. While one man held down the hearth, the drill was rotated rapidly between the palms by one, two, or even three others, taking turns without letting the drill stop. When the glowing dust appeared, they cried in unison, "There they come; there they come." If one man alone drilled for fire, he held the bark tinder ready under his armpit. Sometimes green birch was used for the base and dry sagebrush bark fiber as tinder. The drill was designated as male, the hearth as female.

Fire was also produced by striking together two pieces of flint. This was said to be pre-white.

Only one fire was started in camp in

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252 412 A piece of dried cedar wood, about twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412 356 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 354 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks which was fired from below.

[531] Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflammable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

313 through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor.

322 To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner.

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372] ●

[532] There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. [415] One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles.

321 Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft.

Dyes and Paints

386 Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kaI´lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant.

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also used by some people when travelling. 343

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood. 372 415 352

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 317
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breech-
clout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the
evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281x
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160.

[74] a, fig. 161.

[75] a, pl. 18.

415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. 352 *171 Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. [237] Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. [372] Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 281 CLOTHING (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. [184] Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] [184] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 142); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 82, 83, the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91. Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111890-111893.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 6), 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 83; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
A Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed. 285 314 415

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket for various products. 251 285 314 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultəma'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastí'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These were almost invariably decorated. 482 [531]

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches. [137]

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour-plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called guqəpui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses. 285 386 [137]

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (slodjəke'n) were utilized extensively for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two 285 313

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nukmu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (aẋtu'lᵋman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease; or applied dry.

[756] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The ears of boys were pierced too, but not as commonly as girls. As many as six earrings have been reported worn on each ear, a custom learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his ear lobes as the holes were torn out by heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears. 301 304 852

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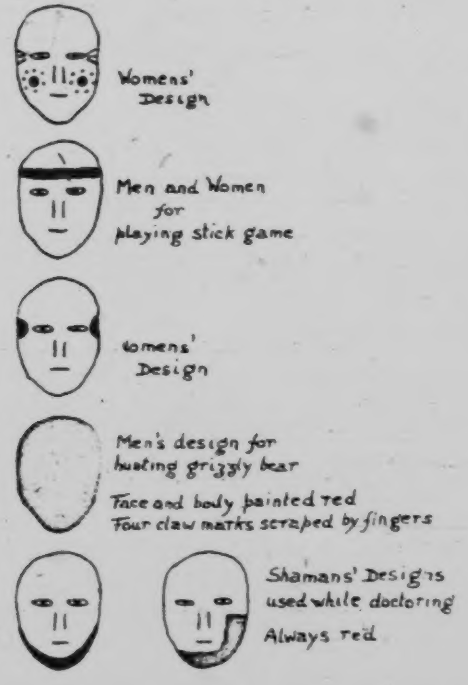
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men and women tattooed their faces, wrists and the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but that they had a band of decoration around the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin had been rubbed numb and coated with grease as a body for the pigment. The sliver of bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped to a very sharp point and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the needle was withdrawn. The pigments were red ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A circle of dots was sometimes made on each 171 304 304 [386]

through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor. 313

To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner. 322

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321

Dyes and Paints

Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kaɬ´lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant. 386

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint [439]
was mixed with water in the bowl of a mountain
sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags
about four inches square. She named the following
paints obtained from them: Enaqa'lsp-EmEnû'laû, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red;
tû'l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rêôlaû', "yellow
earth"; Enp'ômûlaû', "brown earth."
Other clays obtained at Keller on the Sanpoil
River, "were not so pretty," since the
colors were duller. Here there was a dull
red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan
yellow, known by the names for light red and
yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a la[illegible]
above Riverside (?). This, called q'êîô'q'- 317
ôtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth,
since it was said also to have been applied
to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them
flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over
the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on standards 804
of measurement. These were all based
on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:
- pîtcqwl'ôcl'kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
- ntla'pa'cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
- ntqô'cElâq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
- kêaqôsa'xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
- nikôcwhêpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
- kEîmixq!ô'tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:
- nâq!ôtEqêôcEmîn, one span;
- acî'ltEqêôcEmîn, two spans;
- katEltEqêôcEmîn, three spans.

The stem, tEqêôcEmîn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:
- nákcqê'nîgst, one thumb broad;
- acîlqê'nîgst, two thumbs broad.

p.69(B)

stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, 322
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for
incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone[17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 41a
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

Paints and Dyes.—Paints of many colors were used, most of them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago. 386

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *aäpl yu'tsamɛn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.
[17] Field Museum 111741.
[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.
[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.
[20] *b*, pl. 6, No. 14.

386 paint was procured at a place about 10 miles below Rockford, and consisted of a red mud which was collected and kneaded into balls. When dry, it was heated over a fire. When cooked, it became brittle and on the slightest pressure turned into a fine powder. Nearly all kinds of mineral earths used as paints were also used as dyes, different shades of red, yellow, blue, and black being obtained from them. Some materials, such as grass and bark, were dyed black by being buried for a time in wet black loam. A common yellow dye was obtained by boiling the roots of the Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.) and a common yellow or lemon colored dye was obtained by boiling wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*). This lichen was also used as a paint. It was dipped into cold water or applied to a damp surface. A reddish dye was obtained by boiling alder bark (*Alnus rubra*); and a green dye, from the leaves of the snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.).

281 PREPARATION OF SKINS.—The processes of dressing skins were similar to those practiced by the Thompson Indians.[21] Of old (also employed at the present day) the common method, especially for medium-sized skins, was to soak the skin in water for several days. It was then placed on a smooth log resting against a tree, as among the Thompson, and the flesh side scraped clean. It was then reversed, and the hair scraped off, along with the outer cuticle of the skin. Some people scraped the hair side first. The scrapers or fleshers used were the ulna of the deer and the rib bone of elk or horse.[22] The skin was again soaked for a short time, and then wrung by twisting with a short stick, as among the Thompson. It was then stretched on a frame of four poles with lacing, and pushed and rubbed with a long-handled grainer with a stone head, like those of the Thompson,[23] until dry and soft.

If to be smoked (and most skins were smoked), two methods were used. One was identical with the process of smoking among the Thompson Indians, the skin being spread over a framework of sticks above the smoke hole.[24] The other method was to fold the skin in the form of a conical bag, closed at the top. The edges were pinned together. A crossbar was placed inside near the closed end and a rope was tied to it for suspension. The skin was kept in shape by means of a number of braces and hoops placed inside. The small end was hung to the branch of a tree, beam, pole, or tripod overhead.[25] The lower edges of the skin touched the ground around the hole in which a fire was made. They were kept in place by small

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[21] *a*, pp. 184–186.

[22] See Thompson, *a*, figs. 128, 129.

[23] *a*, fig. 127.

[24] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65; Thompson, *a*, p. 185.

[25] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 176 and fig. 3.

237 281 475 531 Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflêches.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflêches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflêches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb
32 hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few
171 of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for
531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville
439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the
386 Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

[314]

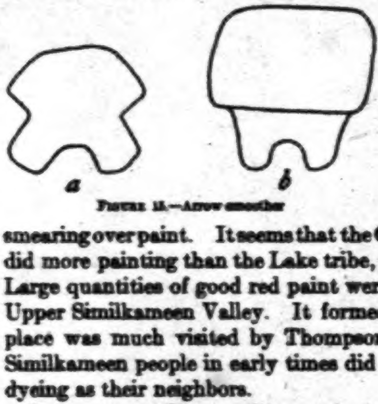

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools
412 used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the
415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]

[9] See Thompson, c, pp. [illegible].

[10] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible], c.

531 171* [389] ● was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

281 171* DRESSING OF SKINS.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

281 415 171* [178] [439] RAWHIDE WORK.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

[531] WOVEN AND OTHER BAGS.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

285 171* Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

WOVEN MATS.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

285 531 171* Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their

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[1] c, pp. 67, 68, figs. 33, 34.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] f, pp. 175, 176.

[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.

[5] See p. 44.

[6] f, p. 176, fig. 3.

415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
178 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
*171 type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[222] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing
to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to
[412] buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
178 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
*171 with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[415] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather
[407] the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in
a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

226 Platforms were required only on the Columbia river and at certain points on the Spokane and Okanogan rivers. In smaller streams, such as the Sanpoil and the Nespelem, spearing was accomplished from the bank or by wading into the water. Spear fishing from canoes was practiced in the Columbia during the fall, especially for the white or silver salmon, but at that time of year the river is too low to permit the use of channels and staging.

Blinds were often built on the smaller streams to assist the spearman. A flat thatched roof was erected several feet above the water across a part or all of the stream. The fisherman stationed himself beneath this sun shelter. The moment a fish entered the shaded area it was temporarily unable to see, while the spearman's vision was aided by the shade, and thus he was enabled to spear the fish without difficulty.

Night fishing, both from staging and from canoes, was practiced with the aid of torches (tsi'kusxən) made from pine pitch wood.

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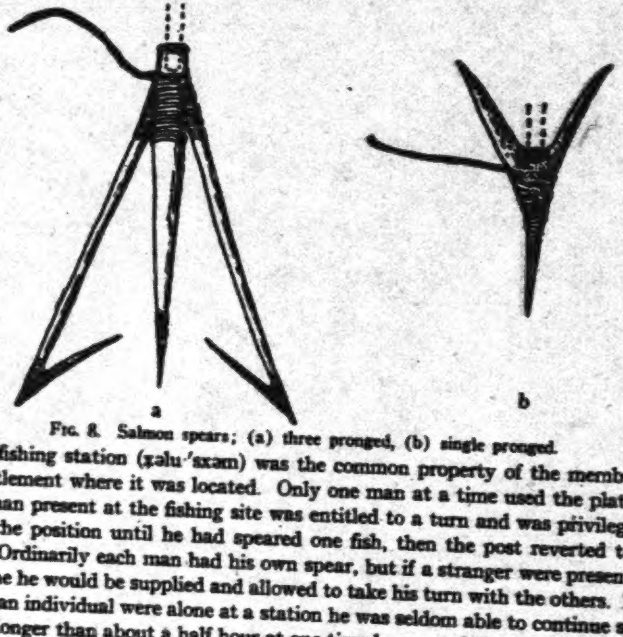

Fig. 8. Salmon spears; (a) three pronged, (b) single pronged.

A fishing station (x̣əlu·'sxəm) was the common property of the members of the settlement where it was located. Only one man at a time used the platform. Each man present at the fishing site was entitled to a turn and was privileged to retain the position until he had speared one fish, then the post reverted to another. Ordinarily each man had his own spear, but if a stranger were present and had none he would be supplied and allowed to take his turn with the others. Even though an individual were alone at a station he was seldom able to continue spearing for longer than about a half hour at one time because of the strain on the eyes from the reflection of the sun in the water.

FISH SPEARS

The common fish spear used for the smaller varieties of salmon was the single pronged type of bone and horn, called sxu·'łkən, (Figure 8, b). The foreshaft of the spear consisted of a V-shaped piece of horn a few inches in length. A socket for receiving the main shaft was hollowed in the fork. A sharp point of bone 226 was attached to the head of the foreshaft, giving the whole the shape of a Y. The point was made fast to the body by wrapping with cord of Indian hemp and 411 the application of pine pitch. Pieces of bone suitable for use as spear points were obtained by heating in a fire a section of bone, preferably from the leg of a deer, until it splintered. Fragments of approximately the correct size were chosen and shaped with stone scrapers. Shafts were made of fir, selected for straightness and freedom from knots. In some cases poles seem to have been used after merely removing the bark and in other instances the pole was apparently split down the middle and each half scraped and worked until an elliptical cross section was obtained, one pole thus furnishing two shafts. The shaft was detachable from the foreshaft which held the point, but connected to it by a short cord. The end selected for attachment to the foreshaft was rounded and tapered to fit snugly but not tightly into the socket. The connecting cord was an extension of the one binding the foreshaft to the point. Two or three feet of slack was allowed between the point and the shaft. When a fish was speared the shaft left the socket and the fish could be played and drawn in by means of the cord and the shaft. The length of the shaft varied, depending upon the place at which it was to be used, from fifteen to twenty feet or sometimes more.

A large three-pronged spear (wi·'tcka) (Figure 8, a) was used for large salmon, principally the chinook. Its use was restricted to instances where an approximately vertical thrust could be obtained. It was therefore used extensively in fishing from canoes. The foreshaft consisted of a socket with three prongs; a center prong which was tapered and projected in line with the mainshaft, and two side prongs at angles of about thirty degrees to the center prong. The socket for the main shaft was hollowed in the large end of the middle prong, which was made of hardwood of any variety. The small end was tipped with a point of bone, obtained in the same manner as for the small spear. The two side prongs were of [137] ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* Max., (mutc'mutci'lpᵘ) a resilient wood; they were somewhat longer than the center prong, or about fifteen inches. These prongs were pointed and each was fitted with a single barb. The barbs were of bone and bound with cord of Indian hemp. Heavy cord of the same material was used to fasten the side prongs to the center one, and extended, as in the case of the small spear, to be attached to the main shaft. This shaft was similar to that of the small spear, both in shape and length.

TRAP FISHING

By far the most productive mode of taking fish, especially salmon and trout, 226 was by means of traps. Within Sanpoil territory the principal traps were located near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, at npui·'luxᵘ, and below the falls on the Nespelem river, at nspi·'ləm. The traps in the smaller streams, however, also produced very considerable quantities of fish. Usually only a single trap was placed in each stream, but in the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers sometimes two or even three traps could be profitably maintained. Kettle Falls, in Colville terri-

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[410]

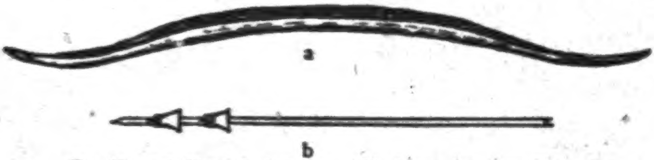

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

[136] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marganita belli*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[18]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

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411 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi·'nkᵘ) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuχwa'xailpᵘ), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətəmətsi'lpᵘ), was used in the manufacture of

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[18] See page 89.

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the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was 730 wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (pukłmi'lpᵘ), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluqᵘ tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish.

The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow. 237 822 411

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[18] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singeing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'qᵘ on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (puspusnel'utsn, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course. [187]

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

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[18] Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

411 Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence.

411 224 Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary.

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

411 789 Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water.

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

262 825 Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food.

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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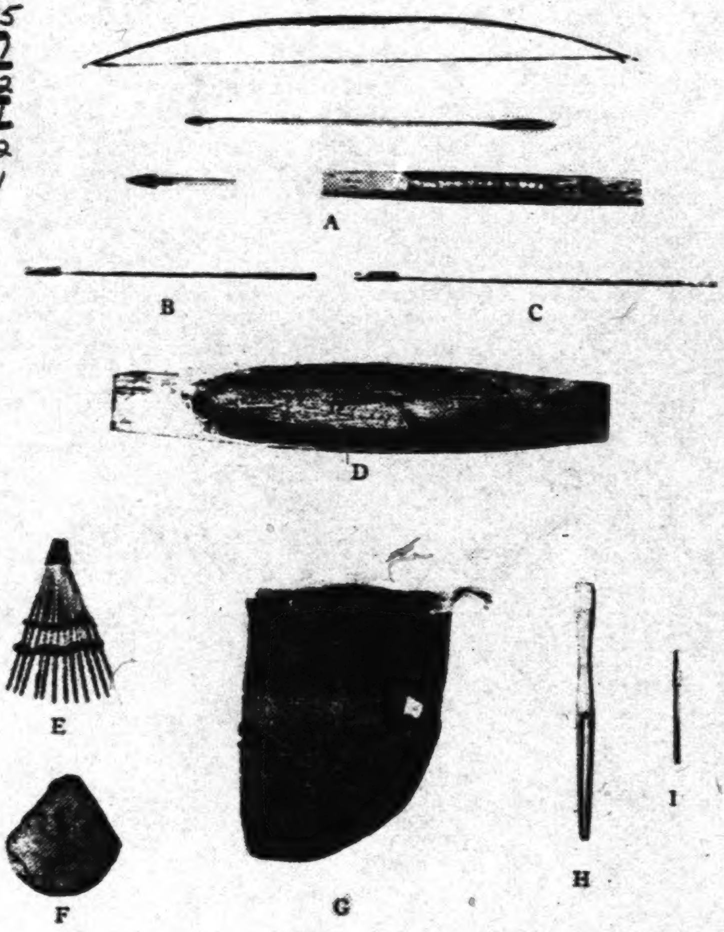

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. 411 The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] [1] The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] [1]

The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. 237 322 411 For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

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[18] See Individual Life Cycle.

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 53(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53 (A)

283 [237] 411 Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled on the thigh by women. One end of the string formed a loose loop, the other was lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow was not in use the loop end was loosened and slipped down the bow. Great care had to be taken that the string be new and strong, for if it should break, the bow would snap from the tension of the sinew.

411 322 Arrows for hunting were about three and a half feet long, while war arrows were perhaps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was used for arrows, as the pliability of this wood when moist permitted easy straightening, and its stiffness and elasticity when dry made it admirable for shooting. A fairly straight piece of wood was selected, stripped of its bark and bent straight while heating it before a fire. The teeth were used as a vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench. Wrenches were also made of bone and horn. Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes arrows were straightened by weighting with flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing with a handful of service berry shavings or tough grass; never with a stone. Just below the nock the arrow was made thin to provide a better finger hold.

[237] It was feathered with three vanes of eagle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes were always parallel to the axis of the shaft. Each feather was split and the wider half discarded. The quill of the narrow and stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible, while being held between teeth and hand. The vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew from the back of a deer. One end of the chewed and shredded sinew was held in the teeth while the other was started around the arrow about three quarters of an inch below the nock, after pine pitch had been applied. The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft at one end under the sinew with the left hand while the arrow was rotated with the right, thus rolling the sinew around the shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had been wrapped on. The forward ends of the vanes were fastened in the same way. There were no grooves into which the quills were set; neither were they bound in the middle, but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the binding at both ends. Arrows for small game were often decorated with paint to facilitate finding them in the bush and probably also for identification. [211 531]

411 531 Before the feathers were put on, a strip of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double spiral, about that portion of the shaft where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was smeared over this section and charcoal, red ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

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18 See Individual Life Cycle.

19 Ironwood, used by tribes on the Columbia, does not grow in this region.[1]

20 Modern examples made for casual hunting of small game are quite short. A specimen in the Washington State Museum (no. 2-271) is thirty-two inches in length.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 53(A), category 11b. -- Analyst]

P. 53(c)

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
531 unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
in natural color on pigment.

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with pro-
778] per power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges
of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal
and the shaft polished with wood shavings or
with "macaroni weed" (Its'I̓stin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
278 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connect-
[821] ed with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called atsátsExûnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to
help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows
were kept in separate quivers, but were not
protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick

[412]

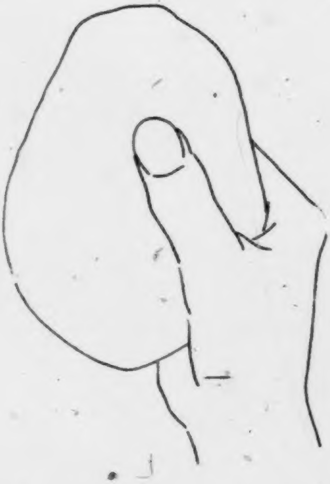

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

War clubs of the "slave-killer type were made of a stone called sqêa′sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

[321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, [531] and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

p. 54 (B)

411 ● had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop was attached. This club was used mainly as a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

412 324 Little information was obtained concerning stone knives, which have long been out of use. A single type of knife served all purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin. [411] Mary Carden reported that knives to be used in warfare were provided with short stout handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal.

411 Spears of various lengths were used in warfare and to a very limited extent in deer hunting. [224] A spear about ten feet long with a bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

713 411 Shields of varied shape and construction were used in warfare to parry arrows and spear thrusts. One type was circular (about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

713 411 both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so that the shield was convex. The shield was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of wood were reported by Suszen as the common type, but no details were obtained.

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge arrows depended on one's power. Boys played at war with shields and blunt arrows. [524]

292 713 411 Skin armor was made of thick deer and elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide reaching below the hips with a hole cut for the head to pass through. This was laced together on each side with thongs. The hide was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however.

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

726 411 Armor was not common, as it was customary to enter battle wearing only a breechclout and with the body painted.

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713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

411 463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

171 501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task. [461]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

^[For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

22 Curt's, North American Indian, VIII, 71.^

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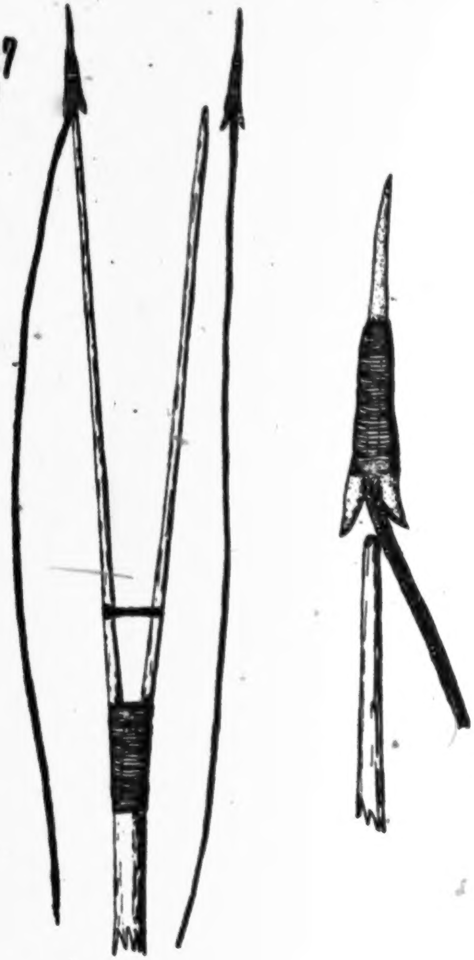

Fig. 22. Fishing spear (showing foreshafts and detail of head).

p. 57 (c)

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and preparing 252
it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior 222
tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler.

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the 224
same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47] 411
was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes.

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more 224
fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear,
marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands 226
had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese.

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the 226
Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi.

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along 226
Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 251

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[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

324 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A
412 heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles. These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing
237 bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with
324 flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 Work in Bone, Wood, Antler.—Wedges for splitting wood
322 were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was
324 bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of
412 the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23-25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxxʷ*,[d] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i't* was applied to them. 123 204

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé. 177 221 224

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atsa'tcxnalxw*[e] ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[133] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tslen* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and 237 411

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[d] A Kalispel term. [e] *Ätsa'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[133] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

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set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tclɛn* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

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Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

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Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

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A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokan, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alene claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokan also used this type of bow. A few Spokan, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin.

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alêne, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokan. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

Arrows.—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsĕ'ɛlp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *mʌtmʌtstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if Syringa was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.[188] Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a

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[188] See p. 42; Lytton, *g*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

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similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé [159] were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts [160] were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.[161] A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,[162] was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,[163] for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points [164] were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.[165] A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and water-fowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'tclen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *tcatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

Quivers.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,[166] and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.[167] No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern

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[159] *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3-22.

[160] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b*; Field Mus. 111735.

[161] Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

[162] Chilcotin, *c*, fig. 276 *d*.

[163] Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

[164] Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g*; Chilcotin, *c*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

[165] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f*; Chilcotin, *c*, fig. 276 *c*; Field Mus. 111729.

[166] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

[167] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

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Coeur d'Alene

tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, 411 but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alêne quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

Guns.—The Coeur d'Alêne were one of the last tribes to obtain 177 firearms. They were practically without guns until after the traders 411 came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—Deer were run to bay or 224 to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,[168] were in common use.

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[168] *a*, p. 246.

glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange. 439

VII. WARFARE

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Weapons.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sᴇleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. [526] They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[204] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[205] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[206]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[204] *a*, fig. 246.

[205] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[206] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

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two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.[207] Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.[208] Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.[209]

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.[210]

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.[211]

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.[212] Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whalebone were obtained in trade.

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It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

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[207] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

[208] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 299.

[209] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

[210] See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

[211] *a*, fig. 81.

[212] *a*, fig. 251.

222 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard
412 woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of
preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as
252 among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

343 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon,
251 Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the
411 pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[2]

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[2] a, p. 242, fig. 222.

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Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.[3] The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.[4] The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

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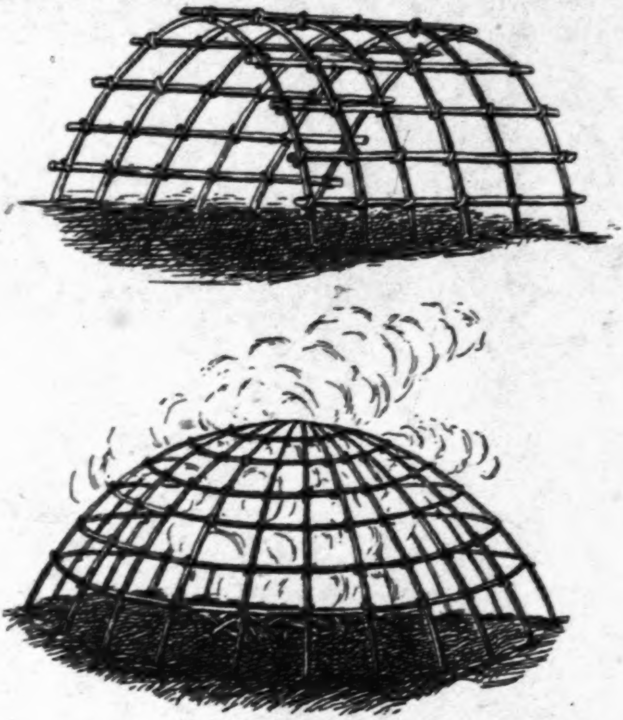
FIGURE 18.—Structure for drying meat

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[3] a, p. 240, fig. 218.

[4] a, p. 240, fig. 217.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

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Game and methods of hunting.—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

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The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

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The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

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[5] 6, p. 244, fig. 223.

[6] 6, p. 233, fig. 240.

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438]

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 [179]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

●411
713

of iron, including the pipe tomahawk. Bows and arrows have already been mentioned.

A number of different types of war clubs were in use. The three kinds with round stone heads used by all the Thompson were common. One kind had a rigid head with rawhide shrunk over it;[2] another kind had a flexible head consisting of a stone enclosed in a bag of dressed skin;[3] and the third kind consisted of a stone enclosed in rawhide, with a short flexible handle of twisted rawhide or a loop of heavy thong. Some of these appear to have been grooved, but most of them were enclosed in hide. War clubs in a single piece were also common. Some of these were of hard wood.[4] Shorter stone clubs, probably of jade and serpentine, of nearly the same shape[5] as the wooden ones, were used principally by the Okanagon. Possibly most of them were obtained in trade from Wenatchi and Columbia. Clubs made of a single piece of elk antler were common. Usually the sharpened stub of a tine at the head formed a spike. The Similkameen claim that his was the most common war club among them. A crooked club of stone and wood, or entirely of either material, was in use. It resembled somewhat the crooked war club of eastern tribes, but had no ball or spike. This style may have been introduced from the plains, but quite possibly it may have been modeled after some of the elk-antler clubs which were of this shape naturally. The crooked club with ball and spike was introduced in later days by the fur traders. Straight wooden clubs set with from one to eight spikes of stone or antler were also in use. Iron clubs came into use after the traders came. They were shaped somewhat like a machete. I did not learn the exact distribution of the various kinds of clubs among the four tribes, but it seems that all kinds were more or less used everywhere. A club with elongated head of rounded stone[6] may have been introduced from the plains. A club with elongated head of flat stone was indigenous.

Cuirasses of rods of wood and of slats of wood were in use among the Okanagon and Sanpoil, and some of heavy hide were also employed. Some of the latter were low, and only encircled the waist. Tunics of thick elk hide were worn by a few men. I did not hear of helmets of any kind, nor of long hide shields.[7] Small shields were universal. Most of them were made of thick hide sewed to a wooden hoop. From one to three thicknesses of hide were used.[8] Some of those of a single piece of hide were rendered arrow proof by a thick coat of glue and sand on one side. Some shields had no hoops. One kind was exactly like the shields used on the plains. All the hide

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[1] a, p. 264, fig. 247.
[2] See Thompson, a, p. 264, fig. 248.
[3] See Thompson, a, 265, fig. 251.
[4] See Yakima, i, figs. 62, 63.
[6] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 313.
[7] See Thompson, a p. 265, fig. 253.
[8] Field Museum, 111941.

shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[9] 411 713

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses. 712

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwī'x̣, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwī'x̣* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwī'x̣* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwī'x̣*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwī'x̣* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwī'x̣*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwī'x̣*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwī'x̣* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies. 726

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[9] Field Museum, 111962.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and
were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same
stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous
and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western
Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance
and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the
tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded
a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur
d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai
still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week
among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes
merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal
boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
197 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to
have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the
last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse,
however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the
plateau area. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were probably identical in material
culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the
Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes
until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture
of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed
a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest
and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and
southeast, although the difference between them was not great.
The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have
more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other
tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any
of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
● [411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
[412] made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan
and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation
by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides.
Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222
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Qa'puxa (haselnuts).
Swl'stic (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Str'tsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Mɛ'tcio (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Ssa'xwɛ (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sɛnamoxstci'nɛm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Haxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkɛn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shuɛ'ɛna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 Agriculture.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 Hunting. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was 221
lighter and the climate milder.

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed 227
except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. How-
ever, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little 171*
Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched
completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream
above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According
to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used
along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the
mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little
used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé
and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did
not use them."

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two
or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing [411] ●
fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from
canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend [136]
d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of
the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good
salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the
Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went
down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then
across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia,
which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there
fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and
poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel [438]
joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery
about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in
trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former.
Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni.
The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance
to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much
in trade.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe 501
people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and
made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs
were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sew-
ing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general [171]*
shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan
tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the
bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington-Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.) 000

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the
Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of
the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan
country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse
at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla,
and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to
Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days
along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411 ●
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting
and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed.
Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly
not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned.
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725]
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The
Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some
of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (snta·'min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɛ'ksmən) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 412 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called sñta'tlam, "little canoe," in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common. 322 415

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'mən). It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint. 321 322 415 [531]

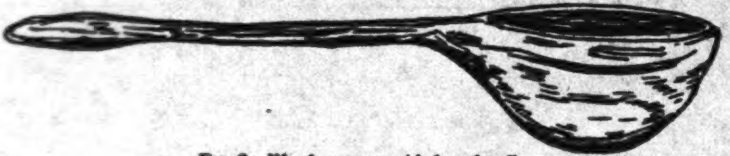

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were substituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to hold food. [285]

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another. 264 415

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 322 324 412

pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaxami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large 322
logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden 324
mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the 412
hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk [137]
was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded
horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from
it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length,
served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

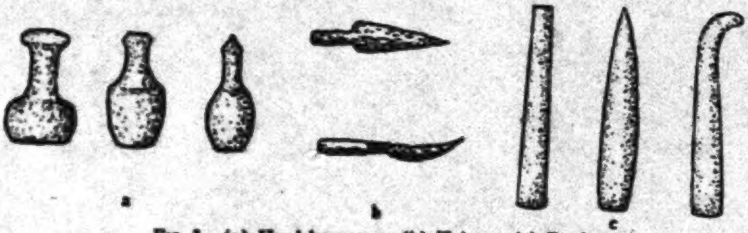

Fig. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. 372
The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'limən) itself was perma- 412
nent; the seat or hearth (xu'lıkıpᵘ) was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine
was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly
with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four
inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised
from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in
each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another
made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either
side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope
brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukı'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while 372
travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly
and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for
two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321
A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished [redacted]
with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412
They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281
three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415
were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

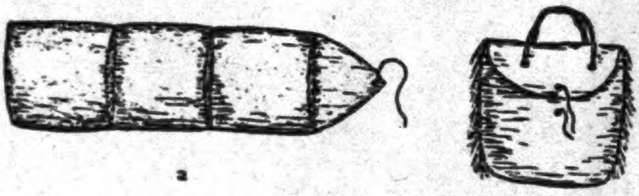

Fig. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was ~~a vital~~ necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283
thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322
basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412
inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281
pages 93-94. 415

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kamɩtawiya'kɩ'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 856

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'lpᵘ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered. 221 222 462 621

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier. 222 481 624

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks. 222 412

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening. 222 482

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them. 222 251

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of transporting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 222 482 251

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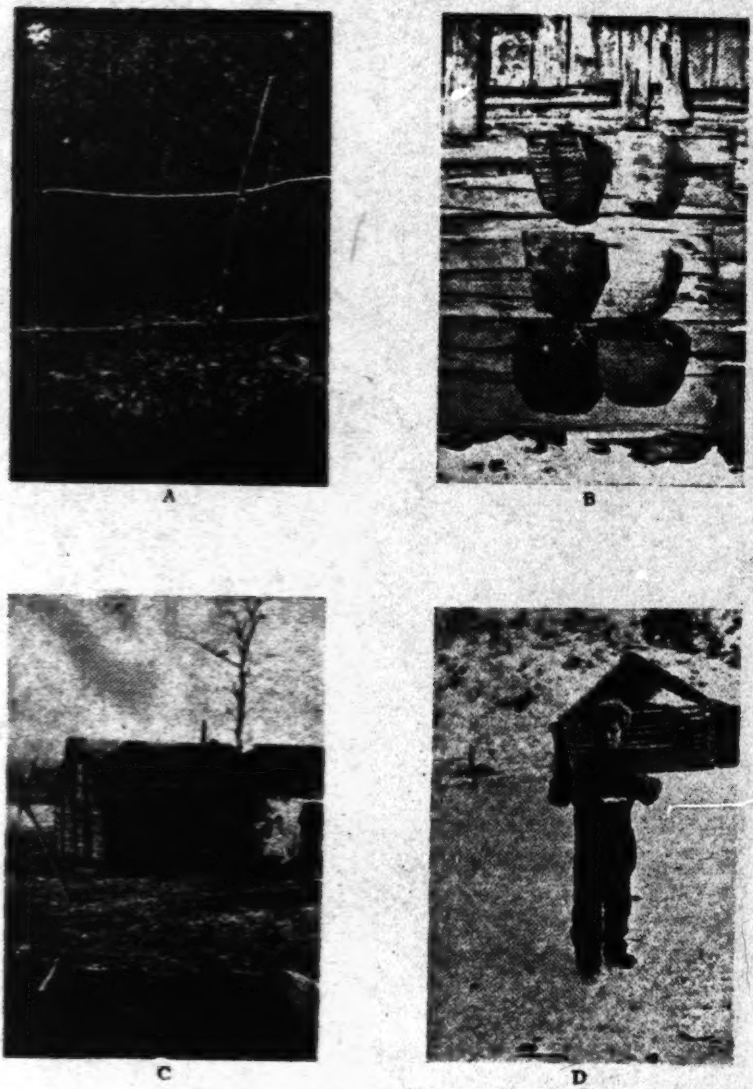

PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

[412] Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

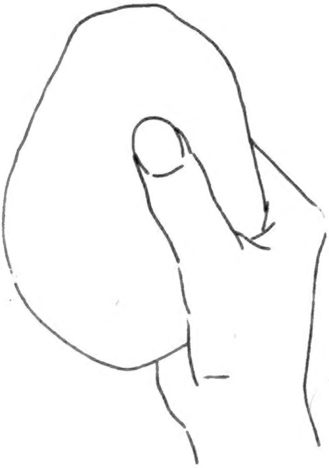

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

War clubs of the "slave-killer type were made of a stone called sqĕa´sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

[321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a
[531] circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

p. 54 (B)

411 had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop was attached. This club was used mainly as a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

412 ● 324 Little information was obtained concerning stone knives, which have long been out of use. A single type of knife served all purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin. [411] Mary Carden reported that knives to be used in warfare were provided with short stout handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal.

411 Spears of various lengths were used in warfare and to a very limited extent in deer hunting. [224] A spear about ten feet long with a bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

713 411 Shields of varied shape and construction were used in warfare to parry arrows and spear thrusts. One type was circular (about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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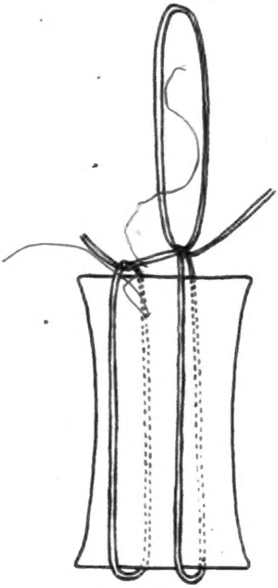

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

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This was about two and a half feet long but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

222 412 which lay at the point of crossing, were lashed together with the inner bark of service berry (Figure 24). A piece of buckskin the shape of the beater (a) was sewed on the larger loop. A second piece (b) was sewed on the opposite face of the smaller loop so that this, the handle, was covered on both faces. The first piece of skin (a) overlapped the second. The sewing on both loops began and ended at the point of crossing. The stitches were on the back, the smooth side being down when in use. The fastening of the sewing element was a simple knot. After the beater had been in use, the buckskin on the beating surface stretched and was less taut, which was not considered desirable. A skilled woman could cause an almost constant rain of seeds to fall into the funnel-shaped birch bark bucket held in the left hand. The bucket was held by the rim with its loop handle resting on the back of the hand, or it was simply held by the loop. Basketry beaters were unknown to the Southern Okanagon.

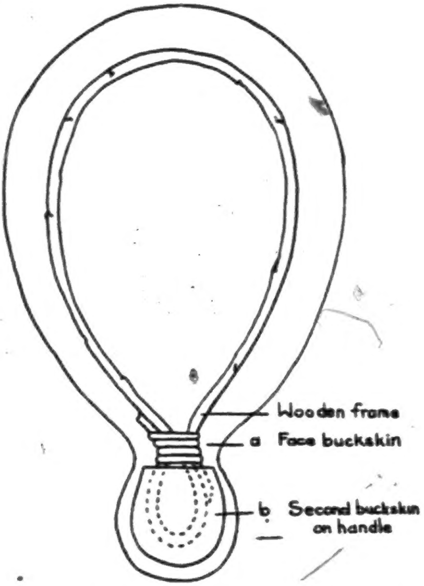

Fig. 24. Seed beater (drawn from description).

Mortar and Pestle

412 285 For a mortar a rather shallow, twined Indian hemp basket was lined with the heavy neck portion of a deerskin and placed inside a slight cavity, naturally or artificially hollowed in a stone.

Methow and Chelan were reported also to use this form of mortar and pestle (see below). The Yakima, Wenatchi, and "Ellensburg" (Northern Wenatchi ?) used a coiled cedar root basket with a pestle of similar shape but of a blue-black stone.

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called sqûêasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

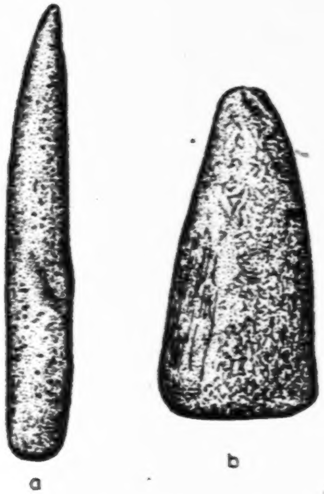

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

415 321 Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. [435]

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 416. -- Analyst]

Stone Adzes

412

These were used for hollowing out dugout canoes and wooden storage tubs. They were easily made from a stone knife hafted to one of the branches of a forked stick, the other branch serving as the handle. At the hafting the branch was whittled thin to the same size as the blade. No gum was used, only a deerskin thong, since this was only a temporary tool. The wood was from certain thorn bushes, which are not apt to split. Mary Carden stated that the adze scraper used in tanning bear hides was never used for trimming wood.

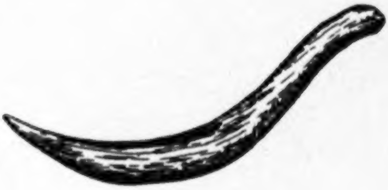

Fig. 26. Horn spoon.

Fire-Drill

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The drill, made from wood taken from the topmost twig of a dead pine tree and well dried, was sharply pointed. The hearth was a board about one foot by six inches, of either dry pine or cottonwood root, shaped either flat or convex transversely on the upper face. In the convex type the hole in which the vertical drill was rotated was on the center line and the tinder, dry grass or shredded dry willow bark, was placed around it. In the flat hearth the hole was near the edge and was connected with the edge by a shallow groove. The tinder was placed beside the board so that the ignited dust would fall on it by way of the grooves. While one man held down the hearth, the drill was rotated rapidly between the palms by one, two, or even three others, taking turns without letting the drill stop. When the glowing dust appeared, they cried in unison, "There they come; there they come." If one man alone drilled for fire, he held the bark tinder ready under his armpit. Sometimes green birch was used for the base and dry sagebrush bark fiber as tinder. The drill was designated as male, the hearth as female.

Fire was also produced by striking together two pieces of flint. This was said to be pre-white.

Only one fire was started in camp in

3: Cline 2-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

• 412

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24 That shown in Figure 25, a is fifteen and a half inches long; in b six and a half inches. Specimens in the Washington State Museum numbered as follows: Figure 25, a, 2-285, b, 2-284; Figure 26, 2-274. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 59(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 59 (c)

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252 A piece of dried cedar wood, about twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end
412 for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird
356 (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks
354 which was fired from below.

Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflammable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their
[531] round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.

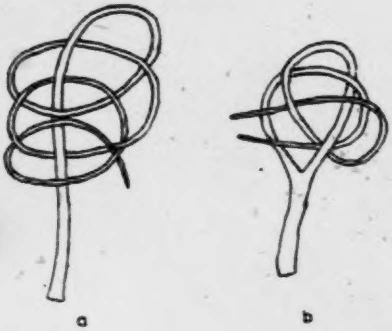

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulna, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE

The Columbia and Wenatchi are said to have been superior in stone-work 324
and in weaving to the tribes of the Okanagon group; also woven articles and 285
objects made of stone were more plentiful among them than similar articles 412
among the Salish tribes to the east and northeast. Besides arrow-heads, spear-heads, knife-blades, and drills, which were all chipped of various kinds of stone found in their country, many stone mortars, pestles, hammers, adzes, and celts were made by them. It seems that more stone-work was done by the people on the west side of the Columbia, where various kinds of good stones were more abundant, than on the east side. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, and knife-blades, according to description, appear to have been of the same form as those used by the Thompson. The common materials employed in the making of these as well as some other implements of stone were found scattered over the surface of the country. Real quarries were scarce. The principal stones used for arrow-heads, and the like, were quartz, agate, jasper, light and dark obsidian, red, yellow, and mottled chalcedony. Black arrow-stone or glassy basalt is said to have been scarce in most places. Stone was flaked with instruments of antler and bone, similar to those used by the Thompson. Most knives had leaf-shaped blades and were double-edged, but a few had triangular blades and were single-edged. If a piece of stone was unsuitable for working both edges, only one edge was worked. Celts and clubs were made of greenish mottled stone, probably serpentine and jade, and some of the former were long and double-edged. Skin-scrapers, large and small, for use with one or both hands, were of flaked arrow-stone or of thin pieces broken from boulders. In shape they were the same as those of the Thompson. Stone arrow-smoothers and whetstones seem to have differed in no way from those of the Thompson.

Stone mortars of various diameters and depth of pits were made, and used for catching grease drippings and for grinding paint, tobacco, roots, dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. Flat stones were used as anvils, for crushing bones or for the extraction of marrow, and probably for other purposes. Some small mortars had pits on both sides, and some mortars were ornamented with incised rings, short incised lines around the rims, and other kinds of ornamentation. Elongated hammer-stones of a dark tough rock were used for battering and shaping hammers and pestles. Stone pestles were common. Some were short, for one hand, and others over a foot long were used with both hands (one I saw was eighteen inches long). Pestles for berries were made of wood, and a great many mortars, especially those used for mashing roots, were made of wood incased in hide. Hand-hammers with wide flat bases were common, and appear to have resembled those of the Thompson. Some had deep and others shallow striking-heads, and a few had bases rather square in shape. The tops of some were hat-shaped, like the tops of many

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were 324 pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have 412 been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alêne and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. 321 Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, 285 common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is [314] doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

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[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 113 II, 1898-1900]).

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and 164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred [144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair 157 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few 577 being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut 412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

stone, and also for cutting some of the finer-grained stones. Adze blades and chisel blades were made of fine-grained hard stones of several colors, and were cut and sharpened with quartz crystals and grit stone. They were all, or nearly all, of short type. However, stone adzes and chisels were not much used. It seems that no long celts, like those of the Lillooet, Thompson, and Columbia, were made or used. Adzes were hafted in the same way as among the Upper Thompson [1] and other tribes. It seems that adzes and chisels were more commonly made of antler. Stone hand hammers and pestles were made of river bowlders selected for size and shape to save labor. They were worked down by pecking with the edges of hard unworked stones or river bowlders selected for hardness and for handiness of shape and weight. The pecking was first done in rings [2] parallel to one another or in spirals, and then the intervening ridges were battered down, the process being repeated until the desired size and shape were attained. They were finished by smoothing with grit stone.

Pestles were conoid in shape. They had a rather small and almost flat base, and tapered gradually to the head which was often more or less pointed. A few had heads carved to represent animals, or had simple rim enlargements at the head. They were of two sizes—short ones, about 12 or 15 cm. in length, for use in one hand;[3] and long ones, up to double that length, for use in both hands.[4]

Hand hammers were of about the same length as the short pestles, but varied in size and shape. They were round, and usually had wide, deep striking heads and well-defined tops, like some of those used by the Thompson Indians and Nez Percé.[5] Most tops were flat; but some were pointed or rounded, and others hat shaped.

Stone mauls were made, some of which were of the type figured by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[6] Others were shaped somewhat like stone hammers; but they had deeper, narrower bases, more or less square or flattened, and the handles were longer and thinner than hammer handles. Some of them may have resembled the flat-sided hammer of the Nez Percé,[7] but were not so short and thick, while others may have more nearly resembled wooden mauls or some stone clubs of the Thompson Indians.[8] In these mauls the side of the base was the striking surface, instead of the bottom, as in hammers. Both ham-

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[1] *a*, fig. 123.

[2] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 25.

[3] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 8; compare Yakima, *i*, fig. 21, 22.

[4] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, Nos. 6, 7; compare Yakima, *i*, figs. 29-36.

[5] *a*, fig. 120; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 10; Yakima, *i*, fig. 27.

[6] *c*, fig. 1.

[7] *b*, pl. 8, No. 9.

[8] *a*, fig. 250.

324 mers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A
412 heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a
bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles. These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

411 Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing
237 bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other
blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with
324 flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

237 WORK IN BONE, WOOD, ANTLER.—Wedges for splitting wood
322 were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was
324 bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of
412 the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e, f, g;* Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23-25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 34.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this 237
purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, 322
a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for
incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone[17] knives, 324
generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. 411a
Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

PAINTS AND DYES.—Paints of many colors were used, most of 386
them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue., Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *adpl yu'tsamɛn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *h*, pl. 6. No. 14.

281 them,[32] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[33] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the [462] work of women.

281 296 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

283 294 412 414 SEWING.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals. Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plentifully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[34] Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine 294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent 531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[32] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[33] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[34] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the 281
hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length,
covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the 301
fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair 321
ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened
around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to
the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young
men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132]
It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native 177
beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, 237
and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the
traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in 301
dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa 302
(*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to 412
Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men 177
eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the 302
hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by 321
pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair 412
line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different 302
ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'χwe* (Thompson: *stse'χwe*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stχtsamoχtse'nɛm*.
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacɛm*.
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*χo'χip*.
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pä'qai*.
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sä'lc'χlct*.

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The *Opuntia* (*sχu'wênätc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

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TOOLS AND METHODS OF HARVESTING.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

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Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

222 237 314 412 animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

251 Preservation of Vegetal Foods, Cooking, Dishes.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

252 *Mō'smen* roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ămxʷ*, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes

back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it. 177

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[145] See Kamloops, *h*, p. 411, fig. 339.

[146] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 275.

[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.

[148] *a*, pp. 236, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

II. MANUFACTURES

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Work in Stone, Bone, etc.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers [5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been

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[1] e, pp. 182-184.

[2] See Thompson, e, p. 183, fig. 122.

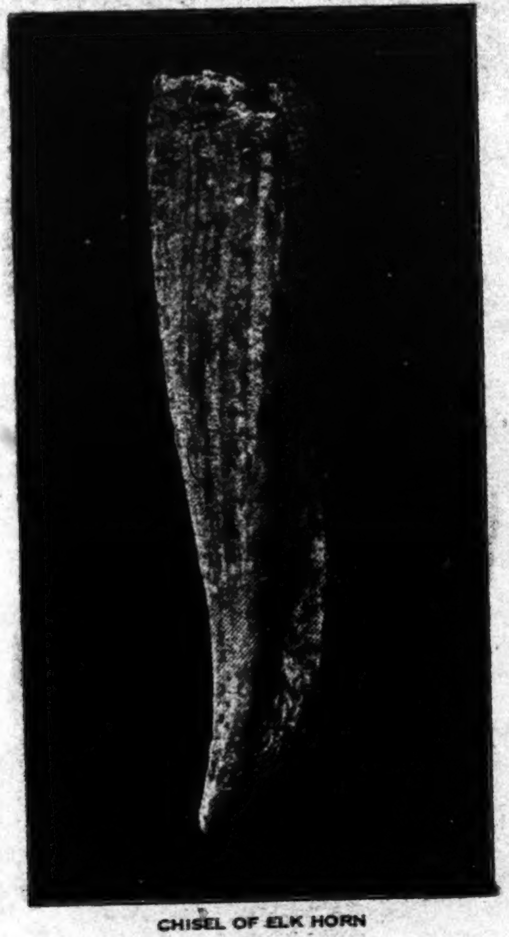
[3] I, figs. 20, 23, 26.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, b, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 220 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 1



CHISEL OF ELK HORN

Thompson River Salish.

opp. p. 218

412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident
32 there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb
171 hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, an[illegible]llets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 **Paints and Dyes.**—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for
531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville
439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the
386 Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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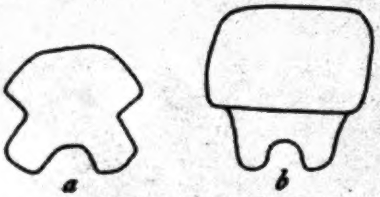

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 **Dressing of Skins.**—The method of skin dressing and the tools
412 used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 **Mats.**—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the
415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, c.

285 415 Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (*a*, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (*o*, pl. 68, *i*.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length.

283 Ropes, Thread, and Nets.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was 412 employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs.

286 294 Woven Clothing.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type[a] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the

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[a] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 6, nos. 13, 16.

222 412 *Root diggers.*—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

251 252 *Preparation and preservation of staple foods.*—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

) 343 251 A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

224 411 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] a, p. 242, fig. 222.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
177 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
[412] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
178 generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
*171 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
[222] type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[412] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing
to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to
buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
178 gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
*171 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
[415] with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[407] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather
the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other
Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qa'puxa* (hazelnuts).
824 *Sxl'stc* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Str-tsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamoxstci'nxm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Haxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkxn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shxl'xna (*Opuntia* sp.).

● 412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson[110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were
made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to 292
the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] *a*, fig. 191.

[111] *a*, fig. 194.

[112] *c*, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] *c*, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] *c*, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] *c*, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] *c*, fig. 25 and p. 60.

[4.3] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
177 also common. White was the usual color for the background; light blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

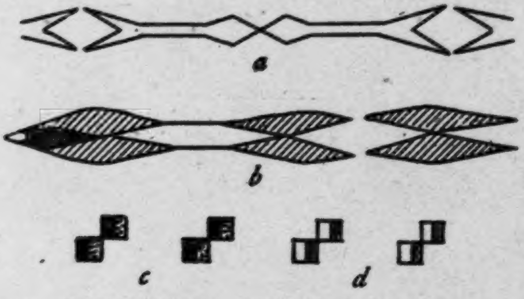

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

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[117] See Coeur d'Alêne bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alêne, No. 1.

[118] See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

281 them,[32] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the
Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods
of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper
were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron
became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few
people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins
as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while
still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried.
In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry.
No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire
skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before
undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[33]
Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow,
blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes
entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with
water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss
or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[462] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the
work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were
whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it
was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with
a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes
are washed.

283 SEWING.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
410 fully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were
cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then
bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood
of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also
made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also
occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear
bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[34]
Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing
and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[32] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[33] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[34] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
384 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside.
Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cook-
324 ing and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the
implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread,
352 and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been
415 noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsɩtsa′-
314 pax^{u}), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups,
415 berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory.
To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic.
484 Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya′mxwa′; cooking baskets were called xlakət′cı′n; water containers, əmamiʹl′xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce
285 roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or
314 three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working
415 with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were
D217 used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with
B3D wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of Coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

293 285 314 415 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (sal.ka'stia), imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory, was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and isolated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pa'xpuxilpᵘ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqəlastən); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwil'qwiləmani'lpᵘ, "blue brush").

293 314 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 314 415 Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the [137] root of the western scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stən), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwai'p. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It
was called ta'"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches 314
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 482
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultamə'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumastí'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [531]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'aù. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵘ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called qaqapui'lpᵘ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetumi'lpᵘ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloqəlke'n) were utilized extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was 285
raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would 313
be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk.
The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that 314
was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a 251
U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log 285
a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about
four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed 314
to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the 415
midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large num- 285
bers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described 314
above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots, 415
the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrapping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and
slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̓a'istən). Indian hemp was [137]
used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches.
The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple de- [331]
sign of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

285 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as
314 food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths
415 up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'alx.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He knew of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regard-
177 ing the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and
524 pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[8] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot,
415 always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[8] See page 162.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 [276] Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[8]

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[8] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called sńča'tlam, "little canoe," 322
in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of 415
canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were
small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in
the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were
used in serving moist food. They were not common.

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'mən). 321
It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from 322
a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow,
the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn 415
spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of
horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches
long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot
water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening
the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end,
which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through
which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used
for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with [531]
incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were
scratched with a point of flint.

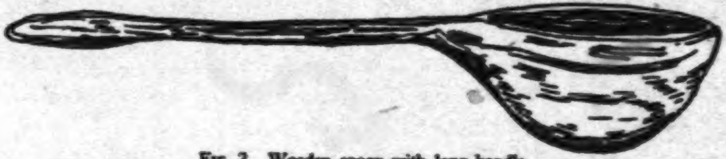

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which
served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint
knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were sub-
stituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to [285]
hold food.

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it 264
was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food 415
mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The
members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons,
but passed a single one from one to another.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil 322
made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The 324
stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 412

fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321
A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322
with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412
They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281
three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They
were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished 415
with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

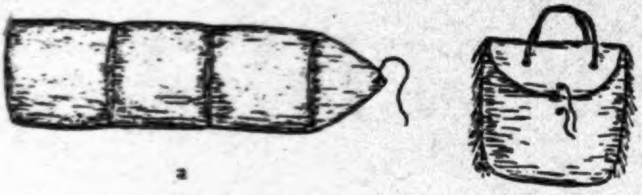

FIG. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283
thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322
basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412
inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281
pages 93-94. 415

224 281 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and
[825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps
251 only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently,
415 probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.

[19] See page 117.

Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes vary- 177
ing from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. 281
They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, panpana·'ks, means 415
"folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16. 531

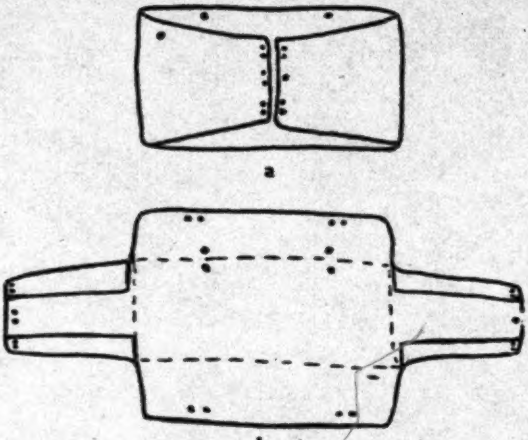

Fig. 16. Parfleche patterns: (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

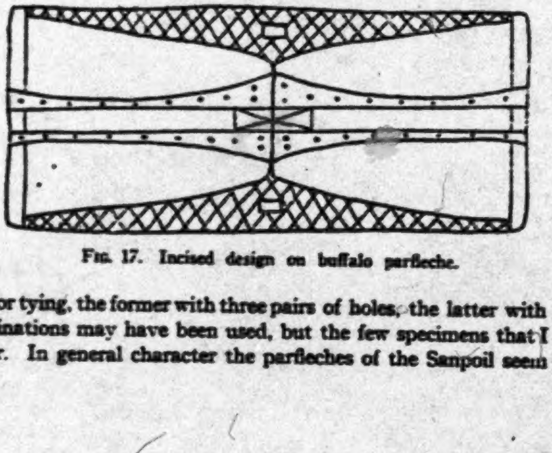

Fig. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, 177
Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, 281
definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differ- 415
ences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens,
whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens 537
and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[29]

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. 251
These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs.

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called sənlauqu', "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the 281
hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement.

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

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[29] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration*, *passim*.

J. Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wá'lək, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. /37 278

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itakən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8. 757

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a'ti'ewa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (xaqa'ilpᵘ). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̓otsq̓otso'iá'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.
It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion. [347

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.([12]) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [405

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

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[9] See page 135.

[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251
417 The arbors (kōōka'os) might be built anew or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251
415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

171
251 The account of Teit differs essentially:

"The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251
415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

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[19] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 234.

251 415 before winter, were preferably kept in buckets of cottonwood bark which were cached. These were made in two pieces: a round bottom piece and a cylindrical wall sewn up with a single seam. The bark was cut very thick (one to one and a half inches) so that no supports were needed. It could be peeled off the trees with comparative ease in June, when the sap is plentiful. A cover was woven of tall "horse-tail grass" (qEtsō's). Leaves and rocks were laid on this cover. These baskets were made in the same manner as those of birch bark (see Material Culture).

[417]

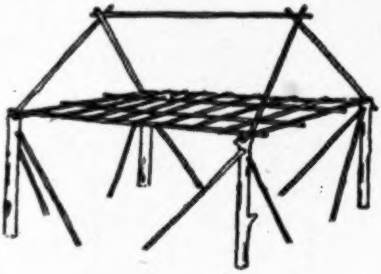

Fig. 2. Frame of storage arbor.

Storage barrels, or rather tubs, of wood were reported by one informant, Suszen. Lucy Joe, who was exceptionally well-informed, had never heard of them. These varied in height from one to three or four feet, and the diameter from nine inches to three feet. Any kind of wood was used which was free from knots, preferably cottonwood and least preferably pine, because of its pitch which flavors the food. A cylindrical section was dried for a month or so, then the inside burned out by placing coals in it and scraping out the charcoal and partly burned wood with a stone adz. This operation limited the size to four feet, for it would be difficult to manage the fire any deeper. To determine the wall's thickness, they were thumped; no holes were bored. The cover was always of wood, overlapping the rim and fitting tightly, or the gaps stuffed.

A hide might be thrown over it, held down by rocks. These barrels were never decorated. They were used for all foods intended to be kept over a month: if for a shorter time, baskets or sacks were used. Only one food was placed in each barrel, lest the tastes mix. Their special advantage over baskets and sacks lay in that insects and rodents could less easily get at the food.

251 As winter came on the supplies were removed from the arbors to rock shelters or pits, usually nearer the winter villages. The pits (ÛlakI'n't) were from six to sixteen

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
554 would also naturally have sufficient power
to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them [881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treated. The grease was collected from the tops [415] of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called sqûêasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

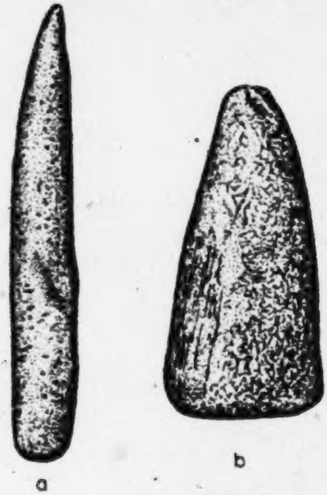

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 ● 321 [435]

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 416.-- Analyst]

p. 59 (A)

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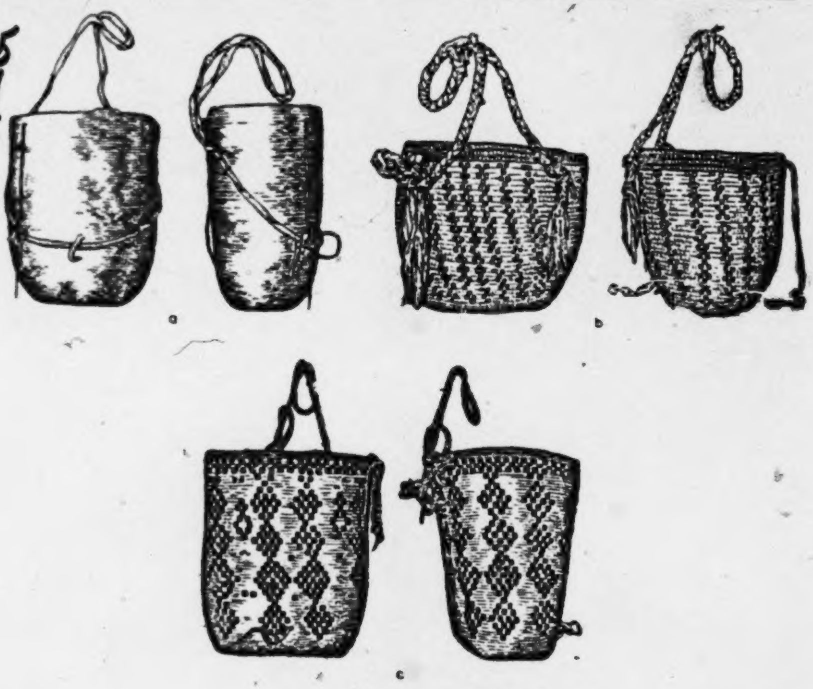

Fig. 28. Coiled baskets (front and side views).

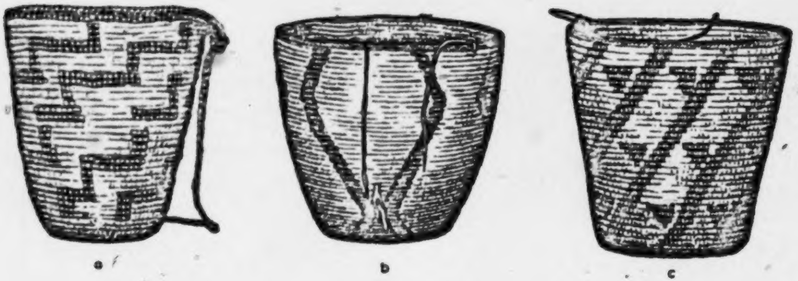

Fig. 29. Coiled baskets (a, c, Southern Okanagon; b, Wenatchi).

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

•415 281 These (called pEnpEnaʔ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon.[1]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29).[1] Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 62 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

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27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

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The coiling is counterclockwise, the work proceeding from left to right on the edge of the basket nearest the worker, the inside of the basket being uppermost. The strips of bark used for sewing, eighteen inches or more long, are soaked in water while the work is in progress, and occasionally the whole top of the basket is dipped into water. Such strips are split to proper thickness and width while one end is held between the teeth. The foundation of the coil is a bundle of strips of bark (sometimes strips of the root itself are included) about a quarter of an inch in diameter when compressed. In splitting the cedar roots many splints are short: these are used in the foundation. The foundation bundles are sewed with a somewhat longer and strong strip of cedar root bark, pointed at one end so it can be passed through each stitch in the course below. A hole is made with an awl for each stitch, which passes inwards from the outside, up and over the bundle of strips, then is pulled downwards with considerable force before being pushed in through the next hole. The stitches are spaced equidistantly in round baskets, but in rectangular baskets they are more frequent near the corners. As the work proceeds new strips of bark are inserted into the end of the foundation bundle to give a continuous coil. To add to the sewing element, the remnant of that already in use is brought into the foundation bundle. The new sewing element is stitched twice through the same hole, the short free end being left in front and covered with the second of the stitches. The edge of the basket is finished with stitches making a criss-cross pattern: apparently each stitch pierces the second stitch beyond of the course beneath, is then carried back

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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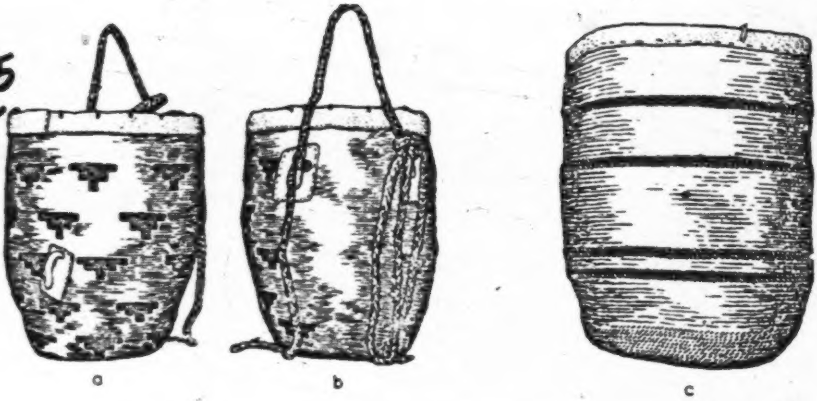

Fig. 30. Round twined bags (showing two sides in a and b).

p. 62 (c)

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25 An Okanagon specimen is figured in Spier, Plains Indian Parfleche Designs, 322.[1]

26 Catalog numbers (Washington State Museum) and dimensions of baskets illustrated: Figure 28,a (2-253) depth 12" x length 9" x width 7"; b (2-257) 8" x 9" x 7"; c (2-255) 14" x 12" x 9½": Figure 29, a (2-256) 10" x 8½" x 7".[1]

27 Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 62 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 62 (D)

over the rim from the inside, and pierces 285
(from the outside) the stitch that has been
skipped. The elements of the foundation bundle 415
are cut off one by one at the rim so
that the foundation coil tapers to an end
and the edge of the basket is even.

Imbrication was the only mode of decoration. 171
This was done with a kind of grass
called slEkē´stia, which was picked in the 415
Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This
was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. According 285
to Boas[28] the home of imbrication 531
seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade
region, the Okanagon having received the
trait about the time of the coming of the
whites.

Cooking baskets were always set into 252
the ground for stone boiling. They were not
washed out but scraped with the fingers,
which were promptly licked.

Twined bags with round bottoms resembled 285
baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29][1] These 415
were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine
bark (qêts!asEnI´m), or with tule warps and
willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag
was described as follows. The bottom was
first twined, working in a clockwise direction,
new warp elements being added as the
work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping
the weft once around the warps where they
crossed at the center. The tule warp elements
were then bent up to form the sides.
Loops of tule were put around the rim of the
bag, by which it could be tightly laced when

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[28] Boas, *Coiled Basketry*, 139-140.

[1] [For footnote, see p.63(D), category 116.-- Analyst]

filled. Bags of other materials were apparently made in an identical way. These had handles of buckskin, with little buckskin reinforcements. A hop vine cord specimen seen had its base in simple twining, its sides in diagonal twine. They were decorated by false embroidery in red and black, worked with the inner bark of a plant called pō´qwē. This plant was brought by the Similkameen in bundles about five inches thick, three of which were worth a blanket. The bark was dyed in a concoction of Oregon grape root boiled in water. The lacing was always done with a two-strand Indian hemp cord. If the bag was to be carried any distance, the top was stopped with grass and leaves before it was laced. The tump line was then tied around it. Such bags were used to transport anything that was not fragile, such as dried meat, berries, or pine cones.

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415 ●
[531]

Flat twined bags of Indian hemp were used for carrying roots and berries, or for supplies taken on a hunting trip. They were about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches deep (Figure 31).[1] Such a bag was woven as a flat fabric, then doubled, and sewed along the sides. A buckskin handle was fastened on each side at the opening. An Indian hemp rope fastened to the handles was slung over the shoulders for carrying. As in the specimen illustrated, the two faces might bear different designs. The making of corn husk sacks of Nez Percé type was derived from the Wenatchi (?) within the last two or three decades. [531]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

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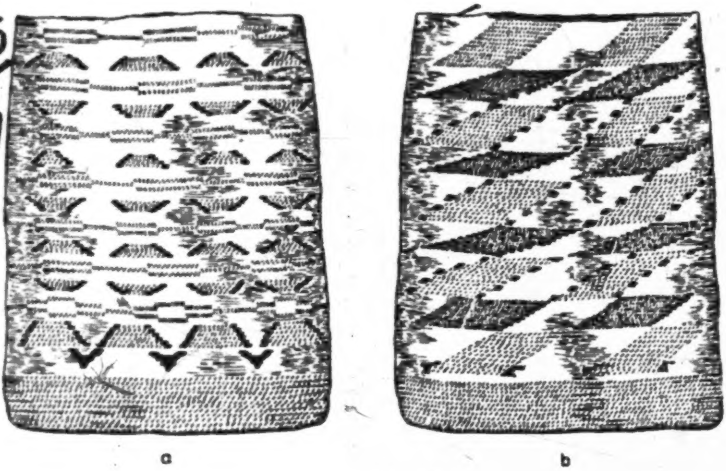

Fig. 31. Flat twined bag (showing unlike designs on two sides).

p. 63 (c)

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28 Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.
29 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 30, a, b, no. 2-254, 13½" deep, 9" diameter; c, no. 2-258, 7½" deep, 5½" diameter.[1]
30 This specimen (no. 2-259) is 20" deep by 16" wide.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 63(A), 63 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 63 (D)

285 415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314 415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).*[1]

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* Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom (b) were folded up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. [531] A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category 116. -- Analyst]

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet high. Such buckets were used for fetching 415 water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the like were used for storing berries, etc., and 251 were kept under the storage arbors. They were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by 415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

323 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Flageolets were used principally in 534 courtship by men, but on other occasions were played by women also. They were made of elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an [832] eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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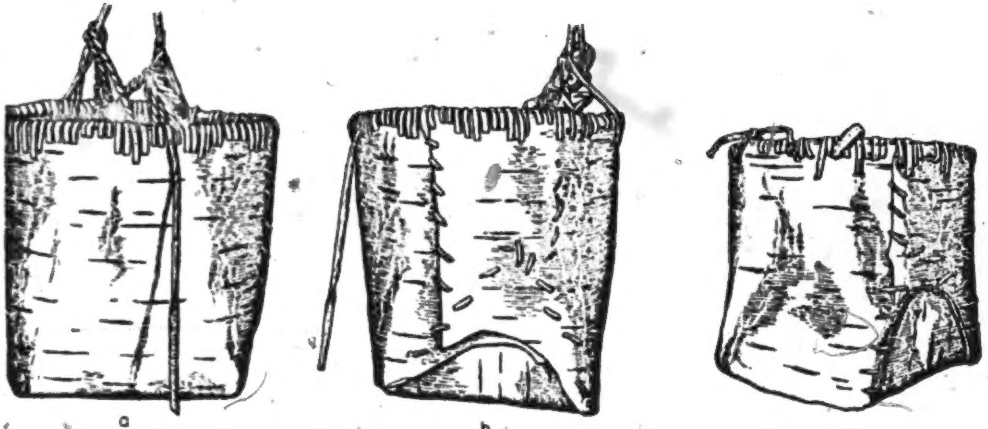

Fig. 32. Birch bark buckets (showing two sides in a and b).

P. 64 (c)

31 Numbers and dimensions are: a, b, no. 2-265, 8½" deep, 8" diameter; c, no. 2-264, 7" deep, 7" diameter.[1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p.64 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 64 (D)

534 [463] [533] over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

[314 •415]

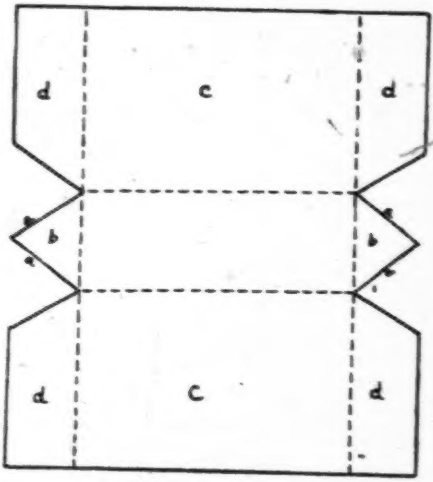

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

313 through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor.

322 To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner.

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

[372] Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down.

[532] There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. [415] One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles.

321 Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft.

Dyes and Paints

386 Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kaI´lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant.

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also used by some people when travelling. 343

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made 372
of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the
floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of 415 ●
mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood. 352

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294
ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531
a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

MATS.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285
three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352]
in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style[37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

WOVEN BAGS.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285
Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415
buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine[42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.
[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.
[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.
[38] *a*, fig. 133.
[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.
[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.
[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.
[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.
[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.
[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

285 415 hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.[45] Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somzone'lp*(?), which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying. 285 415 531

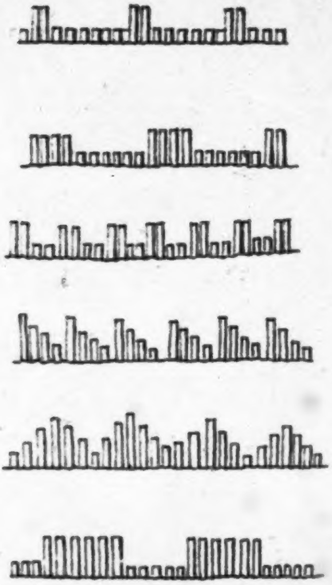

FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes. The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.[46] Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine

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[45] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

[46] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 219.

quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design 285
material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later 415
days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the
advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by 531
tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

SKIN BAGS AND POUCHES.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many 237
sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, 281
and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape 415
for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. 531
Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads
supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177]
fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small; round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] Cf. fig. 30.

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Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.--Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflèches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflèches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint 237
stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still 281
quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of 415
a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin 531
and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, par- [462]
flèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint.

FLEXIBLE BASKETS.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were 285
formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in 415
proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually 531
flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[31] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these

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[31] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

285 baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

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OPENWORK BASKETS.—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[52]

[2B3] BIRCH-BARK BASKETS.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[53] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[54] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[55] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

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CEDAR-BARK BASKETS.—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[56] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[52] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[53] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[54] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[55] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[56] Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. 285
The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, 314
being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The
other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, 415
and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

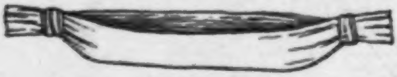

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

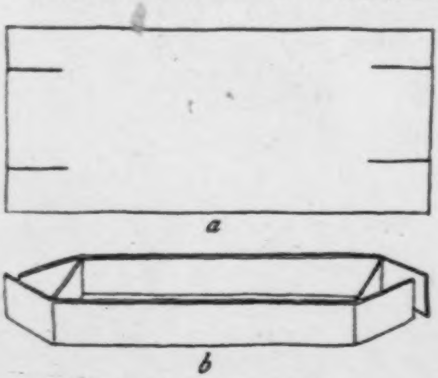

FIGURE 3.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no [322]
pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn. [323]

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe [177]
changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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177 285 415 baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discontinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflêches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

295 415 Coiled Basketry.[b]—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*, pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and

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[b] See *o*, pp. 140-142.

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also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. 285 They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*" 415 baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in parflêches. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.) Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbri- 285 cated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415 well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that no cherry or willow bark was used. 531 The grass was applied nearly always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and 221 river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. 286 They had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.[57] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject 531 is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[57] *a*, fig. 134.

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 374
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 415
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the
evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281x
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160.

[74] a, fig. 161.

[75] a, pl. 18.

[416] Further-
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more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe, and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. [621] The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

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Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 CHIEFS.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
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not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

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412 32 171 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. 531 439 386 It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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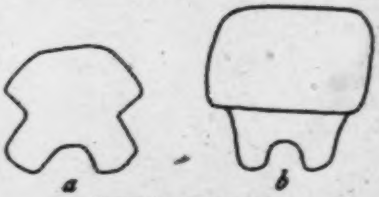

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 412 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 415 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archaeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, c, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, c, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, c.

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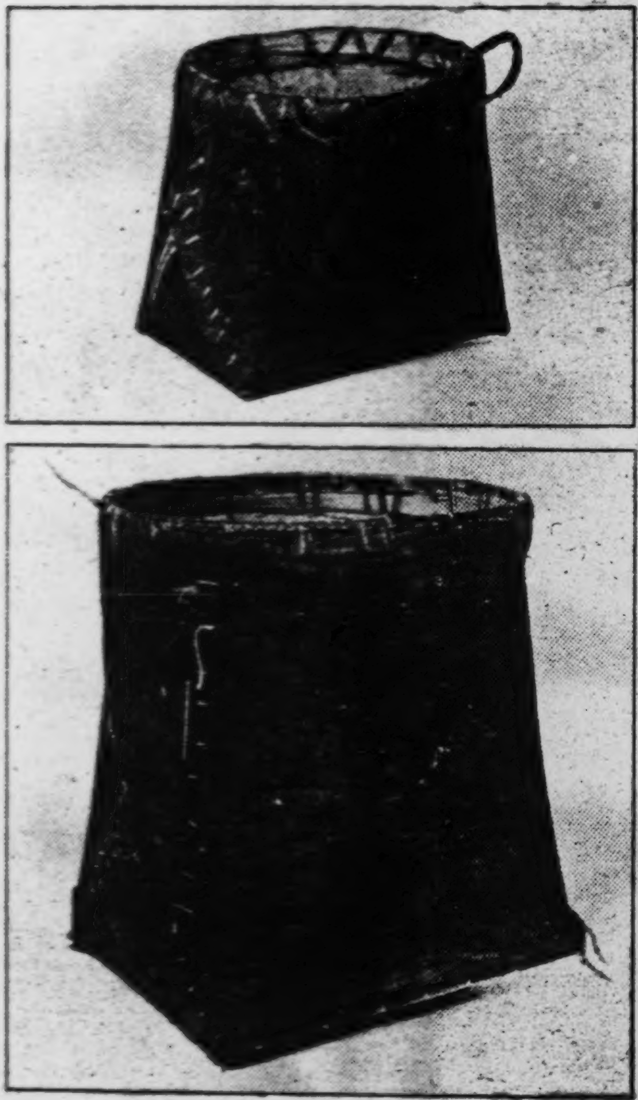
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 2



BIRCH-BARK BASKETS

Interior Salish.

opp. p. 219

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Colville; Lakes

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made. 285 415 314

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16] 285 531

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328). 286

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark, and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together. 285 283 415

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*.
[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *e* and *f*.
[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[14] See ibid., VI. M. 76.
[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 73.
[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.
[17] *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*, *h*, *i*.
[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 68.
[19] See Thompson, *a*, p. 202, fig. 149.

283 285 415 Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.[20] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[21] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[22] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

[531] Flat Bags.—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[23] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[20] See Thompson, a, p. 208, fig. 152.

[21] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 86.

[22] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 160.

[23] See Thompson, a, p. 190, fig. 132, and Shuswap, e, p. 497, fig. 219.

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Skin Bags.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[34] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[35] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[34] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[35] See Shuswap, c, p. 498, fig. 228, and Thompson, c, p. 225, fig. 151.

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● 415
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BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[26] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[27] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

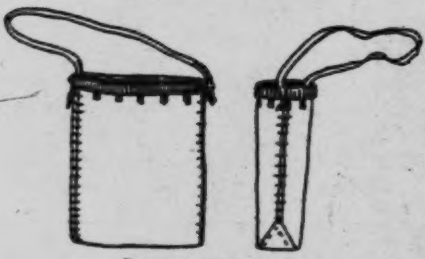

FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting. [531]

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[26] See Field Mus., Nos. 111859-111862.

[27] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

6; Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes 285
long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and 314
many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands
of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made 415 ●
little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring
bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials 439
abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets
and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia.
The Athapascan *Stuwī'x* were the only people who made no coiled
baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson
who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil
made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements,
as they also procured some from the Columbia. The
Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As
among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets,
and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots
were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used
instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce
in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of
uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by
the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river
within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of
cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees
in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication 177
on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285
about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced
to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531
some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314
this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was
principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple
designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the
inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely
cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville
appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil.
The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and
they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people
think it came from the south, and some think it must have been
learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely.
Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower
Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted.
About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased,
most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass
entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531
high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns
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[1] See 6, pp. 140-142.

[531] 285 were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets, however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether
285 of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their
415 baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller of the older "*stlūq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson. (*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800. Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 26 *a*). Some were made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped, the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by 285
the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the 415
middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal
diameter. (a, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and
trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are
similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at
the present day, while others resembled more some of those made
by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much
rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling
on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries,
etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were
also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some
were of large size. (c, pl. 68, i.) Small cup and bowl shaped
baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as
to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used,
probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and
others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the
house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their
sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some
of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being
capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length.

Ropes, Thread, and Nets.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian 283
hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass
were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were
much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide,
twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin
were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse
hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing
thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This
was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes
made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of
goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was 412
employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for
scraping rawhide thongs.

Woven Clothing.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" 286
type [a] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similka- 294
meen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained
them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a
very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim
still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and
fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually
effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the
rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the

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[a] See Nez Percé, b, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir 343
boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and
hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir 342
was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this
purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used
as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or 352
skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use.
In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back
rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin
tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes 342
had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a
skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common
among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The
Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted
them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo
they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling.
Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are
used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed
more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A
few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among
the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log
cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of
the whites.

Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind 343
as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings
were earth-covered.[9]

Cellars.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson.
Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the
ground were all used.

Household Utensils.—Household utensils consisted principally 415 ●
of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and
bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have
already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same 352
materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with
mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo,
sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various
kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a
heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were
also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush
down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about
the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The 251
methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and
water were in no way different from those which obtained among
the Thompson.

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[9] See Thompson, a, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

415 251 It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 281 Dress.—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common

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[11] See Ottawa collection. Nos. 135, 137.

[12] See Thompson, e, p. 204, fig. 156.

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. 136, a juniper-bark spoon.

531 171* [389] was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

281 171* **Dressing of Skins.**—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

281 415 ● 171* [178] **Rawhide Work.**—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. [439] Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

[531] **Woven and other Bags.**—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

285 171* Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

285 531 171* Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their

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[1] *c*, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] *f*, pp. 175, 176.

[4] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65.

[5] See p. 44.

[6] *f*, p. 176, fig. 3.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

285 531 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel.
*171 (Fig. 26.)

Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of
the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by
286 the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the
*171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of
[237] vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

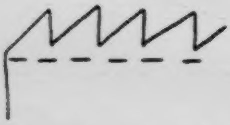

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope
283 were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp
being chiefly used. Most of the thread for
*171 sewing was of sinew taken from the backs
294 of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer.
Needles were little used, but sewing was generally
237 done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed.
Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon.
*171 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It
227 is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles
and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful
if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the
*171 Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all
the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead,
● 415 made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the
314 ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*.
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement 415
of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan 314
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend 184
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including
cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest,
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the 285
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend 285
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. 531
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain.
Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication
have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the
Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the
Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet.
This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms
and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling
from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[1] See c, pp. 140-142.

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwt'χ* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'χe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

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*171 DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflêches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
[178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

462
*171 DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflêches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double 342
lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The 171*
strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one
entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there 314
were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side,
laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the [184]
Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the
Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark
about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected
bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts,
from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges
were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one
entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched
log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated [354]
lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters 342
in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical
forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little 171*
more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes
families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than
expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made
conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass,
and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the
outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles 344
overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the
summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the 171*
people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The
Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations,
when great dances are held. These summer dance houses
were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on
the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 343
Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, 171*
and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. 415 ●
Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled
basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend 171*
d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named
tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food.
Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is
said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used
some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The
latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles,
and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets
were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

415 *171 d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food 352 *171 [237] [372] was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 *171 281 [184] CLOTHING (pls. 3, A 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (c, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and [184] was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] c, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 163); Thompson, a, p. 210, fig. 189.

[2] c, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 86, the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] c, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, a, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. [illegible].)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (c, p. 128, style No. 6), 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in c, fig. 86; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in c, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (a, p. 211.)

*A [For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see
Λ Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

● 415 Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne.
285 Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were
178 generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually
*171 went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé
[222] type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets
[412] were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing
to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to
buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For
178 gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used
*171 conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense
[415] with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are
[407] plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather
the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in
a short time.

251 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear
*171 to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other
Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

492 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used
531 on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various
*171 kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

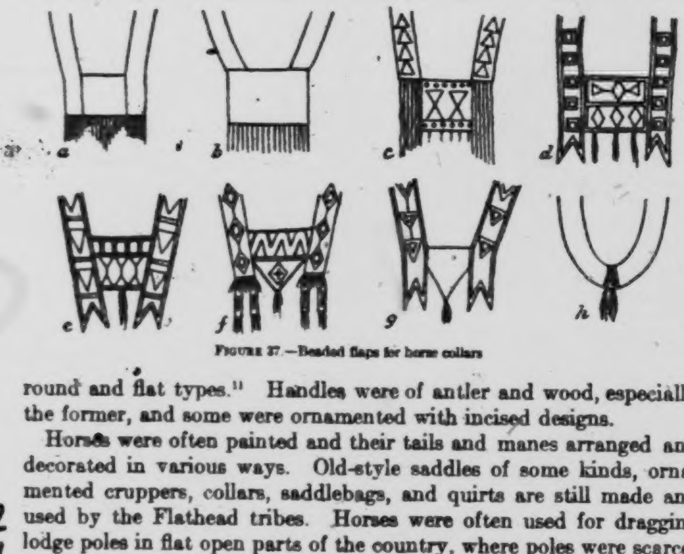

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and
492 used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging
*171 lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover,
● [415] safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in
[178] use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

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[8] l, p. 23, fig. 19.
[9] [illegible] Thompson, p. 203, a, fig. 151.
[10] [illegible] instance, l, p. 22, fig. 18.
[11] [illegible] figs. 23, 24.

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

492
531

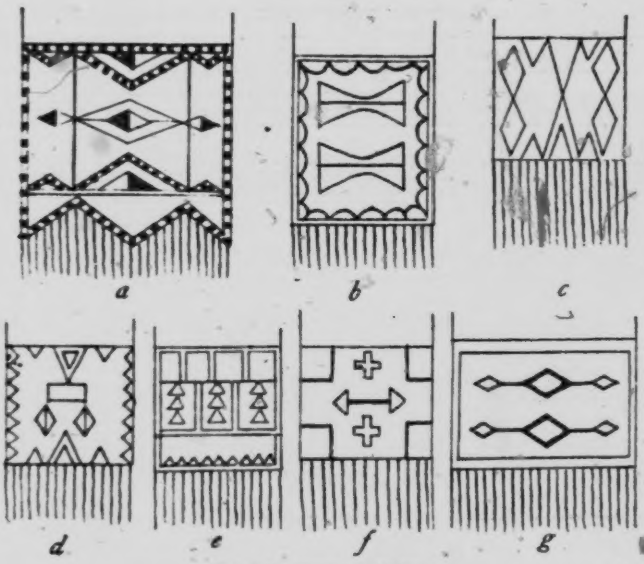

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 438 [178]

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

251 417 a foot apart, on which were laid the pieces of salmon. The other type of rack was square, twenty feet on a side, often employing trees for corner posts. In both cases, the sticks bearing the flesh had to be set in place with the aid of forked sticks, for the rack had to be seven and a half to eight feet high in order to prevent animals from stealing the meat. Bits of bush might be placed over it to keep off the sun, and a small fire of dry willow or alder wood, which was not pitchy, kept going underneath if the weather were moist, if the flies were bad, or if the people were in a hurry to move on. Generally it took about two days and nights to dry the salmon, but it was watched carefully so as to be dried the optimum amount, more being constantly set up wherever there was room. The dried fish was stored in sacks of hemp or tule, about as large as burlap bags, placed in arbors and later in caches.

Dried salmon would last only one year: it became wormy after that.

If taken in winter the fish (mostly silver salmon) were hung in the eaves of the house. If they were caught too quickly for this they were allowed to freeze. They could not then be dried and stored, but had to be eaten fairly soon, and they had practically no taste. The dog salmon which was picked up dead was treated similarly.

252 Small amounts of salmon pemmican were prepared by pounding the dry flesh on flat rocks with large pestle-shaped stones or mauls. Tule mats would be spread out next to the rocks to catch the crumbs. No berries or roots were mixed in, but oil was added, which helped to seal the fish from the air.

Fresh salmon was cooked only by roasting: dry salmon might be roasted or boiled. Roasting consisted of placing the flesh near a glowing fire, usually with a splint of wood run through it for support, and if it were fresh and juicy, with a receptacle underneath to catch the dripping oil. Boiling was accomplished always by use of hot stones in buckets, usually of bark. The stones were moved with fresh green sticks. Fish which had been smoked could not be roasted but had to be boiled, whereas fish dried in the wind could be roasted.

Methods of preparing salmon heads were cited by Mary Carden as follows. (1) The head might be roasted to keep for several days. Having been cut off back of the gills and slit from mouth to throat, the flesh inside was cut into strips, and a stick pushed through the whole transversely to hold it flat. This was set on a spit beside the fire and turned from time to time. (2) To dry the head for storage, it was cut and skewered as above, and hung to dry. (3) Sometimes these were boiled for immediate consumption. Eyes were always eaten, but not uncooked.

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap. They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226
417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies.' (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen.
[433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wi'tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

the blood possible, and this was all poured 224 in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by warriors, if they had the power of a deer-killing animal, but more frequently service 251 berries were cooked in it, or it was added to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer 262 time, even though it clabbered in the heat. The intestine was hung up near camp until all the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the 251 hills the meat would be dried there, at any time of the year. It would then be lighter to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the deer while women cut the meat into slabs, several [462] inches square and three-sixteenths of an inch thick. If there was much meat, a structure similar to the salmon rack would [417] be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed 251 at permanent camps (sEnxaöwI'ltseten). These 417 had four uprights, were five to six feet long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

251 417 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 262 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 784 825 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had [783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

STORAGE

251 Food was stored in many ways: in arbors in the woods, rock shelters, pits in the ground, and inside the houses. The greater part was cached near where it had been dried and prepared, or at some nearby rock pile where a rock shelter might be made, leaving the work of carrying it home for winter when there was more time.

251 417 The arbors (kōōka'os) might be built anew or might be made over from the drying racks used for salmon or deer meat. They were fifteen to twenty feet square. In either case each of the four uprights would be reinforced by two extra poles fastened at the level of the horizontal poles, i.e., seven and a half to eight feet above the ground ("too high for a woman to reach"), and sloping to the ground at forty-five degrees (Figure 2). They lay in the planes of the horizontal poles, at right angles to each other. On the horizontals a platform would be built by placing smaller poles next to each other. Then at each end of the structure two crossed poles were set up above the platform and a ridgepole lashed in place between them, to which tule mats were fastened, so as to shade the food. The apices of their A-shaped frames were about eight feet above the platform. Smaller arbors of the same name were made on the model of the smaller drying rack, with a tripod at each end. The platform of this was about four feet from the ground. A ridgepole and tule mats were set up similarly.

251 415 The salmon and deer meat when dry were put into square sacks or envelopes of woven tule, each large enough to contain the equivalent of twenty salmon, but the heads, tails, flesh strips, eggs, and male parts were put into separate sacks. These might be equipped with a leather thong for a tump line. They were put into the arbor through its open ends, which were reached by ladders.

Underneath were kept the dried berries and vegetables, in sacks and baskets, raised above the ground on sticks to keep them from the dampness. They were removed as soon as convenient to the rock shelters, however.

171 The account of Teit differs essentially:

251 "The Lower Thompsons stored the dry fish in elevated wooden caches, in which they remained all winter. In spring they were removed and placed in cellars where they were allowed to lie until the following spring, when they were taken out and aired by being spread on flat rocks. They were then returned to the cellar and kept perhaps for another year. Most families thus kept the surplus of each season's catch of salmon for two or three years, in cases of emergency."[19]

251 415 Dried berries, etc., destined to be used

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[19] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 234.

251 415 before winter, were preferably kept in buckets of cottonwood bark which were cached. These were made in two pieces: a round bottom piece and a cylindrical wall sewn up with a single seam. The bark was cut very thick (one to one and a half inches) so that no supports were needed. It could be peeled off the trees with comparative ease in June, when the sap is plentiful. A cover was woven of tall "horse-tail grass" (qEtsō′s). Leaves and rocks were laid on this cover. These baskets were made in the same manner as those of birch bark (see Material Culture).

[417]

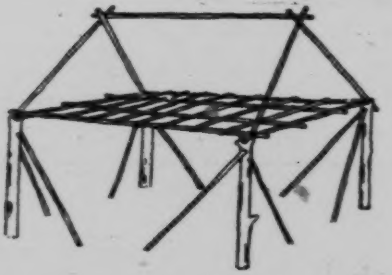

Fig. 2. Frame of storage arbor.

Storage barrels, or rather tubs, of wood were reported by one informant, Suszen. Lucy Joe, who was exceptionally well-informed, had never heard of them. These varied in height from one to three or four feet, and the diameter from nine inches to three feet. Any kind of wood was used which was free from knots, preferably cottonwood and least preferably pine, because of its pitch which flavors the food. A cylindrical section was dried for a month or so, then the inside burned out by placing coals in it and scraping out the charcoal and partly burned wood with a stone adz. This operation limited the size to four feet, for it would be difficult to manage the fire any deeper. To determine the wall's thickness, they were thumped; no holes were bored. The cover was always of wood, overlapping the rim and fitting tightly, or the gaps stuffed.

A hide might be thrown over it, held down by rocks. These barrels were never decorated. They were used for all foods intended to be kept over a month: if for a shorter time, baskets or sacks were used. Only one food was placed in each barrel, lest the tastes mix. Their special advantage over baskets and sacks lay in that insects and rodents could less easily get at the food.

251 As winter came on the supplies were removed from the arbors to rock shelters or pits, usually nearer the winter villages. The pits (ūlakI′n‘t) were from six to sixteen

HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, 221
as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon
and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended 342
chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia
depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds
for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground
earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the winter-time,
because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It
seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson,
only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or
sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent
were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through 417 ●
the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson.
It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some
families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer,
but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter,
parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into
the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges
were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds,
hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of
two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said
to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter
at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often
used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer
mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid
on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This
accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same
as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting 343
of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin
tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia
River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes
were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia.
The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge
was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it
did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[45] I did
not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to
the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some
women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on

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[45] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

251 343 417

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. [251] They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

251 322 343

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

285 314 352

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. [513] Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; [237] also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not 342 used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few 171* by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the 184 Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and [417] • notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all 344 large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were 361 the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public 171* gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them 361 mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also some- 342 times used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed 171* that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, [592] having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. [364] Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 ●421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet anyman could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa'wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI'ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau'na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsd*, *Yaromi'*, *Siyō''ɛ*, *Xwa'm-cɛmma'*, *X̣aẋae'tcɛm* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwā̆lɛmcɛna'*, *Wīlɛwīlɛma'*, *Siyaẋta'*, *Si''pal*, *Tclɛmtā'l*, *Xwɛotsti'*, *Tc'ā'āne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dɛwal al 'da'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qaẋpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551/611 [552]

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421/861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [562]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

[462] 421] only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 421 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[illegible] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 311 421 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[illegible] a, p. 248.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 311
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 421
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just [462]
the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431
were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527
one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which
generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, 53
no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[290] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

567 SLAVES.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

551 NAMES.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

● 421 PROPERTY.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. 421 On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. 431 Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

527 [431] FESTIVALS.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntciẋa'nk* or *ntsehā'nk* or *toẋto'ẋɛm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'ɛm*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading-people gave feasts and presents

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[5] For instance, *Ā'tamɛn* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 263 to 276. The names *Sitē'k's*, *Weie'ptɛm*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

285 332 342 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 351 352 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 352 354 591 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 342 422 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 768 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (lıt'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone. 226 286

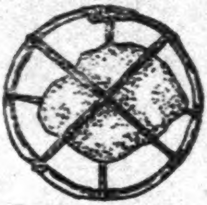

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. However, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch. 286 422

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory according to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 177 226 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[9] 226 624

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[9] See page 174-175.

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,'
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
● 422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

621 qwafkEnme'lüxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sI'pa's, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe'n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEfpüqtse'nixEn was
village announcer and whipped the children
when the village was completed each year. He
switched the children severely until they
[881] yelled, before pushing them away. Julie
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INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

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344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire [354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same [622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the [425] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property. [358] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use, and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule, the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination. All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds. [354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

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[61] See p. 180.

62. C.P. 116, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

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361 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

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484 The temporary mat hut (sıpı'a'ilᵊ) was utilized during the summer while moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

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571 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat houses, (ṣıntoauqwıʔltən, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures. These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted
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342 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

571 619 621 The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognize them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born.

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

423 621 Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property. No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight.

622 Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord.

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] *Cf.* pages 27-28.

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159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

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p. 91 (A)

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One' seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power [424 578 533] song except at the winter dance. This song might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsInŏx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 554 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

p. 136 (A)

the papałöt was very "mean" these treatments 778
did no good and the patient died. David ex-
plained that it killed one by stealing his 787
power away, taking it under water or into
the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

Papałöt demanded offerings more urgent- 778
ly than did other kinds of guardian spirits.
It might, for example, tell a girl to give
away many blankets, even if she had none, and 787
unless her relatives supplied her with blan-
kets to do this she would die. It liked to 782
see blood; a man might help his daughter or
niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood flow 431
on the snow. After one had danced and given
away things at two or three successive win-
ter dances, he had his newly acquired pa-
pałöt under his control. It was then as
much his own as if he had got it on the pow-
er quest, though it could be stolen, just as
could his other powers, by a sufficiently
strong shaman.

In one account by Suszen, a dead ances- 778
tor's guardian spirit took a more amicable
form. An old person who had never received
power might dream that a deceased relative 787
came to him and gave him his power and song.
Since in this case the guardian spirit was
brought by the relative himself, it seems
doubtful that it was truly papałöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papałöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

Power could not be bought or sold; our 778
informants laughed at the idea. But one per-
son could steal it from another if his own
guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. 424
With the stolen power the thief obtained its
song, which he sang when using the power for
curing or other purposes. He could increase
its potency by giving away property to the
people at the winter dances, just as for
power acquired in other ways. Power theft
always resulted in the illness or death of [753]
the victim. A female shaman treating
Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to
this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papałöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papałŏt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papałŏt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

778 doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person
424 might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suszen said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

789 A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his
791 opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, SwIpkIn, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqē´n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqē´n was curing the patient, SwIpkIn's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqē´n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suszen declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not coöperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They reached home in safety. 173 567

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not easily be kept captive. 177 567

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of males and females were distinct. 551

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams. These names were believed to be connected in some way with the guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name. [776]

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from incidents in his career. 551 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

551 Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwaxanc'*

572 me and I will give you things." They would
431 agree to exchange presents and hospitality
as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

●[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinŭqōĭhwĭtstŭŏ´h, "giving-partner" (-tŭŏ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ŭŏ; a gift chwĭtsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 Among many groups the men had regular
partners with whom they preferred to trade
572 when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups
often went, and the women went along, for
439 they were useful for carrying and the care
of the food. Much of the produce exchanged
was actually the property of the women, who
did their own trading while the men occupied
themselves in gambling. Teit says that
there were families which undertook these
trips regularly, while others went only occasionally.
Young men, however, often went
along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits
were one of the great opportunities, like
the salmon fishing and some of the winter
[527] dances, for the coming together of large
crowds of people, so that the young people
[584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 By the time that full middle life was
reached, social recognition of individual
554 differences was achieved. Differentiation
in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 126(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

621 qwafkEnma'lüxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

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428 the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

428 553 If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

428 778 787 Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

626 685 There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

525 626 At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or woman.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

626 This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

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[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206-207.

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberetely sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 428 ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

776 787 857 Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites. 585 583 177

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires. [833]

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused. 584

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property. 428 587

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[304] See Thompson, a, p. 323.

[305] a, p. 324.

[306] See Thompson, a, p. 324.

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a 766 party had camped there. When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains.

When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, 764 and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before 766 burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in poor skins, or in mats.

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.[illegible] If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. It seems that it was not placed [428] facing in a particular direction. Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses

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[illegible] c, p. 328.

764 belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.[309]

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who
764 volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food
428 for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

768 After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,[310] but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Heirochla odorata*) and an unidentified plant called *mare'mɑtstatst*(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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[309] a, p. 330.

[310] a, p. 332.

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. 624 In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, 619 and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point.

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. 551 On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, 171* Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ēsqxt* ("cloud"), *-ēlst* ("stone"), *-qẽn*, *-qain* ("head"), *-t'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. [787] The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. 551 Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken 787 from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, 171* or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary 551 name. Following are a few names: 171*

Tcnē'sqxt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan. [428]

Sazeazpaqui'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stskaztci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Elemē'um spzhanē' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoispzhanē'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

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776 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

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776 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance, might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

431 753 776 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterised as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 778 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 778 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a·'tiamxᵘ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. 534
Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only 535
about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'lam) or rest period of equal
length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the 796
center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed
after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short
periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two.

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents 431
for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center 796
pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later.

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the 756
dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent.

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great 796
deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (skluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. 756
The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision 787
had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else 796
the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others.

A special feature of some of the dances was a performance to bring the Chinook wind and warmer weather. It was called skwatsá'mu'xəm. The dance itself did not differ; only the motivation of the dancers was changed. The leader during such a period of the dance was one with weather power. Such power was not directly given by the elements. It was conferred by the spirit of something typical of the prairie country south of the Columbia river (from which direction the Chinook winds came). Thus a particular bird, only found south of the river, was often the donor of the "Chinook" power. 789 / 796

Sometimes during a protracted period of severe weather in late winter a special dance was called, with the approval of the chief, for the specific purpose of bringing warmer weather. Here again the actual procedure at the dance did not differ from the regular pattern, but a person with weather power was the active leader. The real excuse for the dance was to provide an opportunity for him to sing and dance and tell of the powers he possessed and promises he had been given.

At a certain dance all those with weather power had sung and danced, but to no avail, and were ready to give up. Finally a young crippled woman announced that she would bring the Chinook wind. Everyone laughed at her but she sang nevertheless. She told how she had been visited many years before by a handsome young man who was actually Mallard Duck. He had given her power to bring the warm winds. She told further that he had appeared to her again the preceding night and said that if she sang the wind would come in two days. Her singing was successful. Two days later the winds came.

All dances lasted until dawn each morning. The days were devoted mainly to sleeping. 796

But the women sometimes spent the morning in a dance called t'ai'ɛk. A few women gathered together baskets of food and began to dance from house to house. They sang their guardian spirit songs as they danced. In each house they stayed about a half hour, dancing and giving handfuls of food to all present. Other women joined them as they proceeded.

On the morning following the last night of the dance the presents were distributed. All the people gathered at the dance house and seated themselves around the room. The shaman in charge began to sing. Then his helpers, usually two or three young men, removed the presents from the poles and piled them in the middle of the room. The shaman picked up one article at a time, mentioned someone's name to the spokesman and handed him the present. The spokesman called out the name and gave the article to one of the helpers to carry to the person. All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive gifts. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced. During the entire procedure the shaman continued to sing. After the last gift had been disposed of the group danced for about five minutes, then broke up. 481 / 796

At this time individuals sometimes gave presents independently. It was common for a person to appear dressed in two or three shirts or dresses, covered

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were in-
vited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was 431
left only with a breechclout. 796

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed
in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will 756
be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in
exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power.
Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful.
Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was 554
a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner 622
was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves
to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent 756
bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The
fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions
of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had
certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most import- 756
ant of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship
of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly
but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the
winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon
the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial
season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power
was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. 756
Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, 776
or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with
that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly
upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to re-
member you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you
deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me
now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined
in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the in-
jured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa'wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI'ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kilau'na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trad- 535
ing, ~~the~~ summer drum dance (stxa'lēm) has
been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, com- 171
ing from the Thompson by way of the Similka-
meen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular 796
form of dance; their only dances being
those in connection with power, which are
danced only during the winter period, and the 439
Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum 439
dance they collect many horses, blankets and
food. Then they send a messenger, carrying 431●
tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite
another tribe to be guests. The messenger
always arrives at the guest camp in the even- 527
ing, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and
women. If he covers his penis with his hand [834]
the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accom- 527
panied by drumming and dancing. The guests
settle themselves in camp, then they lead 439
their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: nŧlupqō′po, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; kcilltĔmí′lt, "bastard"; kĔkōwa′p, "dog"; kcqwĕ′chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa′rĔk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud." 578

Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waI x̣I'wI′x̣, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waI (waI is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waI ktstsĔkI′ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waI. 576

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waI ktskI′ts, "Well, I am here." This the other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waI q̣Ĕnqx̣hō′Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waI qōqx̣hū′Ia, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waI. 574 576 [203]

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa′I kūskI′tsĔts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa′I kĔnskI′ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The women of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden). 585 431

574 If the guest remained for any length of time he was given food, and if he stayed overnight at a strange camp he was given a good place to sleep. He was fed during the length of his stay, however protracted, and even a whole family was so treated if it came visiting. The women might help with the cooking, and other womanly occupations. Families might eat together in this case, but at all other times except feasts they ate separately.

572 431 Men and women alike had particular friends whom they called "partner" (sEla'xt) and whom they visited frequently. Lucy Joe, in describing this relationship, said, "Sometimes I just think suddenly 'I'll go see —.' Then I get a basket of cherries or something and take them to her. Then she is very glad." This partner was almost always of the same sex and served also as a confidant. To Chilowhist Jim it seemed that women did not have such partners as frequently as men; further that the relationship between any pair lasted only a few years.

To David, a Penticton, this seemed an absurdly simple pattern. Though in the north there was this exchange of gifts informally between friends, there was the feeling that anyone in the group might have anything he needed from the others. Begging was disgraceful, but gifts of food or even such things as moccasins were given to a man leaving after a visit should he need them. The recipient would probably feel obligated to make some sort of return, but the gifts were not given with this in mind. However, to David, the institution of the gift-exchanging friendship had reference primarily to men of the various neighboring tribes. They would help each other, particularly if one of the pair should become bankrupt through gambling while on a trading trip.

574 431 David's statement is as follows: People visiting friends do not bring food. Hosts always give them food to carry to their children or parents. Friends seldom buy from each other while visiting. If a host sees that his guest is in need of moccasins, clothes, etc., he would try to find some to present when the latter leaves. Begging was considered contemptible, however. A guest presented with moccasins, for example, would feel that he owed his host a present in return, but the donor would not think so.

572 431 Suppose a Wenatchi was visiting and had bad luck in gambling. Some man would give him clothes and the like so that he could get home. Later, when this generous person was in the Wenatchi country, he would be invited to stay with the man he had befriended. The latter would treat him well and give him gifts when he was leaving. He would say, "We'll be friends all the time. When you come to my country you will always stay with

1 [For context of these footnotes, see p.126(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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23 On trading friends see Social Structure. 1

24 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250. 1

572 431 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinūqōłhwItstūĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tūĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ūĕ; a gift chwItsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like [527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people [584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

778 membered by posterity than were they. Shamans
were simply those men and women whose
622 power enabled them to practice curing as a
profession. They were not necessarily richer
than ordinary people and they lived in no
[791] special manner, though they were often fairly
opulent and, if male, had more wives than
other men. Their houses might be somewhat
larger than ordinary, but, according to
Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those
of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances.
When a great shaman lay dying, many
people came to see him, and a storm might
arise and lightning strike near the house.
His corpse, however, was not treated in any
special way.

776 There were special ways and occasions
for one to announce his power. Two men on
778 confidential terms might talk to each other
about their guardian spirits, and watch each
other paint symbols of them on a large rock
in the hills. One of the men later told people
that his comrade had painted these to
show his power. When one had performed some
special feat, as in hunting or war, he might
declare his power to those who had witnessed
the deed or benefited by it.

776 At the winter dance a person with power
had opportunity to display it, and the audience
and other participants, glad to behold
778 such a demonstration, contributed gifts to
the performer. They sang his power song
796 with him, probably to assist him to control
his guardian spirit; and commented among
themselves on the first performance of a novice,
perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy
got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder
where he got it from." During the dance,
the dancer voiced his wish for the popular
welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return
considered his audience as friendly helpers.
If he was the host, he entertained them with
lavish hospitality and after the dance they
received the gifts which had been bestowed
on the dancers. Guests who had come to the
dance from far away received a larger share
of gifts than did those from nearby and if
there were not enough gifts to go around,
they had the preference. Suszen told us
that the host thus rewarded his guests for
helping him to dance and sing.

776 People who had power from the same kind
of animal or object "knew it as soon as they
778 met, without telling each other." Ideally
they never quarreled among themselves, but
598 worked and fought in unison. These beliefs,
when we consider that such people must often
have clashed, give further evidence of the
vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 To some extent, power was identified
with the social group. The goods distributed
● 431 at the winter dance were offerings to the
power or powers there represented. The
782 guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its
protégé, who then bestowed them on the people;
and feeding the community, especially
796 the very young and very old, was the same as
feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the people 782
even though she had none to give, and if
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called sûksûmix.
The word for the power quest was tsûntsût or
tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

776 784 262 animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

784 776 If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

776 784 753 The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

796 776 787 431 ● In the dream described above,[1] the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

776 787 574 Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might

[1] [Cf. 192(B), cat[illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

p.145(A)

796 535 791 good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted.

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

[776] Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this.

796 431 At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (ca. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution

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of blankets was already customary; but that she saw a gift-giving of the old style at sqwent when she was a little girl, so long ago that it now seemed like a dream. Mary Carden said that this type of distribution began after trading posts were established by the whites.

In its modern form the power potlatch consisted of an exchange of blankets or skins, contributed by all who were showing off their power at the dance, to all who were doing likewise, or to those who, having power of their own, accompanied the shamans by singing. Anyone who intended to take a leading part in the ceremonies had to bring a blanket, buckskin, or bearskin to be given away. He handed this to the host on the first night, and the host gave it to the interpreter for deposit on a thong or pole hanging from the wall. A shaman would not dare to conduct a part of the dancing if he had not brought this gift, lest he incur the anger and desertion of his power. The host seems to have contributed more to the fund than anyone else. Members of his family wanted him to make a good showing, so they brought all the gifts that they could afford. While a shaman danced and sang on the last night of the ceremonies, his friends threw upon him blankets, handkerchiefs, and the like, and his interpreter took these things and hung them on the pole or the thong. By the end of the rites the hanger was loaded with gifts. Early the next morning the host, the shaman, or the interpreter appointed by him distributed these objects among the deserving. The articles were gathered at the center of the house, where the interpreter handed them as the host told him. Those who had danced best and longest in accompaniment to the shamans, or those who had come to the assembly from the greatest distance, received the largest share or, if there were not enough gifts to go around, were the only ones rewarded. No one received the object which he himself had brought, and gifts contributed by people from one neighborhood were given preferably to people from another. Sometimes in recent years, but not in the old times, a gift left over after the division had been made was gambled for by the dancers with playing cards and stick-counters, the first player to win all the sticks obtaining the gift. As the objects were distributed the congregation sang the power song of the host. The gifts were used by the receivers as ordinary goods.

The host gave away, as we have seen, far more articles than anyone else. Though these were a reward to the people for helping him to control his power, they were likewise regarded as gifts to his guardian spirit. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the

p. 151 (B)

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 773 539 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

Coyote and Porcupine were partners.[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right! " Then I came back.'[1]

789 796 [184] The power seance called skEtō'tsŭt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElsIŭ´x̣ (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqōlI´tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

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[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

778 787 the papalöt was very "mean" these treatments did no good and the patient died. David explained that it killed one by stealing his power away, taking it under water or into the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

778 787 782 431 Papalöt demanded offerings more urgently than did other kinds of guardian spirits. It might, for example, tell a girl to give away many blankets, even if she had none, and unless her relatives supplied her with blankets to do this she would die. It liked to see blood; a man might help his daughter or niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papalöt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman.

778 787 In one account by Suszen, a dead ancestor's guardian spirit took a more amicable form. An old person who had never received power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papalöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papalöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

778 424 [753] Power could not be bought or sold; our informants laughed at the idea. But one person could steal it from another if his own guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. With the stolen power the thief obtained its song, which he sang when using the power for curing or other purposes. He could increase its potency by giving away property to the people at the winter dances, just as for power acquired in other ways. Power theft always resulted in the illness or death of the victim. A female shaman treating Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papalöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

Some women's names are *Sai''mȯsă, Yaromi', Siyȯ''x, Xwa'm-cxama', X̣apaa'tcxa* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stxwȯlxmcxma', Wilxwȯlxma', Siyax̣ta', Si''pal, Tclxmtā'l, Xwxotsti', Tc'ȧ'ȧne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dxwal al 'ła'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qax̣pi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and 551
children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took 611
Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were [552]
named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames.

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal 421
and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took 861
precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his 421
people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's 567
effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the 591
absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. [431]
Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men [562]
had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but

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[287] *a*, p. 292.

[288] *a*, pp. 293, 294.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 311
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 421
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just [462]
the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

Festivals.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431
were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527
one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which
generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, 53
no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[290] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

431 527 leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[291] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

[535] Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

534 Musical Instruments.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[292] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[293] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[294] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide[294] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[294] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[291] *a*, pp. 297-299.

[292] See Thompson, *a*, p. 385, fig. 315 *a*.

[293] See Thompson, *a*, p. 385, fig. 315 *b*.

[294] See Nez Percé *b*, p. 230.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

567 Slaves.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

551 Names.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

421 Property.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights.
421 On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to
● 431 it. Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

527 Festivals.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less
[431] festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntcixa'nk* or *ntsechă'nk* or *toxto'xɛm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'ɛm*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents

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[5] For instance, *A'tsmxm* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 263 to 276. The names *Skek's*, *Weirpkm*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

226 ed to this, at right angles to it, and sloping away (i.e., downstream) at ten or fifteen degrees. Willow twigs would be woven through these "to form a basket-like trap," the mesh fine enough to prevent the fish from falling through. After jumping up the falls many fish would be unable to swim against the swift water above, so would be washed down again, only to fall into this trap. They would flop down its slope and into the woven basket, which was emptied every hour or so. It was not hard work, and great numbers of fish would be taken in a very few days, often a valuable accession before the first salmon runs. Families would come from as far as Chelan and even Wenatchee for this fishing. They brought tule mats for tipis, stayed a week or two, dried their fish, and packed them home.

227 Conical traps of woven willow twigs, from three to six feet long and about a fifth as wide at the base, were set in shallow parts of streams, not over two feet deep. The warp consisted of sticks of green or white willow, three quarters of an inch in diameter at the butt ends, which were at the base of the trap, and tapering finely towards the apex, where they were all tied together. The weft was of willow bark or small twigs made pliable by bending. The twining was similar to that of a tule mat, one warp caught into each twist, the wefts being from three to six inches apart. At the center of the base was a mouth, three inches in diameter, in which was a funnel of woven twigs (two feet long) projecting into the trap, its smaller end inside, which prevented the escape of captured fish. The trap is weighted down with rocks. A fence of tule mats or bundles of willow weighted with rocks may lead to the trap, the fish driven by waders; or six or seven traps may be placed close together, mouths upstream, in a row across the stream at a narrow place, making a partial dam. The fish are removed daily by untying the withes at the apex.

226
417 Spearing platforms were built on the Okanogan River above Monse at the head of eddies. (Strangely, these bands did not use platforms for salmon.) Two poles would be worked into the mud by pounding with big stones, three heavy supporting poles bound to these with willow withes, and two more laid horizontally to the river bank. Leafy willow boughs and skins laid on these shaded the water so that the fish could be seen. [433] This work was done in April before high water. Whoever built the scaffold owned it, but anyone could use it. Dip nets were operated from these, the man crouching or kneeling on the platform and dipping downstream with a sweeping motion.

226 Suckers are speared preferably with a spear which, beside its central point, had two foreshafts (wI'tc). Each foreshaft had a reverse barb made from the radius or ulna of a bear rather than from deer horn, since the latter is more brittle and was used only for detachable points. On spearing, the foreshafts are spread apart by the fish

231 It is said that some pains were taken in their breeding, that the best males were loaned as studs and a puppy given to the owner as fee, even that puppies were selected by being placed in a hole in the ground with the mother outside, and the ones which consistently struggled out best were kept and the others killed. They may have crossed with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair was not used for anything. Some dogs were special watchdogs, but there was no word for them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer hides were paid for one. None of the old breed remain, and probably but little of its blood survives now. [435] ●

177 231 412 No special inquiries were made concerning the role played by the horse in Sinkaietk life. It is of so recent an introduction and played so ancillary a part as not to have seriously affected the ancient customary habits. The horse served solely as an auxiliary means of transport; for riding and packing. Its acquisition made a difference in two directions: communication became more frequent across country rather than by canoe on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes, trading, and ranging over a larger area for food gathering became prevalent.

The horse is called sink'tsaska´xa, or inkũwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikũwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

177 231 171 The Spokan and the tribes of southeastern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla district had horses before they were brought to the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan were offered two buffalo skins with one or more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okanagon traded them northward to their own people at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake, who in turn carried them north to the Shuswap. They also took horses to the Thompson River, where they traded them for dried salmon.

p.33 (B)

Or a pounding sack was made from a disk of hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called sqÛšasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

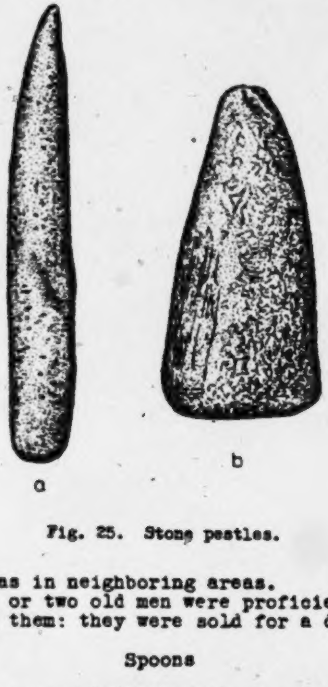

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 321 [435] ●

[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

developing friendship with another. One man never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade. 484 439 437

Andrew Tillson went to the coast at the time of the Nez Percé war. He started at about haying time and went alone by horse. He went from Loomis (tū´tckūla^{xū}) to the country around Oroville. Then he went across to Rock Creek (sxa´IaqEn, White Owl), thence to Curlew (naIsqEtcI´n) and across the hills to Kettle Falls (cxōne´t^{kū}). Then he went to kawī´la and Loon Lake (noweme´taq^{ū}) in Spokan country. From there to Walla Walla the country was uninhabited so that he travelled for two days without meeting anyone. When he reached the Palouse River, he crossed on a ferry (sīēqa´weł), run by a white man. It took him two days from here to reach Walla Walla, where there were many other Indians working, but no Okanagon. Then he went to Wallula where there were friendly Nez Percé (naI´aqūtsEn) and sold his horse for a good price, four dollars. A horse might be traded for a tanned buckskin, which might itself bring twenty dollars, or for good blankets that were worth a hide. Large parties of Okanagon sometimes went to Wallula. They camped alone while there and never intermarried with the Nez Percé. From Wallula Andrew took the steamboat to Portland, but as he was warned by white people that he might be killed by the other Indians, he returned to Wallula after two weeks. After remaining in Wallula three years because of the fighting, in which he did not participate, he bought a horse and returned to Loomis. 484 [435]

Suszen Timentwa says that the Sinkaietk infrequently go to Blackfoot country (ctq^{wē}xōnū´la; ctq^{wē}ō´lēxūn, Blackfoot). They go down the Okanogan River, south on the west side of the Columbia to Nez Percé country and across to the Blackfoot country. Sometimes the Moses Columbia, Spokan, Flathead, and Nez Percé accompany them. Runners carry news all the time between these tribes; thus they arrange meeting places on the way to the buffalo country. Poor men with nothing to trade go also to assist with the horses: they receive food and clothing for their services. Salmon, mountain goat hides, berries, grizzly bear hides, and deer hides are taken along to trade for buffalo hides and meat. The Blackfoot and the Plateau people are always ready to fight. A smoke is motioned for in sign language and a truce 484 439

p. 75 (B)

1[For context of these footnotes, See pp. 96(A), 96(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 96 (C)

51 Michel Brooks says that the Kartar feel that the Nespelem belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.
52 Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.
53 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.
54 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.
55 Higua is the bead-like shell money ground from clam shells.
56 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 291.

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436

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any 574
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 584
in order to see the girls of other places.
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking
and to catch salmon which they dried there
for food. Trading took place at the mouth
of the npEsqwö´Ūs creek which enters the
Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wen-
atchi territory had to be with a certain man,
a trading friend (sö´xqŪl).[19] If an in-
dividual's trading friend was not present,
that person would have to return without
making any trade. This seldom happened, since
the trips would be made at times when many
Indians gathered from everywhere, and all
who were interested in trading would be cer-
tain to be present. If a man's trading
friend died, friends would assist him in

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[19] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

484 439 437 developing friendship with another. One man never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade.

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682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 ●437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murder of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a handful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a separate buckskin bundle. These paints were 386
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint [439]
was mixed with water in the bowl of a mountain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags about four inches square. She named the following paints obtained from them: Enaqa´lsp-EmEnû´laû, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red; tû´l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rēōlaû', "yellow earth"; Enp'ōmûlaû', "brown earth." Other clays obtained at Keller on the Sanpoil River, "were not so pretty," since the colors were duller. Here there was a dull red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan yellow, known by the names for light red and yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ēlō´q'- 317
ētc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth, since it was said also to have been applied to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:

pîtcqwî´ōcî´kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
ntla´pa´cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
ntqō´cElâq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
kēaqōsa´xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
nikōcwhēpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
kEx̣mixq!ō´tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:

nâq!ōtEqēōcEmîn, one span;
acî´ltEqēōcEmîn, two spans;
katEltEqēōcEmîn, three spans.

The stem, tEqēōcEmîn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:

nâkcqē´nîgst, one thumb broad;
acîlqē´nîgst, two thumbs broad.

p.69(B)

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438] ●

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 [179]

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'χɛ* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438] ●

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 [171]*

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

492 531

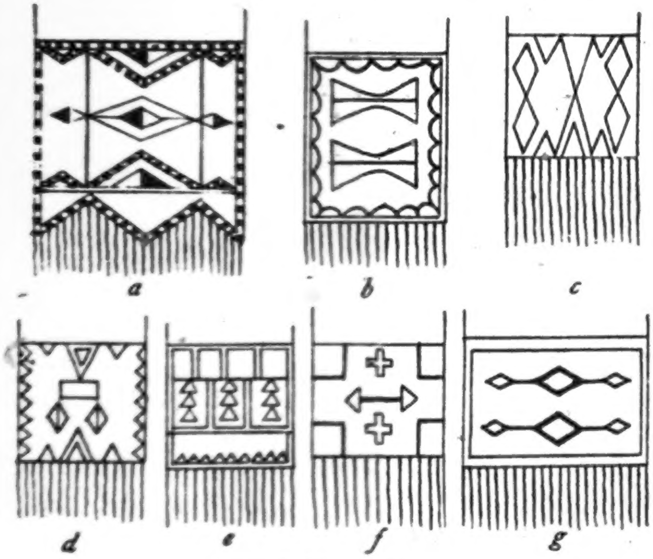

FIGURE 28.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around

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487 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy
438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led
directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy
439 country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this
point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the
roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down.
The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important
trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away.
From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where
there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower
Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that
continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to
the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia
River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and
south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From
the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane
River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the
Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North
and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the
Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the
region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central
position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to
their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of
Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for
*[171] trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders
they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in
search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to
have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost
[648] annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went
sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding
trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez
Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day
River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to
trade for cattle.[12] There was not much trade directly north and south
across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to
the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In
early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little
trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur
d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the
Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains
influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up
buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of
the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and
Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

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[12] E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

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The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tună'xe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tună'xe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tună'xe* and Kutenai-*Tună'xe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tună'xe*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tună'xe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tună'xe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place
was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to
trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any
all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the
Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near
by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the
inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically
uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading
parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni,
and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties
of Salish-*Tuna'χe* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*,
438 and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the
439 advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding
487 articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the
person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded
to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green
soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons,
ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood
and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia
River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later
days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward.
Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains,
also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River
route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses
ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that
passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same
material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including
polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo
skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally
000 buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long
ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot,
also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles.
The Salish-*Tunä'χe* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot
also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian
439 and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already
438 stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and
other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects
common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes,
clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after
members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and
other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting,
trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes
000 whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of
Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

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Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

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Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iaks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[331] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These
721 were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[14]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snakä'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls (Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snaqaie'tkʷ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[14] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distribution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, snaká'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots. 226 366 439 476

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return. 366 439

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip, from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima and Columbia. [525] Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals, fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect importance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps. 366 439 484

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was additional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal procedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke. 177 224 484 577

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 ~~Southeast~~ Salish
Sanpoil

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

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484 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

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492 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

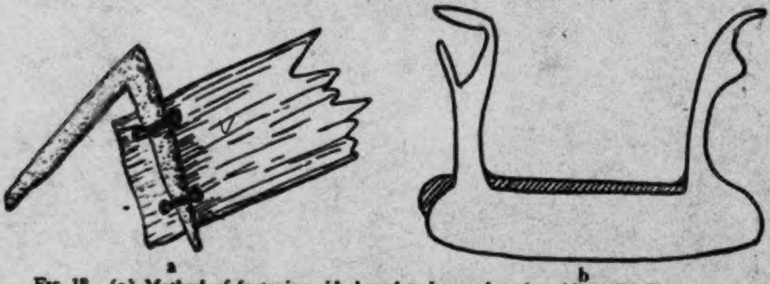

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decor-
ated with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks re-
call the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalis-
pel living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the [439] ●
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted and embroidered, or finely embellished capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by wo-
men on gala occasions, not as protection 292
against the tump line. These were dome-shap- 285
ed and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alter-
nating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that bas-
ket hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was 778
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buck
skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. 276
These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: [562]
they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe.

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and 276
a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red cat- 316
linite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how 439
to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?).

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked 276
on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored 324
with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on [531]
the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were [462]
formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold.

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., 276
group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed 623
around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs.

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by 314
weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant [137]
was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were 276
stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then

281 of cleavage. One of the thin segments was then laid on a rock where the nearer edge was struck off with any convenient stone. The strokes were toward the worker. When flaking had brought the edge to the desired shape, this was further ground smooth on a rock.

Sewing

This process was accomplished by lacing a sinew or buckskin thong, etc., through holes punched with an awl. Sinew was preferred to buckskin, since it was stronger, but it was harder to obtain for there was only a small amount in a deer. The sinews along the deer's backbone and legs were used. Customarily sewing proceeded from the top of the garment downward; a right-handed person working from right to left. Holes were bored away from the body. As each hole was punched the sinew strand was inserted and drawn taut.

Bark Fibers

314 Willow bark prepared for such articles as a women's skirt was the outer bark of the tree. This was stretched while still green, hung up for a day and then softened by rubbing a stone scraper across it many times. The scraper was that used for dressing hides.

Cordage

283 314 Cords and ropes were made of Indian hemp (spĕI′tsEn). Among other places, this grew along the Okanogan River and at the southern end of Omak Lake. Whole families would move to the hemp fields to camp while the women gathered it. The harvest lasted about two weeks. During this period, women would gather enough for five bundles at a time (each bundle five inches thick, three to four feet long) which took two or three days. After preparing fibers from this, they went to gather it again. Some of the hemp was reserved for their own use, but the bulk was sold to the Thompson. ● [439]

283 The plants were soaked in water and the bark stripped away. The decorticated part was then separated into fibers by rubbing between the fists. The fibers were made into two long bundles, each half the thickness of the cord desired. These were rolled with the palm on the bare right thigh: the two bundles, separated by about an inch, were rolled toward the body; then by a sharp reverse movement without lifting the palm, they were made to twist about each other. Rolled with the right hand, the finished cord fell away to the right, while the left hand fed in new bundles of fiber.

Various sizes of cords and rope were made for different uses. For most purposes, two strand cords were used.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 68(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

33 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 66, 219, 231.[1]

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful [439] ●
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint
was mixed with water in the bowl of a moun-
tain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags
about four inches square. She named the fol-
lowing paints obtained from them: Enaqa′lsp-
EmEnŭ′laŭ, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red;
tŭ′l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rĕŏlaŭ', "yel-
low earth"; Enp'ŏmŭlaŭ', "brown earth."
Other clays obtained at Keller on the San-
poil River, "were not so pretty," since the
colors were duller. Here there was a dull
red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan
yellow, known by the names for light red and
yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ĕIŏ′q'- 317
ĕtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth,
since it was said also to have been applied
to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them
flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over
the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based
on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:

pItcqwI′ŏcI′kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
ntla′pa′cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
ntqŏ′cElȧq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
kĕaqŏsa′xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
nikŏcwhĕpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
kEĭmixq!ŏ′tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:

nȧq!ŏtEqĕŏcEmIn, one span;
acI′ltEqĕŏcEmIn, two spans;
katEltEqĕŏcEmIn, three spans.

The stem, tEqĕŏcEmIn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:

nȧkcqĕ′nIgst, one thumb broad;
acIlqĕ′nIgst, two thumbs broad.

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In fact, most Salish-speaking people in the 574 Plateau are treated as friends. At food gathering seasons, members of different bands meet in one place, but camp separately. Each chief or headman keeps order in his own camp. After fishing all day, the men gather socially in the evening for gambling, trading, wrestling and foot racing. There is much smoking, chiefs and old men passing their pipes around so that everyone present may have a turn. There is also extensive intertribal visiting during the season of winter dances. Instances of marriages of Sin- 582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes are not unusual, but in the records of 619 specific marriages obtained,*[1] it is noted that the majority of known cases for each band are marriages within the band. Out-marriages seem to be determined by geographical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has established friendly relations with the Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively with the Nespelem, while the more northerly Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes. Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and Thompson. These friendly affiliations may also be cited regarding trade relations. Lucy Joe says that it is only since the several tribes have all been placed on the same reservation that the Sinkaietk have married other than Okanagon-speaking people. This is doubtful, since genealogical records'[4] give information to the contrary.

The Inkami'p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

● 439 Most trade routes followed the rivers prior to the coming of the horse.'[1] The Sinkaietk went south as far as Wallula and 487 north into Thompson country to trade, their routes closely following the rivers, whether they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[4] who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the
home territory, any band is welcome to fish 226
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking
and to catch salmon which they dried there
for food. Trading took place at the mouth
of the npEsqwë´Os creek which enters the
Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wen-
atchi territory had to be with a certain man,
a trading friend (sö´xqûI).[10] If an in-
dividual's trading friend was not present,
that person would have to return without
making any trade. This seldom happened, since
the trips would be made at times when many
Indians gathered from everywhere, and all
who were interested in trading would be cer-
tain to be present. If a man's trading
friend died, friends would assist him in

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[10] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

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developing friendship with another. One man never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade. 484 439 ● 437

Andrew Tillson went to the coast at the time of the Nez Percé war. He started at about haying time and went alone by horse. He went from Loomis (tū'tckūla^{xū}) to the country around Oroville. Then he went across to Rock Creek (sxa'IaqEn, White Owl), thence to Curlew (naIsqEtcI'n) and across the hills to Kettle Falls (cxōne't^{kū}). Then he went to kawī'la and Loon Lake (noweme'taq^{ū}) in Spokan country. From there to Walla Walla the country was uninhabited so that he travelled for two days without meeting anyone. When he reached the Palouse River, he crossed on a ferry (sfēqa'wef), run by a white man. It took him two days from here to reach Walla Walla, where there were many other Indians working, but no Okanagon. Then he went to Wallula where there were friendly Nez Percé (naI'aqūtsEn) and sold his horse for a good price, four dollars. A horse might be traded for a tanned buckskin, which might itself bring twenty dollars, or for good blankets that were worth a hide. Large parties of Okanagon sometimes went to Wallula. They camped alone while there and never intermarried with the Nez Percé. From Wallula Andrew took the steamboat to Portland, but as he was warned by white people that he might be killed by the other Indians, he returned to Wallula after two weeks. After remaining in Wallula three years because of the fighting, in which he did not participate, he bought a horse and returned to Loomis. 484 [435]

Suszen Timentwa says that the Sinkaietk infrequently go to Blackfoot country (ctq^{wē}-xōnū'la; ctq^{wē}ō'lēxūn, Blackfoot). They go down the Okanogan River, south on the west side of the Columbia to Nez Percé country and across to the Blackfoot country. Sometimes the Moses Columbia, Spokan, Flathead, and Nez Percé accompany them. Runners carry news all the time between these tribes; thus they arrange meeting places on the way to the buffalo country. Poor men with nothing to trade go also to assist with the horses: they receive food and clothing for their services. Salmon, mountain goat hides, berries, grizzly bear hides, and deer hides are taken along to trade for buffalo hides and meat. The Blackfoot and the Plateau people are always ready to fight. A smoke is motioned for in sign language and a truce 484 439

484 439 holds while trading. The Plateau people have learned sign language at these meetings. Some of the Blackfoot are anxious to get salmon in trade, while others object to the Plateau people hunting buffalo and fight about it. Healthy women and children are taken on these trips. The women trade with women; camas for buckskin clothes and leggings that are beaded with bone. All trading is individual. The trip takes three months each way.

484 Sulktaskosem, Suszen's great grandfather, a Moses chief, was said by him to have been the first Plateau man to lead a party to the Blackfoot country. Margaret Sersepkin, whose narrative follows, said that her husband was the only Sinkaietk who took parties to the Plains in the middle of the last century, and that in her father's youth no one went to the buffalo country.

Margaret and her husband, Sersepkin, chief of the Karter band, started from Loomis for the plains in July, six years after a great earthquake. (Margaret is now about ninety-two. She was seventeen or eighteen at the time of the trip.) Sersepkin's party consisted of two boys hired to kill buffalo, his own two sons and Margaret, with thirty horses, some of which he intended to trade with the Plains people. A good horse was worth five or six buffalo hides.

After travelling all summer, they reached Montana where they rested five days at the home of Angus Macdonald, who was the brother of George Tillson's wife. They travelled eastward from here seven weeks before coming to good buffalo country. On their way they came down to a town, either Helena or Missoula, and followed a lake for two days before crossing the Rockies. Then they came to a big bluff with a little narrow trail. When they got on top of this rocky mountain and camped, at midnight they heard a roaring like a thunderstorm. Margaret was frightened and thought [illegible] mountain was going to cave in, but experienced travellers with her said that the mountain made this noise because she and her companions were strangers, and when they had travelled over this mountain two or three times, it would not make this noise. At the foot of this mountain, miles away, they looked back and could see Indians going single file up the rocky trail.

On the other side of the mountains there were nothing but plains. People from many different tribes were wintering there in buckskin, buffalo skin, or canvas tipis. Yakima, Spokan and Nespelem Indians were there. The only food was buffalo meat. There was no wood, no rocks, no long grass; the grass was short and thick and the ground so hard that horses left no tracks. They camped at small lakes where the drinking water was filthy from the buffalo. The Blackfoot danced every night with many drums, but the Plateau people did not join them. The Plains and Plateau people talked to each other and told stories in the sign language.

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484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

484 439 red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar.

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

321 439 Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange.

171 439 [186] The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade.

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

[764] The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box.

DRUM DANCE

535 171 796 439

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stła'lĕm) has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

439 431 527 [834]

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

527 439

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

527 others. Then the hosts beat their drums un-
til their gifts are all given away, while
men and women dance up and down in place in
574 the street between the camps. Guests then
beat their drums and send their presents.
439 When everything is given away, both sides
beat their drums while the property is div-
ided among the members who have contributed,
each man getting the same amount of property
that he had given. The young people are all
dancing but each party keeps separate. Then
the guests leave without ceremony or drum-
ming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okan
agon give such dances. The following have
never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé
Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsIû'Ô^{x})
were bad raiders. They usually set fire to
[724] the camps attacked and ran. For this
they were considered cowards, not brave
enough to stay and fight. At the beginning
619 of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and
Lower Fraser people became friends and trad-
ed. The Lower Fraser people now bring Euro-
pean food to trade for salmon and berries at
the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukor-
atum people also go to Lower Fraser country
to trade.

619 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the
Thompson (nEkwEtEmI'^{xû}) because they raid at
726 night, looting and burning tipis. They fight
only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in
their attacks.

173 There is a tradition of the migration
of a branch of the Thompson southward
619 through Sinkaietk territory. The division
was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some
went back north, but others went south, where
in their new habitat they are called wicxam
(Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradi-
tion recorded by Teit." Curiously enough
this detached group was called by our inform-
ants "Apaches"; in connection with this it
is well to recall that Athapascan peoples
(StuwI'x), who later mixed with the Thompson,
inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district
not long prior to the advent of the whites.
It was also stated that people on the Simil-
kameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's
great-grandfather, spoke a language unintel-
ligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 SûqwEtI'kEn, "half and half people," is
a general name for all people living to the
west of the Cascade mountains. Some of
these people made red pipes and brought them
[439] to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade
for salmon before the whites came. These

1/A [For context of footnote, see p. 78 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96 f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum. 1/A
14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket. 1/A
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Karter. 1/A

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572 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality
431 as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinũqōẍhwitstũĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tũĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ũĕ; a gift chwitsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like
[527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people
[584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish 439
people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, 487
where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country.

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the
Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded 439
with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a 487
tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by 173
Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

366 439 487 The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

567 439 Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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101 [49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

Altough the horse and dog travois were
[493] 492 both well known to the Coeur d'Alêne, who had seen them constantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alêne as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[22] Large rawhide bags and parflêches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

439 TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alêne had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alêne, were obtained from the Spokan, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and was procured from the Spokan, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alêne made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokan territory, to dig it. The Spokan never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alêne. The Spokan also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne, however, preferred to

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[22] Peabody Mus. No. 194.

buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also 439
occasionally obtained from the Paloos.

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and 177
Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according 439
to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves 567
of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Alêne hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them.

Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were 177
bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns 439
were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé.

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Alêne did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were

177 439 willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often bought from the Plains tribes. 177 484 728 It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

439 The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. 439 Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for 411 offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of 721 clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sxleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. [526] They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[284] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[285] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[286]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[284] *a*, fig. 246.

[285] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[286] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[295] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[296] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars. 314 321 534 [illegible]

PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna- 276 [439]

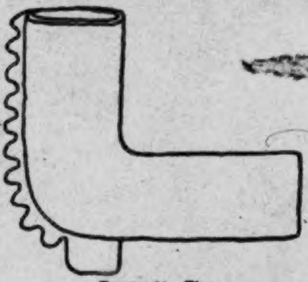

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

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[295] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[296] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

412 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident
32 there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few
171 of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for
531 smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville
439 did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the
386 Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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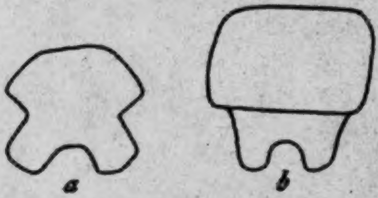

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools
412 used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the
415 Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, c, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, c, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, c.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

Skin Bags.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[34] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

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Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[35] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[34] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[35] See Shuswap, c, p. 496, fig. 228, and Thompson, a, p. 203, fig. 151.

Coiled Basketry.[5]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes 285
long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and 314
many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands 415
of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made
little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring
bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials 439●
abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets
and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia.
The Athapascan *Stuwī'x* were the only people who made no coiled
baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson
who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil
made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements,
as they also procured some from the Columbia. The
Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As
among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets,
and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots
were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used
instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce
in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of
uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by
the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river
within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of
cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees
in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication 177
on baskets and that the process was introduced among them 285
about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced
to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, 531
some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but 314
this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was
principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple
designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the
inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely
cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville
appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil.
The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and
they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people
think it came from the south, and some think it must have been
learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely.
Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower
Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted.
About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased,
most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass
entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the 531
high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns
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[5] See 6, pp. [illegible].

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid
231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was
very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long
492 sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the
horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking
sticks) as they went along.

492 Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles
and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from
the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the
plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from
place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and
packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were
178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great
impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage;
492 also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation
of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long
distances in a short time and with little labor.

● 439 Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse,
484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in
part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive
waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported
on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable
articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after
horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them.
It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering
through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the
other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading
trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to
distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed
into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest
487 trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was
in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville.
Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

In like manner from Kettle Falls trade went north, following the Columbia to Arrow Lakes and Revelstoke, where the Shuswap were met. Practically all this journey was by canoe, and most of it was quite easy.

It seems that in early times trade from the east flowed chiefly to Colville by way of the Pend d'Oreilles route, and trade from the south to Okanagon by way of Columbia River. These points, being under different influences, would differ to some extent in the character of their trade. No doubt there was always some cross-country trade between the Colville and Okanagon through the Sanpoil country, so that eastern, western, northern, and southern objects would be exchanged between these places. Some trade from the Columbia River would also reach Colville more directly by way of the Spokan tribe. It seems likely, however, that goods from Columbia River were carried north from Okanagon, while objects of barter obtained from the east were unimportant. In like manner it might be expected that the Colville traded more in eastern goods, less in those from Columbia River. Thus possibly the most direct route for eastern influences to reach the Shuswap would be from the Colville by way of the Lake, and for southern influences from Okanagon River, between the mouth and the falls, by way of the Lower and Upper Okanagon.

It seems that the Shuswap came into touch with the Lake by two main routes—by way of the Fire Valley and Caribou Lake to the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and farther north to the Columbia River at Revelstoke. Some people often traversed the river and the lakes between these two points, fishing and hunting with the Lake tribe. Occasionally some of their parties tarried several months on these visits, especially some of those who came by way of Fire Valley. Those who came to Revelstoke fished with the Lake tribe there. Some of them returned the way they came, after the fishing season was over; and others ascended the Columbia for hunting and trapping. Some of the latter met other Shuswap parties who reached the Columbia farther up, by way of Canoe River, and they frequently wintered at points on the Columbia.

As all the Shuswap reaching the Columbia came from as far west and north as Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and the Upper North Thompson, they traversed a long distance through mostly rough country, which would hamper any extensive trade development in this direction. Even in later days horses could not be used on those Shuswap trails, except by the southern, the Fire Valley, route. The contact here between Lake and Shuswap was between the poorest bands of both tribes. On the other hand, the head of Okanagon Lake was close to large centers of population. The homes of the Shuswap were only a little distance to the north, and the intervening

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

● 439 487 country was easily traversed. It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the trade from the south must have come by the Okanagon route; and, as this trade route was rather from the southern Columbia than from the east, the Shuswap would be subjected to influences from the southern Columbia, The Dalles, and southward, rather than from the southeast and the plains. The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes from the south, would act as distributers, in the same way as the Okanagon and Colville farther south; and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place. It thus seems likely that trade from the south would reach the Thompson down Thompson River from Kamloops rather than by the cross-country routes from Okanagon to the head of Nicola River, and from Okanagon to the Thompson by way of the Similkameen and Nicola. The *Stuwi'x* tribe would also to some extent form a barrier to trade reaching the Thompson by the last-named routes, owing to the hostility that existed between them and the Okanagon immediately before the introduction of the horse. Their culture points to Thompson rather than Okanagon influence.

Following the introduction of the horse, trade conditions changed rather suddenly, and the old trade routes became of minor importance. Trade now passed across country with the greatest ease. The new main trade routes followed across the rolling, lightly timbered grassy plateaus, and through the open valleys, in almost straight lines from one place to another. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanagon and Colville. The latter place became of greatest importance as a trading center for a large area of the Plateau country. In fact, it became the great trade emporium of the interior Salishan tribes. Trade from The Dalles and Columbia River going east, and a great deal of that going north, came here by way of the Spokan and Okanagon. The eastern trade from as far as the plains came here by way of Pend d'Oreille River, and passed south, west, and north. The old Lake route to the north, being impossible for horses, was practically neglected. The great trade route to the north was now across country from Colville to Okanagon River; thence it branched off, about half of the volume of trade going up the Similkameen to the Thompson, and the rest passing on to Okanagon Lake. The volume of trade that passed north to the Shuswap and Thompson became very great. The routes traversed were natural ones for horses, through open, well-grassed country, without any physical barriers. Goods were transported up Okanagon Valley by horses, although no doubt some went by canoe, as before. From Okanagon Lake a number of branch routes came into use, leading to the Thompson and Shuswap. Trade to the latter tribe went on to the head of the lake, as before. From there one route was to Spellumcheen River

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and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson.

[177] Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade.

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and parflèches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed

●439 487 skins. The Okanagon traded the same commodities to the Shuswap and to the Thompson. The Okanagon procured dentalia from the Shuswap, and it is probable that before the introduction of the horse most of these shells were obtained from them.

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagon sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually. Large packs of dried fish and oil, and in later days even salted salmon, were transported over this trail.

They sold to the Lower Fraser people Indian-hemp bark and twine, dried service berries, and dressed buckskin, in exchange for the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, dentalia, and other shells.

From the Columbia it seems that marine shells, bags of the Nez Percé style, products from The Dalles country, some horses, salmon, coiled basketry, and probably some stone implements and woven robes, were procured in exchange for articles common to all the tribes, such as Indian hemp, robes, clothes, dressed skins, etc.

Some horses and buffalo skin were procured from the Spokan chiefly by the Sanpoil; but there was not much direct trade with this tribe, although Sanpoil visited the Lower Spokan. The Sanpoil appear to have done most of their trading with the Colville on the one hand and the Okanagon on the other.

The Colville procured horses, painted bags and parflèches, buffalo robes, etc., from the Kalispel, in exchange for dried salmon, and some articles reaching them from the west and north, such as shells.

The Lower Kutenai sometimes traded painted bags, parflèches and deer-skin robes to the Lake for dried salmon, and the Lake sold some bark canoes to the Colville. They also sold some products obtained at Colville to the Shuswap, receiving in return chiefly marmot robes and dentalia.

It seems that slaves were procured chiefly from the Columbia tribe. Tobacco and certain kinds of roots were trade articles to some extent. Camas roots, for instance, were often sold to the Thompson, and the latter sometimes sold one or two kinds of roots to the Okanagon. Red paint was sold by the Similkameen people to both the Okanagon and Thompson, and parties of these tribes also came to the Tulameen Forks or Vermilion to gather it themselves. Pipes and pipestone of red, brown, green, mottled, yellowish, bluish, and gray colors were interchanged. The bright-red catlinite came from the east, chiefly through the Kalispel. Green soapstone came chiefly from the Thompson. I learned nothing regarding early trading in copper and iron. It would seem that these metals were not in use to any great extent before the advent of the horse. Buffalo-skin tents reached the Thompson. Small, flat, disk-shaped beads of shell and

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpo
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bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438]

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 [177]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in
contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their
101 natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called
*[17] "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who
were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them
formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the
Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because
they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called
[30] "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name
was given to them by the early traders because when first met they
● [439] nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in
Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of
export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in
contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower
Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of
the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel
were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from
an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in
later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people,"
possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many
Indians deny that it has this meaning.

101 619 *[17] NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sel'lictcæn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsl'lixtcæn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sälic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[3] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stlqetkomstci'(nt)* ("people of *Sxqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Stskä'lixtci'(nt)* ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispé'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispé'lum* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[3] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from sälst ("people"). If, however, the suffix -ic means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

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Dressing of Skins.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

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Rawhide Work.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflêche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflêches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

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Woven and other Bags.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

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Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

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Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their

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[1] c, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.
[2] See p. 44.
[3] j, pp. 175, 176.
[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.
[5] See p. 44.
[6] j, p. 176, fig. 3.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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291 *171 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] [531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

292 *171 [439] Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower 294 *171 Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] L. c., p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111509.

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111784.

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were
common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian
and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
319 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*191 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302 303] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at
a'pɛl yu'ts:mɛn ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint
was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock
was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was
tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily
find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the
searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he
came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide
[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was
exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the
introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said
that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open
and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

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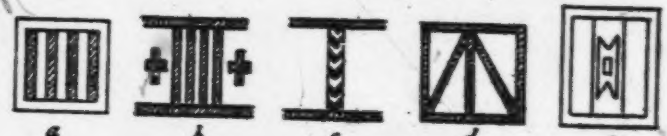

FIGURE 22.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

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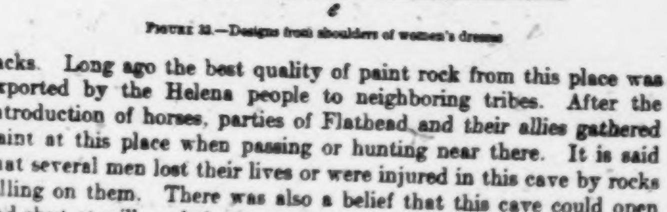

FIGURE 23.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171* [415] [178]

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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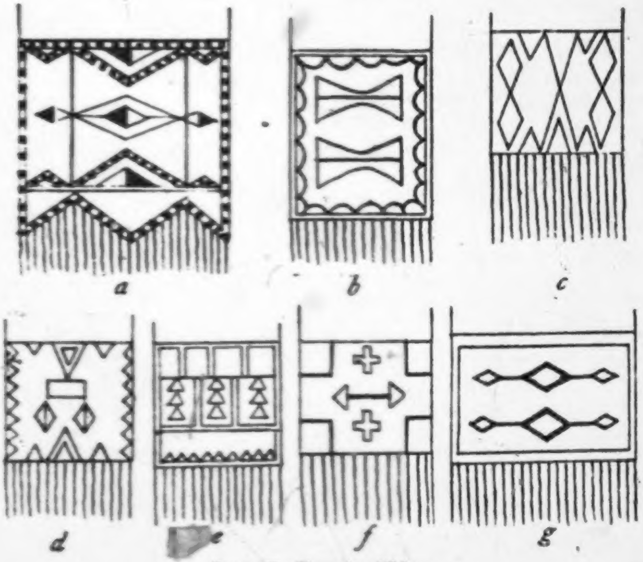

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 • 438 [178]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

437 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy
438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led
439 directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down. The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away. From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for
*[171] trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost
[648] annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to trade for cattle.[17] There was not much trade directly north and south across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

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[17] E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between 437
the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to con- 438
tinued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, 439
and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According
to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the [177]
plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture [171]*
as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'ẋe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'ẋe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'ẋe* and Kutenai-*Tunā'ẋe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there
was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles
and *Tunā'ẋe*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies 000
between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'ẋe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'ẋe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

000 hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place
was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to
trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any
all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the
Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near
by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the
inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically
uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading
parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Sho-
shoni, and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties
of Salish-*Tuna'x̣e* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'x̣e*,
438 and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the
advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding
439 articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the
487 person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded
to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green
soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons,
ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood
and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia
River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later
days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward.
Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains,
also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River
route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses
ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that
passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same
material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including
polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo
skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally
000 buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long
ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot,
also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles.
The Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot
also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian
439 and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already
438 stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and
other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects
common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes,
clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after
members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and
other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting,
trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes
000 whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of
Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washing- 000
ton Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439 •
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the
Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of
the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan
country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse
at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla,
and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to
Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days
along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mount-
ing and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were em-
ployed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but pos-
sibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. [725]
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The
Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some
of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltax'ɛ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lixme'pstsxmeu'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulent'ne* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titsls'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'texsmext' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Ilálxmi' or *Yōlelxmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. ● [439] A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. 276 788 *171 In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. 276 *171 A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439 short distance and then took a course due west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, 487 the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439 Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574 seasons, tribes from great distances congregate at these places for fishing, trading 441 and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the home territory, any band is welcome to fish 226 in friendly territory. Young men, in any case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574 in order to see the girls of other places. 584 Many marriages take place at salmon fishing time.

Trading is a complement of food gathering. 462 Trade in food is carried on entirely by the women, since the stored food belongs to them. 441 (Husbands, if questioned concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know. That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some distance 484 from their own territory to hunt, fish and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439 accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484 Methow descent, although there have always been canoes, travel by water is infrequent. In early days, however, they travelled all 439 the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty boats going at a time. It took four days to 437 get back, using long poles to go upstream. They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwé´Qs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sö´xqül)." If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in

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10 For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

264 house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain
461 up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this
512 order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen
in bed by men who were still up.

515 The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

411

713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

411 463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

171 501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task.
● [44]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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22 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VIII, 71. [1]

512 they might pass the time in conversing, or,
more properly, listening to or delivering
monologues. No one was interrupted while
521 speaking, and when any important matter was
being discussed there were frequent long
pauses which all respected. The listeners
did not look at the speaker but cast their
eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 At each winter village, according to
•461 Cecile, the women had a house of their own
at which they gathered to work. Presumably
this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted
more light. This was a Wenatchi institution
512 insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better
informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon
women on the contrary worked in their own
homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

343 •461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snĕī'mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (Ūlakī'm) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork; mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

178
Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 242
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings
and fresher air. 621 This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəmı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp 342
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 462
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

221 226 462 776 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 462 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 295 776 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'łutən, "time that it snows"; ktsa'tsa'ttə'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kəł, "time that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs 796 221

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. [476] These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves. [462]

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

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While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[30] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

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The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[31] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psəm) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon" was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[30] See pages 34-35.

[31] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

HUNTING

221/224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spι·'xəm). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221/224 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. 462 During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from 224 the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in snəkā'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an econom-
226 ically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively,
262 to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might
624 organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

281 Pelts tanned without removing the hair were never immersed in water. The tissue remaining on the skin was scraped away while it was green, with the use of the same log and bone scraper previously described. The tanning agent was applied by sprinkling. After this had thoroughly soaked in the hide was scraped and rubbed until dry and pliable. The frame was not used except for very large pelts.

462 Skin dressing was exclusively woman's work.

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon. 524 755 855 861

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger. 593 855

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways. [527]

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasised second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced. 515 856 868

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks. 462 857

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (aləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Barin said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 71.

p.14 (A)

mon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power. 000

Women and children were not supposed to eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but when the people were ready to leave the river, they would grow careless and eat dried heads and tails, which were not as dangerous as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, they would become strict again. 226 796 784 825

These tabus did not apply to other fish; in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of trout and squawfish. 262

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon creation myth, in which the first weir is said to have been built by two bird sisters, far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women? [773]

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ŏq'ŏmŭ´s) were taken during both of their annual runs, upstream in early May and downstream in August, when they sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the larger catch was in May, when traps were set at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old men: women dried the catch which was traded with those who had spent this time digging roots. A pole would be set horizontally in the rocks so that the surface water fell directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur- 226 [462] [887]

226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long trips were made for such fishing. / Suckers
252 were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying, but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū'ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the roe, which was dried for winter use or smash-
251 ed up and boiled. To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or plat-
• [462] forms. This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usually only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

226 First fruits ceremonies were observed for suckers. The first nights' catch was
796 roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

224 twigs which move the trigger, so that the spring is released. In general, Teit's account of Thompson deer hunting is very similar to that of the Southern Okanagon.

One man would make such a trap alone, with no help outside the family, during one day. Elderly men made these, being incapacitated to follow the deer. Usually a man would have only one or two, or at most three traps. He would visit each almost every day and spend the rest of the time hunting elsewhere. They were perhaps two miles or so from the camp.

A simple noose might be arranged in a deer trail, so that an animal would run his head through it as he passed. The end of the line was attached in a stout tree. A deer when caught would usually spring and pull so hard to get away that it would soon strangle itself, but often it would escape.

224 286 [462] Nets (spinpI'nia) were made occasionally of hemp, sometimes over four hundred yards [?] long, but only eight feet high, since the deer could not see them to jump over them. They were stretched between trees and shrubs and the deer driven into them so that their horns and feet became entangled, when they were shot. Women prepared the hemp string and men made the net, tying it by hand without shuttles. They were made in sections of convenient weight to pack, and tied together. Teit reports that nets among the Thompson were generally made of the bark of Apocynum cannabium.

224 The second best time of year for hunting was during the winter when the crust on the snow was hard enough to support the weight of a man on snowshoes, but not enough to support a deer. Men usually hunted alone, singling out the freshest track they could find and following it persistently. This work demanded much strength and endurance. Frequently hunters would sing (pray) in their lodges the preceding evening for the appropriate conditions: first a fall of snow, then rain for a while to melt the surface, then cold to make the crust. They usually carried a sack tied to their belts containing dried [264] meat and roots. In starvation times they would eat game in the bush, though it was customary to bring everything to camp first.

An interesting variation of the surround is described by Curtis* for the interior Salish:

> "As many old moccasins as could be collected [were hung] on trees, around a fairly extensive area. The men went out to scare the deer towards this. Of course they would not pass the man-smelling moccasins and they were shot whenever they came into view."

ovr Men might sing in the sweathouse before

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*[For footnote, see preceding page.--Analyst]

p. 20 (B)

the blood possible, and this was all poured 224
in too. Blood was sometimes drunk raw by
warriors, if they had the power of a deer-
killing animal, but more frequently service 251
berries were cooked in it, or it was added
to boiling meat, etc. It was kept in summer 262
time, even though it clabbered in the heat.
The intestine was hung up near camp until all
the blood was consumed.

Livers were also eaten raw, and sometimes other parts. The milk was not used, nor the contents of the stomach. The skull was cut open by several sharp blows with a sharp rock, the brains scooped out by hand and wrapped up, to be used in tanning. Head meat was chopped up and boiled. The head was always kept by the man who killed the deer.

If a large killing had been made in the 251
hills the meat would be dried there, at any
time of the year. It would then be lighter
to carry. Men always skinned and cut up the
deer while women cut the meat into slabs, sev- [462] ●
eral inches square and three-sixteenths of
an inch thick. If there was much meat, a [417]
structure similar to the salmon rack would
be made from six to seven feet high, on which sticks were laid bearing the meat. The number of poles varied with the amount they had to dry. If there was only a small quantity they would make a structure like a small sweathouse, of bent-over branches. A small fire of dry wood was made underneath. The sheets of meat had to be kept horizontal, and close enough together so that too much hot air would not escape. All the meat was turned over every little while, and the thicker parts opened out. When no more blood is left in the meat it is dry. After this it is kept in the air for two or three days, and then can be stored. If put into sacks right after smoking (which is really a slow roasting), it would spoil. The drying takes only one or two hours out of doors, but it might take as long as four days in a tipi where it is done more slowly, and thus better from the point of view of retaining the fat.

In summer the meat could not be kept long without smoking, so it is roasted at once and fairly quickly. But when freezing it could be kept a week or so, though it might spoil if it should thaw. Then it was smoked slowly in the tipi eaves.

A different drying rack was constructed 251
at permanent camps (aEnxnöwI′ltseten). These
had four uprights, were five to six feet 417
long by three feet wide and three feet high, with four poles lengthwise supporting eight or ten crosswise, all of peeled willow about one half inch thick, green so that it would not easily burn. The frame was arched longitudinally. Each joint was tied with willow bark. A fire was built on the whole surface underneath, of dry willow twigs at first, green wood being added to cause smoke. The thicker pieces were opened out more now, for

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa'wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI'ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau'na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

222 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled
251 cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in
these containers, handfuls were spread on a
rock to dry. After several days they were
252 stored in tule sacks for winter use. They
were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the
dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled
824 in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (ɫaƶa), (9) strawberries (tq!ëmtqEm), and (10) thimble berries (palpū'lEqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skūlī's) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spī'tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexōRī'pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa'I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

● [4-62] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

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Each village was said to have a large sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5] 364

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6] 361 712

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women. 291 [858] [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (*circa* 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.

[6] See Warfare.

[7] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 230.

[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 281 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEkɛ·ɛ'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

formed of two small sticks crossed at the middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on this figure-eight fashion. 227 286

Deer nets were made of hemp string by hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight feet high and as long as four hundred yards, but were made in sections large enough for one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, man the net. 224 286 [462]

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for 481

~~Or~~ a pounding sack was made from a disk ~~of~~ hide about a foot in diameter, to which extensions or sides of skin about four inches high were sewed with buckskin. 412

Pestles were made by men of a white or gray stone called sqûëasxEn. by chipping a naturally well-shaped piece to the proper form. The pestle was three or four inches in diameter and about nine inches long (Figure 25)."[1] Pestles had no knobs at the upper end as in neighboring areas. Usually only one or two old men were proficient at chipping them: they were sold for a deerskin. [324 462]

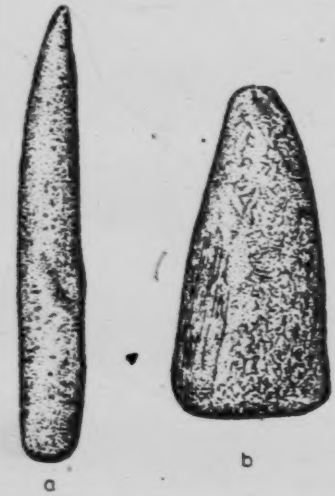

Fig. 25. Stone pestles.

Spoons

Elk or mountain sheep horn spoons were made from horns traded from the Similkameen River (Figure 26). The horn was soaked in water overnight to loosen the core, which was removed by tapping gently on the outside. The horn was then cut open along one side and whittled to the proper outline, after which it was soaked in hot water for an hour until soft. The bowl was then shaped with the hands. Two crossed sticks were placed in the bowl and Indian hemp was wrapped around the circumference to maintain the shape until the spoon was dry. It was then polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The handle was decorated with a series of notches, or might bear the same decoration of fine lines as the sticks for handling coals described below. These spoons were fairly rare; no more than one to a family in early times. A sheep horn spoon was worth a deer hide. 415 321 [435]

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 59 (c), category 416.-- Analyst]

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 281 These (called pEnpEnaʔ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon."[1]

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29)."[1] Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 62 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[27] Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe. 276 [562]

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?). 276 316 439

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (*Equisetum*). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold. 276 324 [531] [462]

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs. 276 623

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then 314 [137] 276

P. 65(B)

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a short distance and then took a course due west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the Rockies in search of buffalo. 439 487 [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are three large trading points; Big Bend on the Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon seasons, tribes from great distances congregate at these places for fishing, trading and gambling. 439 574 441

If few salmon are being caught in the home territory, any band is welcome to fish in friendly territory. Young men, in any case, are apt to fish in friendly territory in order to see the girls of other places. Many marriages take place at salmon fishing time. 226 574 584

Trading is a complement of food gathering. Trade in food is carried on entirely by the women, since the stored food belongs to them. (Husbands, if questioned concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know. That is not my business.") 462 ● 441

Sinkaietk people travel quite some distance from their own territory to hunt, fish and trade, as is evidenced in the following accounts. 484 439

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkame'pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of Methow descent, although there have always been canoes, travel by water is infrequent. In early days, however, they travelled all the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty boats going at a time. It took four days to get back, using long poles to go upstream. They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwē'Gs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sō'xqūi).[40] If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in 484 439 437

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[40] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sKaan^{1}I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong. 854 846

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks. 854

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material.[22]

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load. 855

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All 462

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[22] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

p.123 (A)

462 cooking was done by women: it was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose.

512 This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day:

The women arose early; in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

512 264 [782] Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in the river. Soon the meal was ready; this the family ate off tule mats spread on the ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kŭlĕnsŏ´tn; some old man would ask for help for them all through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits.

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

512 521 During the day the people might be busily engaged either at camp or away from it, or

p.123 (B)

281 them,[22] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried. In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry. No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[23] Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow, blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[463] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the work of women.

281 296 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes are washed.

283 294 412 413 SEWING.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals. Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plentifully on the St. Joe River and in some other places. Needles were made from the small bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[24] Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[22] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[23] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[24] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint 237
stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still 281
quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of 415
a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin 531
and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, par- [462]
flèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint.

FLEXIBLE BASKETS.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were 285
formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in 415
proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually 531
flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[51] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these

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[51] *b*, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alene

Designs on Beaded Bags.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly 531
geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide
bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time.
I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral
designs, and obtained a few explanations.

Designs on Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—Rawhide bags and 177
parflèches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other 531
tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur
d'Alêne were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the
painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate
with the Coeur d'Alêne, the latter did not know the names or mean-
ings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alêne women were [462]
constantly making and painting these bags and parflèches, on the
whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these
bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no
absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in

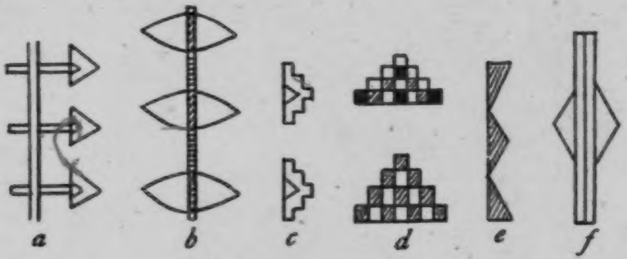

Figure 5.—Designs from beaded bags

time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflèches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflèches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

224 A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back again, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. [251] [483] [462] Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

men were stationed along the top of the ridge, some distance back 224
from the bluff, and others in the same way at the bottom. A runway or passage was left for the deer to reach the lake along the base of the bluff. Canoes were concealed behind the bluff. When the deer found that they were entrapped, they ran into the lake, where the [462]
canoes attacked them, the women paddling, and the men shooting. All deer entering the water were soon overtaken and killed. Those that tried to pass back on the drivers, or through the men stationed at the sides above and below, were also as a rule killed. Any that returned from the water when the attack by the canoes commenced were met by the men stationed near the foot of the bluff, who advanced to the water edge when they saw that the deer had taken to the water.

After the introduction of horses, game—even antelope—was some- 177
times run down on open ground, but this kind of hunting was not 224
always successful. Buffalo were hunted by parties of mounted men advancing on them in a line, usually not far apart, and often quite close together. At a signal given by the hunting chief, the hunters dashed at full speed at the herd of buffalo, stampeding them. They shot and speared the animals in the rear and sides of the herd. The pursuit and slaughter continued until the party considered that they had sufficient meat and skins. Occasionally, in the excitement, [152]
more were killed than the party required, and only the choicest meat, fat, and skins were taken. Buffalo were also stampeded over cliffs above coulees, and sometimes killed in large numbers by the fall. It is said, however, that this method of driving over cliffs was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne in their own country when hunting elk or other kinds of game. Possibly the timbered nature of the country and the contour of the hills did not favor its employment there.

Decoy dresses made of the heads and skins of animals were used by 224
some men in still hunting to approach the game before shooting. 292
Headbands and caps set with horns, ears, or side feathers were also used. Antelope were frequently approached in this way.

Deer and elk were called both by direct imitation and with calls made of wood.

Animals, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the 224
Thompson [169] and their skins were also often used as temporary bags [281]
for carrying meat to camp. It seems, however, that the long stick that was put inside the bag for stretching it was not used by the Coeur d'Alêne. (Fig. 11.)

Spring pole snares for catching the feet of deer, like those common among the Thompson,[170] were not used, but deer fences were erected and snares set in the openings. These consisted of ordinary running nooses of Indian-hemp rope. The end of this rope was fastened to a

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[169] a, p. 248.

[170] a, fig. 228.

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsā, Yaromi', Siyō''ɛ, Xwa'm-ɛnma', X̣aẋae'tcɛm* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwōłɛmcɛna', Wīłɛwōłɛma', Siyaẋta', Si''pal, Tclɛmtā'l, Xwɛotsti', Tc'ā'āne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dɛrwal al ła'rɛnɛ* ("moon fell"), *Qaẋpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551 611 [552]

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421 861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 567 591 [431] [562]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

[462] 421 only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

224 421 Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[209] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

221 311 421 Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[209] a, p. 248.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 311
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 421
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained ~~by~~ their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just [462]
the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[280]

FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431
were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527
one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which
generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, 53
no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, imperson-
ating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[280] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwi'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunά'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shu-
*171 swap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia,
285 the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded cor-
[415] ners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular.
[531] They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some
[177] say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

531 DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats
*171 were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were
[178] very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

462 DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery,
*171 made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

411 531 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design in natural color on pigment"

411 321 324 Arrows for shooting small game were not provided with stone heads but were simply sharpened to a point. War arrows and those designed for large game were fitted with bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in the same plane as the nock. ● [463 778] Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'I'stin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 278 Arrows for both war and the chase were sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning. 789 [821] The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connected with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the Colville did. The distinction is doubtful. [825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsÂtsZxÛnt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow jacket nest. [754] Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(A)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

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713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

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463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

171
501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes f[illegible] the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task. [44]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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22 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VIII, 71. 1

534 over this hole so as to leave a narrow open-
ing between them. Both ends of the flageo-
[463] let were open. A young man who made good
flutes would be hired to make them by others.
[533] Flute tunes had no words and were freely
learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

[314
415]

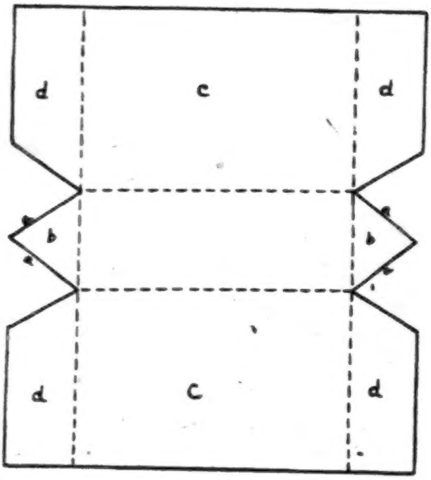

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

624/728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 622/624 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as [805] host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177/621 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not 463/484 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463
hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally 484
those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details.
It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle- [728]
aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to [554]
some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177]
symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202
signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any 484
important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organiza-
755 tion. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
578 great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

178
Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 534
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 484
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month 621
called skəmı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpatctiłta'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp 342
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping 796
or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 476
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 758
with those ~~who had had to remain~~. 888

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The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely ~~act as~~ director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well.

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The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

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At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself.

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

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In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

224 281 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 251 415 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.

[19] See page 117.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri- 366
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snəká'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples —
was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always
brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were
obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were sup-
plied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were re-
ceived from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned
buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but 439
the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and
food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir
traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At
that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their
canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and
their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of
goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the
Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots,
hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads,
dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might
reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 579
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

Sinkaietk

361 621 622 For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a recognized head whose authorization is from his spirit power.

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

342 361 The mat houses are built in a single row along a creek or river (sometimes there is more than one row), their long axes running parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

342 476 622 All working together, they build first the chief's house, which is the largest, and then the others. There is some question as to whether others than those who are to occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

342 592 621 In each house live a number of people who are not necessarily related but who are congenial. The house group is not formed casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

342 574 796 When all the houses are finished, and then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. The following day the chief's wife selects women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and
very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters
or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or
posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered
divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it
were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally
six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire
[354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally
small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off
the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also
sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent
or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three
of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever
used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village
sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the
sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees
almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction
with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites
of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same
[622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According
to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision
of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering
were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or
taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the
[422] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property.
[358] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use,
and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and
the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the
chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding
the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this
was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule,
the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the
people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination.
All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles
laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of
some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but
where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the
butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some
people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds.
[354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection
against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors
of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw

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[61] See b, p. 180.

the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were also used in skin tents.[62]

62. C.P. 161, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming 621
from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted.
Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited 481
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624
gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412
of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of transporting 482
the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

SNOWSHOES

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Snowshoes were indispensable to winter travel and hunting. Several distinct types were made, but the varieties were not designed for special snow conditions. The general term for snowshoe was siγi'waχən. A small-meshed shoe used for sliding purposes was called i'tctn. All men possessed snowshoes. Only a portion of the women used them. The ski was unknown.

The most common snowshoe (snanana'pulən, "magpie's tail") (Figure 20, d) was made of spukumi'lpʷ, a light strong wood. The frame was made of green wood to permit shaping without cracking. The pole was bent into circular form and the ends fastened together in a long splice wrapped with rawhide. The frame was drawn into its final shape by tying temporary cords from one side to the other. The front portion was permitted to remain semi-circular in shape; the back was drawn together until the sides were almost parallel. The splice was at the extreme rear. These cords were not removed until the wood was entirely dry, after which it would retain its shape.

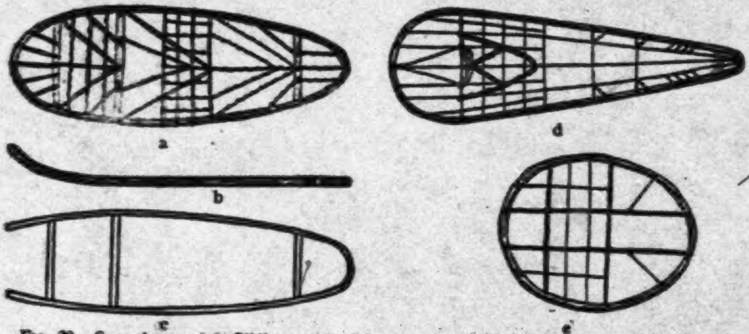

FIG. 20. Snowshoes. (a) Sliding type; (b) side view. (c) Frame of open end type. (d) Common type with foot harness. (e) Oval type.

The frame was strung with two strands of rawhide twisted together. Parallel lengthwise stringing was used in the forward portion of the shoe, and cross stringing in the central part where the harness was attached. In the rear section two heavy wide-spaced cross strings and two lengthwise cords, approximately parallel to the sides, constituted the main strut work. The cross cords to which the harness was attached was four strands thick. The stringing was fastened to the framework by carrying it around, twisting it once on the inside and wrapping it around a second time. The front of the shoe was raised somewhat. The cords were held from slipping by notching the frame and by knotting the string on the inside.

The harness consisted of one wide strap across the toe, fastened to the main cross cord, and a heel and ankle string. The latter was a single cord. One end was fastened to the cross cord on one side a few inches from the frame. From there it was carried through a hole in the center of the toe strap but not drawn tight.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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It was next twisted back on itself for half its length, carried around the heel, and fastened to the cross cord on the opposite side. It was then similarly twisted back and the end attached to the toe strap.

This shoe averaged three feet or more in length, twelve inches in width at the front, much less at the back.

The second type of snowshoe was ovoid in shape (Figure 20, e). It was called nıγıγo'pa from iɛγ, "round." This was a less satisfactory shoe than the preceding one, but it was more easily made and required less rawhide. In stringing and harness it was similar to the long one.

[137]

The sliding snowshoe, i'tctn (Figure 20, a, b, c), was the most complex of all forms. The frame was made of syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh., (wuxwa'xailpᵊ). This shoe was adapted to use as an ordinary snowshoe or for sliding where the snow was crusted. In the latter case a pole was sometimes used as an aid. This pole, called taki'kstan, was of fir, even in diameter and about six feet long. The shoe was made in two varieties. The significant difference was in the form of the frame. One was continuous, an elongated oval (Figure 20, a); the other was closed at the back only and had almost parallel sides turned up at the front (Figure 20, c). Each was made of two pieces of green wood, spliced together either at both ends or (in the second variant) at the back only. These pieces were not left in the round, but worked to a rectangular cross-section, about one-half inch by one and one-half inches. They were arranged to rest on the narrow edges. At the front, which was raised about six inches, the thickness was lessened considerably. During the shaping process the frame was occasionally held over the fire to increase its flexibility. The splices were bound with rawhide. Temporary cords were used here, too, to hold the frame in shape until it dried.

When dry three cross pieces of wood were added, one near the front, one somewhat forward from the middle and one near the back. These were shouldered and fitted into holes bored in the frame at the sides. They were rectangular in section, similar in size to the frame. The forward piece rested on its edge, the other two on their sides. The stringing was of two strand rawhide as in the common snowshoe. The forward and back sections were longitudinally strutted. The two central portions were strung in a complex pattern consisting of lengthwise, transverse and diagonal cording. The diagonal cords were fastened to holes bored in the frame and to the center string. Other cords were looped around the frame at the place of attachment but the frame was notched at the bottom so that the cords would not project beyond the running surface.

The harness was fastened to the middle cross piece of wood. It consisted of two cords, one looped around the toe and the other wrapped around the ankle and fastened to the toe loop at the center.

The overall length of this snowshoe varied between two and three feet. The widths at the three wooden cross pieces, from front to back, were respectively five, nine, and four inches. This shoe was used most extensively while hunting.

Toboggans were made from raw deer or bear hide. The hide was held in front of the feet with the hands. Sometimes pine branches were used on crusted snow.

formed of two small sticks crossed at the middle and lashed. The cordage was wound on this figure-eight fashion. 227 286

Deer nets were made of hemp string by hand, with no shuttle. They were about eight feet high and as long as four hundred yards, but were made in sections large enough for one man to carry. Women made the hemp string, men the net. 224 286 [462]

Snowshoes

These were of two kinds in the southern part of the territory: a long narrow type and a short broad one. Suszen stated that the long shoe was more difficult to make and use, the broader kind being used more by women and unskillful men. (Wenatchi snowshoes were said to have been longer and narrower, and to turn up at the toes.) The long shoe was turned up at the toe, otherwise the construction was the same for both. The frame consisted of two pieces of maple wood, which were bent in hot water while still green and lashed together before and behind. Thongs of thick skin (such as bear skin) were woven across the frame with a checker weave. The weave differed in the several sections of the shoe. A loop across the instep and another across the heel kept the snowshoe on the foot. A hole was left for the toes to pass through when raising the foot to take a step. The snowshoes varied according to the size of the user, the long type being about half of the owner's height in length. The long type may have been borrowed from the Wenatchi, since it resembles the Wenatchi type and was not reported for the region near Omak. On the other hand, the snowshoes said to have been used in the northern part of the territory were about three feet long for 481

● 481 the women and from four to five feet for men. Beside this there were no sex differences in use or manufacture. Only a few people could make them, but these were both men and women. A pair would last a man for two or three years and was worth from one to three deer skins.

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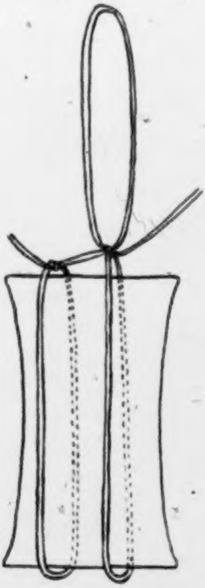

Fig. 23. Net guage (after native sketch).

Digging Stick

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This was about two and a half feet long but depended on the stature of the woman using it. It was made of service berry or arrow wood and was fitted with a deer or elk horn cross-handle. The stick was stripped of its bark and shaped by heating (soaking in hot water ?) and bending over the knee, or by laying it across two sticks on the ground between which it was weighted down with a stone. Presumably the stick was curved somewhat throughout its length. Both ends were sharpened so that the stick could be reversed in its handle when one end dulled. The horn handle was rubbed into shape and a hole was bored in the middle, through which the stick was inserted. Women setting off on a trip to gather camas took eight or ten such sticks with them. Iron bars now replace the wooden sticks.

Seed Beater

This was a wooden frame covered with buckskin; in effect two oval surfaces, the beating surface six inches in length, the smaller portion, which served as a handle, four inches long. A peeled stick of service berry wood about three-fourths inch thick was bent into a figure-eight and the ends,

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501
and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481
like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231
Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177
1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579
much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231
other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some 177
claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556
appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

501 **Canoes.**—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted "sturgeon nose" type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No "dugouts" were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.[186] Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.[187] In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

493 **Tump Lines.**—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people's backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

481 **Snowshoes.**—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.[188] Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as

the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[188] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[189] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwazt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

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[186] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235, *a*, *b*.

[187] See Field Mus. No. 111954.

[188] *a*, fig. 239.

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[189] Thompson, c, fig. 242; Lillooet, k, fig. 91.

[190] c, fig. 241.

[191] c, fig. 243.

[192] c, fig. 227.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

Carrying.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads. 482 231

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant. 481 ●

Horses.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the 231 492 [173]

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[2] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].
[3] a, p. 257, fig. 241.
[4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, 492
came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down [415]
with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well [178]
from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear 481 ●
to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. 171*
Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used.

492
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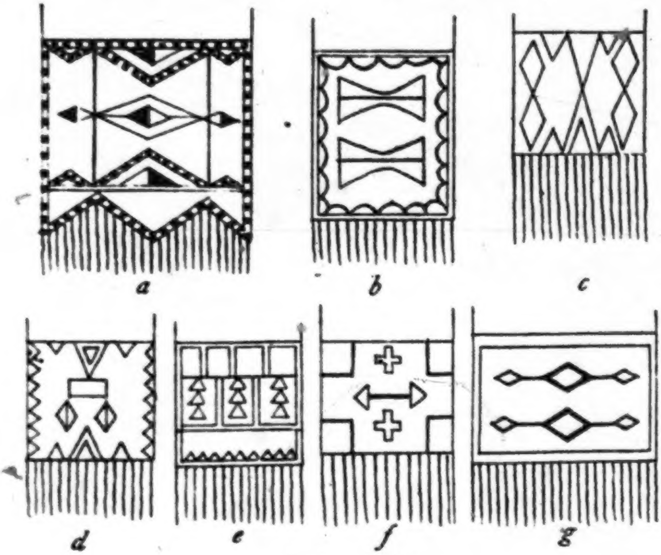

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before 487
and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, 439
which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the 438
mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural
elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the [178]
advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta''mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 285
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 492
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumasti'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [331]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketfy dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpᵋ, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called quqepui'lpᵋ, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lpᵋ, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (slodjəke'n) were utilized extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered. 221 222 462 621

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier. 222 481 624

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks. 222 412

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening. 222 482

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them. 222 251

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of transporting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 222 482 251

222 251 482 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

187 222 251 252 262 1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣wa'ł i'tx̣wa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sx̣ulu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'łps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tx̣wa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nlakʷ). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

PACKSTRAP

492 While travelling, burdens were usually carried with the aid of a packstrap or tumpline (łki'kən). The central portion of such a strap was made of buckskin or bear hide. To soften the latter it was pounded between rocks. To this central part, which was about a foot long and two and a half inches wide, were sewed long cords of buckskin so that the whole length became eight feet or more. Packstraps woven of Indian hemp were sometimes used. The straps were never decorated.

Men, women and children used straps of the same type. The line was usually passed over the forehead, but sometimes around the chest. There was no sex difference in the matter. Women did not wear basketry caps with tumplines, but often used a bit of padding, such as a piece of fur, under the strap. Men occasionally wore fur caps to protect the forehead.

Travelling packs, such as those carried when journeying south of the Columbia river for the root digging season, consisted of essentials such as fire drills, cooking baskets, digging sticks, horn wedges and dried food. Small bundles were made of these articles, which in turn were wrapped with robes and tule mats, making a long roll. The ends of the packstrap were tied around such a bundle about twelve inches on either side of the middle. The pack rested low on the back. Men's and women's packs were of about the same size. Men sometimes carried deer with the tumpline.

201

SIGN LANGUAGE

Sign language was but weakly developed. It was used to a certain extent as a means of communication between persons speaking unintelligible dialects. Persons who were within sight but out of hearing of each other utilized signs. It also served when it was not desirable to make any sound. A few of the signs are described here:

1. "Yes": nodding the head.
2. "No": shaking the head.
3. "Come": pointing at one's self or motion toward one's self with right hand.
4. "Don't come": motion away from one with right hand.
5. "You": pointing at one.
6. "Look": head turned, eyebrows raised.
7. "Stop": right arm extended forward, palm outward, hand moved from side to side.
8. "Let us meet": two forefingers held vertically together.
9. "Let us go together": right arm stretched upward, index and middle fingers projected and held together.
10. "Sit down": right hand cupped, palm upward, arm lowered.
11. "I can't hear": both arms flexed, palms upward, fingers pointing to sides.

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on 226
during the first four days each year that
fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was 796
to keep the fish at the river shore until
daybreak (the first ones usually having been
taken at night), and then carry them up on
poles, actually spear poles, which were [482]
thrust into the gills and out through the
mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight
or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders.
They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves
to await butchering. The butcher is chosen
by the head man as one skilled in the work [622]
and deserving the distinction. He frequently
does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. 226
A transverse cut is made into the ventral
side at the base of the mandible, where the 796
gill slits are closest together, and another
transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base 252
of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to
the backbone. The head of the fish is then 788
bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This meterial is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

224 782 Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick."

PREPARATION OF DEER

224 482 When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck.

224 251 If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in the skin to be carried and the ends of the [482] four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces.[11]

224 251 262 In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all

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[11] Teit, Thompson Indians, 248.

252 fire sticks.

354 A stick for use with the roasting pit was sometimes specially prepared. This was of service berry wood, twelve to fourteen inches long, sharpened but not otherwise finished. The steam was allowed to escape by punching a hole near the edge of the earth covering, never at the middle.

When a hunter had no other cooking utensil, he used a deer paunch set in a hole in the ground.

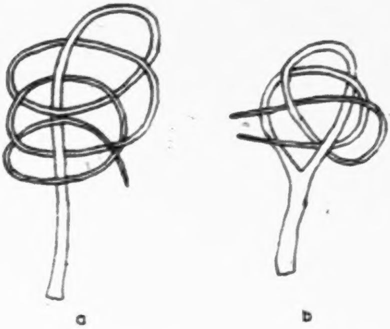

Fig. 27. Types of makeshift stirrer.

Awls

412 Those for sewing hides and baskets were made sometimes of deer horn, sometimes from three bones of the bear: the radius, ulne, or os penis. The bear bones were slender, naturally pointed, and the opinion was universal that they were tougher than other bones. Awls five or six inches long fashioned from deer ribs were reported; sometimes provided with a buckskin wrapping as a handle. All were made by men.

Needles

A needle for sewing tule mats was six or seven inches long, made of deer bone, thinned down, and with an inch-long eye at the top. It had no ridge or groove No creaser was used with it as on Puget Sound. Needles were also used in sewing skins. These were of bone or wood provided with a round eye. Needles made of quills were also used for sewing; they could only be inserted after holes had been punched by an awl.

Tump Lines

482 A tump line or pack strap consisted of a single thong of tanned deer skin, from three to six feet long, depending on the use, with a broader section (two and one-half or three inches across in the center) where it passed over the upper part of the forehead and hair. Deerskin from the neck region was preferred since this is thicker. Tump lines of Indian hemp were reported: the central

482 portion of these was nine by three inches; the lines were braided. Although the weight could be shifted to the small of the back by bending forward, almost the entire burden was borne by the lines. One informant said the half-bow knot was used universally. Women carried bundles of wood, blankets, tule, and the like with such lines.

Parfleches

415 281 These (called pEnpEnaʔ, "it folds back") were made of buffalo or horsehide and were laced with rawhide. There is obscurity in the statements that the "parfleche was of Nez Percé type," and again that they "were exactly like those of the Nez Percé." At least they were made by Southern Okanagon."1

BASKETS, BAGS, AND BUCKETS

[462] All such containers were made by women. Sometimes these were exchanged among themselves for similar products or for food.

285 415 Coiled baskets made of cedar root bark were used for storage, cooking, berry gathering and other purposes, as among all the interior Salish tribes. They would stand much rougher treatment for cooking than birch buckets. A basket of this sort would last for ten years. Apparently they were formerly made in a variety of sizes and shapes, but those seen were used only for berrying and were about a foot deep, tapering slightly at the bottom and sometimes flattened on one side (Figures 28 and 29)."1 Hill-Tout[27] states that "a well-made cedar root basket often outlasts the generation which first saw it: some specimens are known to have been in use close upon half a century."

1[For footnotes, see p. 62 (D), category 116. --Analyst]

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[27] Hill-Tout, British North America, 113.

p. 62 (A)

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. 173
The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog 224
drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily 251
buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to
the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When 224
the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the 482●
valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it
could often be kept frozen. [23 I]

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[7]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts 224
of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral

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[7] a, p. 245 fig. 227.

CARRYING.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads. 482 231

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant. 481

HORSES.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the 231 492 [173]

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[2] a, p. 255, fig. 236. [3] a, p. 257, fig. 241. [4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

231 173 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 *171 ● 482 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 *171 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflèches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflèches and secured by the same rope. [177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type[1] similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. [531] Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] 7, p. 12, fig. 8.

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 126 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [940] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

224 A method of driving practiced by large parties in suitable parts of the country in the early spring was as follows. The first night in camp, before hunting, each person in the party gave the hunting chief a piece of buffalo or other animal's skin with the hair on. These pieces were about 15 cm. square. The party busied themselves making sticks with sharp points, one for each piece of skin. In the morning the chief directed the men where to go (say, to a place about 5 miles to leeward of where he was to go himself). On reaching the place, they spread out in a line about 100 meters apart and facing the wind. At a given signal they advanced slowly in line, shouting from time to time or barking like dogs. Meanwhile the chief, who had to go a shorter distance, scorched the pieces of skin in the fire, and put them together in a sack. He carried these pieces of skin and the sticks to a selected place not far from camp, about 5 miles to windward of where the hunters had started. Here he set out the sticks with a piece of scorched skin on the end of each in a line parallel to the line of hunters. He now went to some eminence near the line of sticks and toward the hunters to watch for the deer. As the drivers approached, the startled deer ran toward the line of sticks; but when they get near enough to smell the scorched skins, they hurried back again, and bunched together beyond the scent of the skins. When the drivers arrived below the chief, but still out of sight of the deer, the chief called to the nearest to stop advancing, as the deer were now stationary and close by. The signal was passed along the line; and each man lay down, concealing himself as well as possible. The chief now descended, and, advancing directly down wind from the sticks, ran toward the deer, shouting and throwing up his hands. The deer scattered and ran toward the line of hunters, who now shot them as they advanced or passed. According to circumstances, when the final signal was given, the hunters sometimes came closer to each other and nearer the deer, before concealing themselves, and sometimes they formed a semicircle around the deer. [2-51] [483] [462] Whatever deer were killed were now skinned and cut up by all hands; and the meat that could not be carried to camp immediately by the hunters was piled up and covered with snow. Generally the following day the women carried this meat to camp.

"Ringing" deer by a body of hunters advancing toward the center of a circle was not in vogue. Possibly the country was in most places unsuitable for this method. However, a method somewhat similar was employed in places where a long mountain ridge terminated abruptly in a lake, forming a steep bluff above the water. One side of the ridge was chosen for the hunt, which began on the ridge, from 4 to 7 miles from the lake. From this point the drivers started in extended line, one above another, on the side of the ridge, their objective being the bluff. They walked with the wind. Other

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in warfare. 178 181 554 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skənı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages. 221 262 342 484 621

During the early part of the following month, kəpatctltæ'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come. 221 224 262 342 462 621 796

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared with those who ~~had had to remain~~. 221 476 758 888

342 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household
423 was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen
961 with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 The temporary mat hut (sıpı'a'ilᵘ) was utilized during the summer while
285 moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the
484 winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat
342 houses, (sıntoᴀuqwıʔltən, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures.
361 These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House
571 groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted
852 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and
342 grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

252 342 354 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 324 352 415 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 314 415 484 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tʊtsa'paxʷ), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cı'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

283 285 314 415 [321] [330] Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of Coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control. 224 624

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.) 224 784 [834]

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter. 224 484

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening, but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, of the circular or tipi type.[8] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day. 224 484

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[1] See page 179.

All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans. 224 624

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illustrates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expeditions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out. 224 624 789

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[8] See page 34.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distribution 366
of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snaká'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples
was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay 439
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect importance 484
to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was additional 484
horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal procedure 579
of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 ~~Southeast~~ Salish
Sanpoil

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

178 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of
177 the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was
439 still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too,
horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with
484 peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

177 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains
492 type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

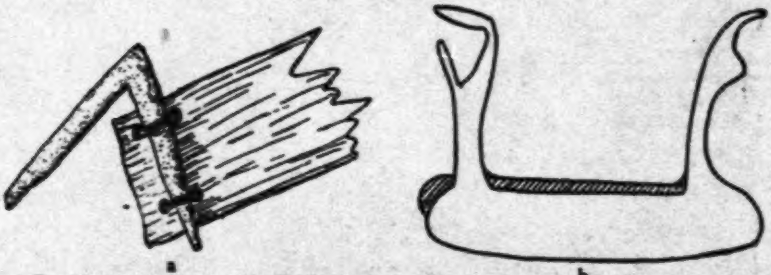

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

177
492
Pack saddles (wusuwa'sxukan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied
[231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

484
501
Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

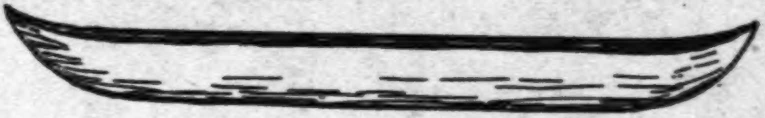

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

501 Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'-lam) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (sanuqui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

ground, with one fire for each family, all 171
directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. 342
Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

The summer shelter consisted of a rec- 342
tangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

Generally, when travelling, mats for a 342
tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the 484
winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

The menstrual lodge was the regular mat- 343
covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp [841]
rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a short distance and then took a course due west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the Rockies in search of buffalo. 439 487 [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are three large trading points; Big Bend on the Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon seasons, tribes from great distances congregate at these places for fishing, trading and gambling. 439 574 441

If few salmon are being caught in the home territory, any band is welcome to fish in friendly territory. Young men, in any case, are apt to fish in friendly territory in order to see the girls of other places. Many marriages take place at salmon fishing time. 226 574 584

Trading is a complement of food gathering. Trade in food is carried on entirely by the women, since the stored food belongs to them. (Husbands, if questioned concerning the food supply, answer, "I don't know. That is not my business.") 462 441

Sinkaietk people travel quite some distance from their own territory to hunt, fish and trade, as is evidenced in the following accounts. 484 ● 439

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of Methow descent, although there have always been canoes, travel by water is infrequent. In early days, however, they travelled all the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty boats going at a time. It took four days to get back, using long poles to go upstream. They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwē´ūs creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sō´xqūī)." If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in 484 439 437

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10 For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

484 439 437

developing friendship with another. One man never had more than one of these in a trading place, but the latter might have several to deal with if Indians from many places came at once. This trade relationship was not reported in connection with any other tribe than the Wenatchi. In Wenatchi country, people from the coast came to trade with the people of the interior. Whether this Wenatchi trading friend acted as an interpreter, middleman, or did direct business with his interior friend is not known. In October, the Wenatchi people came to the mouth of the Okanogan River to get salmon and to trade.

484 [435]

Andrew Tillson went to the coast at the time of the Nez Percé war. He started at about haying time and went alone by horse. He went from Loomis (tū´tckūla^{xū}) to the country around Oroville. Then he went across to Rock Creek (sxa´IaqEn, White Owl), thence to Curlew (nsIsqEtcI´n) and across the hills to Kettle Falls (cxōne´t^{kū}). Then he went to kawI´la and Loon Lake (nọweme´taq^{ū}) in Spokan country. From there to Walla Walla the country was uninhabited so that he travelled for two days without meeting anyone. When he reached the Palouse River, he crossed on a ferry (sfēqa´wef), run by a white man. It took him two days from here to reach Walla Walla, where there were many other Indians working, but no Okanagon. Then he went to Wallula where there were friendly Nez Percé (naI´aqūtsEn) and sold his horse for a good price, four dollars. A horse might be traded for a tanned buckskin, which might itself bring twenty dollars, or for good blankets that were worth a hide. Large parties of Okanagon sometimes went to Wallula. They camped alone while there and never intermarried with the Nez Percé. From Wallula Andrew took the steamboat to Portland, but as he was warned by white people that he might be killed by the other Indians, he returned to Wallula after two weeks. After remaining in Wallula three years because of the fighting, in which he did not participate, he bought a horse and returned to Loomis.

484 439

Suszen Timentwa says that the Sinkaietk infrequently go to Blackfoot country (ctq^{wē}xōnū´la; ctq^{wē}ō´lēxūn, Blackfoot). They go down the Okanogan River, south on the west side of the Columbia to Nez Percé country and across to the Blackfoot country. Sometimes the Moses Columbia, Spokan, Flathead, and Nez Percé accompany them. Runners carry news all the time between these tribes; thus they arrange meeting places on the way to the buffalo country. Poor men with nothing to trade go also to assist with the horses: they receive food and clothing for their services. Salmon, mountain goat hides, berries, grizzly bear hides, and deer hides are taken along to trade for buffalo hides and meat. The Blackfoot and the Plateau people are always ready to fight. A smoke is motioned for in sign language and a truce

484 holds while trading. The Plateau people have learned sign language at these meetings. 439 Some of the Blackfoot are anxious to get salmon in trade, while others object to the Plateau people hunting buffalo and fight about it. Healthy women and children are taken on these trips. The women trade with women; camas for buckskin clothes and leggings that are beaded with bone. All trading is individual. The trip takes three months each way.

484 Sulktaskosem, Suszen's great grandfather, a Moses chief, was said by him to have been the first Plateau man to lead a party to the Blackfoot country. Margaret Sersepkin, whose narrative follows, said that her husband was the only Sinkaietk who took parties to the Plains in the middle of the last century, and that in her father's youth no one went to the buffalo country.

Margaret and her husband, Sersepkin, chief of the Kartar band, started from Loomis for the plains in July, six years after a great earthquake. (Margaret is now about ninety-two. She was seventeen or eighteen at the time of the trip.) Sersepkin's party consisted of two boys hired to kill buffalo, his own two sons and Margaret, with thirty horses, some of which he intended to trade with the Plains people. A good horse was worth five or six buffalo hides.

After travelling all summer, they reached Montana where they rested five days at the home of Angus Macdonald, who was the brother of George Tillson's wife. They travelled eastward from here seven weeks before coming to good buffalo country. On their way they came down to a town, either Helena or Missoula, and followed a lake for two days before crossing the Rockies. Then they came to a big bluff with a little narrow trail. When they got on top of this rocky mountain and camped, at midnight they heard a roaring like a thunderstorm. Margaret was frightened and thought the mountain was going to cave in, but experienced travellers with her said that the mountain made this noise because she and her companions were strangers, and when they had travelled over this mountain two or three times, it would not make this noise. At the foot of this mountain, miles away, they looked back and could see Indians going single file up the rocky trail.

On the other side of the mountains there were nothing but plains. People from many different tribes were wintering there in buckskin, buffalo skin, or canvas tipis. Yakima, Spokan and Nespelem Indians were there. The only food was buffalo meat. There was no wood, no rocks, no long grass; the grass was short and thick and the ground so hard that horses left no tracks. They camped at small lakes where the drinking water was filthy from the buffalo. The Blackfoot danced every night with many drums, but the Plateau people did not join them. The Plains and Plateau people talked to each other and told stories in the sign language.

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa´wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar. 484 439

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange. 321 439

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade. 171 439 [186]

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box. [764]

572 me and I will give you things." They would
agree to exchange presents and hospitality
431 as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

A man would have a "giving-partner" in
[426] his own tribe very seldom, because men in
the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinûqōx̄hwĭtstûĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tûĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ûĕ; a gift chwĭtsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

● 484 Among many groups the men had regular
partners with whom they preferred to trade
572 when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups
often went, and the women went along, for
they were useful for carrying and the care
439 of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like
[527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter
dances, for the coming together of large
crowds of people, so that the young people
[584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

By the time that full middle life was
885 reached, social recognition of individual
differences was achieved. Differentiation
554 in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

[484] Brush Lodges.—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

343 Women's and Girls' Lodges.—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

332 342 Underground and Other Lodges.—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

177 314 343 Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] *b*, p. 198.

[72] *a*, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

[237] bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were
285 most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass
314 tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes,
352 and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed
was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding.
Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose.
No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair
356 or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for
keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food
stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were
placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of
the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds
and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men
kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the
pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds
or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were
often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on
these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves,
consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and
[251] other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework
for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across
the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger
tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many
of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were
252 used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted
285 on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed
314 out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were
415 only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but
no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the
484 cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but
their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as
storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on
mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and
traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food
on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They
also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them
on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept
wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

[237] Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons
and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of
mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or
buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and
small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of
balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the

skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly 237
common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar 374
to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted. 372

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the 475
Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other 281
animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as 291
obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body [302]
painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were [484]
traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

ROBES.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of 281ˣ
the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, 294
and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often

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[73] a, figs. 159, 160.
[74] a, fig. 161.
[75] a, pl. 18.

252 PRESERVATION OF ANIMAL FOODS, COOKING.—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. 251 Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,[162] and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men [484] having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes

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[162] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 2.

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willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often bought from the Plains tribes.

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It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

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The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 622 624 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as 805 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 **Companies.**—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the 463 484 tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463
hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally 484
those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and
men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory
to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or
another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to
one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain
services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men
especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as
the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's
bidding and perform important service, especially where there was
danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who
were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do
in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families
and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the
pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If
there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an
emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of
the system only in a very general way, and received very few details.
It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle- [728]
aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable
men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them.
As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like
those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to [554]
some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those
who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in
certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177]
symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the
Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied
from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the
Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these
men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an
armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed.
They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed
to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle.
They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this
class had existed under the old system also, and the members were
known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no
armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202
signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any 484
important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries,
and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when
buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and th

202 484 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

567 SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered [302] members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

173 567 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

V. SUBSISTENCE

FOOD.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.[1] 221 [484] ●

Vegetal food.—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes. 222

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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[1] According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

173 231 492 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking sticks) as they went along.

492 178 492 Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 484 Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse, trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them. It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 487 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville. Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tunā'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone. 000 [101] [177]

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne 000 [224] [484]

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfeet. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [on uncertain date, probably 1780-1880] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward. [726]

000 *The Tunā'χe* (*or Salish-Tunā'χe*).—The country of the *Tunā'χe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tunā'χe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonā'χa* or *Kutonā'χa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tunā'χe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[30] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'χa*, *Tonā'χa*, or *Tuna'χa*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

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[30] See note 29. The names *Tuna'χe* and *Tona'χa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktuna'χa*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *aχ*(?) to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'χam*.—F. Boas.

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. *171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled [313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common *171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people 221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, 342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges *171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially 178 if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat [592] lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common [285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. [237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent [484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north [531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend *171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom 314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at

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619 territories and fishing sites are shared in
common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In
574 fact, most Salish-speaking people in the
Plateau are treated as friends. At food
gathering seasons, members of different
bands meet in one place, but camp separately.
Each chief or headman keeps order in his own
camp. After fishing all day, the men gather
socially in the evening for gambling, trading,
wrestling and foot racing. There is
much smoking, chiefs and old men passing
their pipes around so that everyone present
may have a turn. There is also extensive intertribal
visiting during the season of winter
dances. Instances of marriages of Sin-
582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes
are not unusual, but in the records of
619 specific marriages obtained,*[1] it is noted
that the majority of known cases for each
band are marriages within the band. Outmarriages
seem to be determined by geographical
contiguity; the Tukoratum band has established
friendly relations with the Chelan,
Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the
Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively
with the Nespelem, while the more northerly
Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with
the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes.
Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima,
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and
Thompson. These friendly affiliations may
also be cited regarding trade relations.
Lucy Joe says that it is only since the several
tribes have all been placed on the same
reservation that the Sinkaietk have married
other than Okanagon-speaking people. This
is doubtful, since genealogical records'[1] give
information to the contrary.

The Inkami'p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers
prior to the coming of the horse.*[1] The
Sinkaietk went south as far as Wallula and
487 north into Thompson country to trade, their
routes closely following the rivers, whether
they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[1] who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama′pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking
and to catch salmon which they dried there
for food. Trading took place at the mouth
of the npEsqwē′Qs creek which enters the
Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wen-
atchi territory had to be with a certain man,
a trading friend (sō′xqūi).[10] If an in-
dividual's trading friend was not present,
that person would have to return without
making any trade. This seldom happened, since
the trips would be made at times when many
Indians gathered from everywhere, and all
who were interested in trading would be cer-
tain to be present. If a man's trading
friend died, friends would assist him in

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[10] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish 439
people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, 487
where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country.

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the
Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded 439
with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a 487
tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by 173
Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost 366
anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern 439
Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the 487●
Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles 567
long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes 439
dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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[49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different 101
language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

173 231 492 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking sticks) as they went along.

492 Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were 178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermar- 492 riage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 484 Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse, trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them. It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 ● 487 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville. Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

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In like manner from Kettle Falls trade went north, following the Columbia to Arrow Lakes and Revelstoke, where the Shuswap were met. Practically all this journey was by canoe, and most of it was quite easy.

It seems that in early times trade from the east flowed chiefly to Colville by way of the Pend d'Oreilles route, and trade from the south to Okanagon by way of Columbia River. These points, being under different influences, would differ to some extent in the character of their trade. No doubt there was always some cross-country trade between the Colville and Okanagon through the Sanpoil country, so that eastern, western, northern, and southern objects would be exchanged between these places. Some trade from the Columbia River would also reach Colville more directly by way of the Spokan tribe. It seems likely, however, that goods from Columbia River were carried north from Okanagon, while objects of barter obtained from the east were unimportant. In like manner it might be expected that the Colville traded more in eastern goods, less in those from Columbia River. Thus possibly the most direct route for eastern influences to reach the Shuswap would be from the Colville by way of the Lake, and for southern influences from Okanagon River, between the mouth and the falls, by way of the Lower and Upper Okanagon.

It seems that the Shuswap came into touch with the Lake by two main routes—by way of the Fire Valley and Caribou Lake to the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and farther north to the Columbia River at Revelstoke. Some people often traversed the river and the lakes between these two points, fishing and hunting with the Lake tribe. Occasionally some of their parties tarried several months on these visits, especially some of those who came by way of Fire Valley. Those who came to Revelstoke fished with the Lake tribe there. Some of them returned the way they came, after the fishing season was over; and others ascended the Columbia for hunting and trapping. Some of the latter met other Shuswap parties who reached the Columbia farther up, by way of Canoe River, and they frequently wintered at points on the Columbia.

As all the Shuswap reaching the Columbia came from as far west and north as Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and the Upper North Thompson, they traversed a long distance through mostly rough country, which would hamper any extensive trade development in this direction. Even in later days horses could not be used on those Shuswap trails, except by the southern, the Fire Valley, route. The contact here between Lake and Shuswap was between the poorest bands of both tribes. On the other hand, the head of Okanagon Lake was close to large centers of population. The homes of the Shuswap were only a little distance to the north, and the intervening

country was easily traversed. It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the trade from the south must have come by the Okanagon route; and, as this trade route was rather from the southern Columbia than from the east, the Shuswap would be subjected to influences from the southern Columbia, The Dalles, and southward, rather than from the southeast and the plains. The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes from the south, would act as distributers, in the same way as the Okanagon and Colville farther south; and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place. It thus seems likely that trade from the south would reach the Thompson down Thompson River from Kamloops rather than by the cross-country routes from Okanagon to the head of Nicola River, and from Okanagon to the Thompson by way of the Similkameen and Nicola. The *Stuwī'x* tribe would also to some extent form a barrier to trade reaching the Thompson by the last-named routes, owing to the hostility that existed between them and the Okanagon immediately before the introduction of the horse. Their culture points to Thompson rather than Okanagon influence.

Following the introduction of the horse, trade conditions changed rather suddenly, and the old trade routes became of minor importance. Trade now passed across country with the greatest ease. The new main trade routes followed across the rolling, lightly timbered grassy plateaus, and through the open valleys, in almost straight lines from one place to another. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanagon and Colville. The latter place became of greatest importance as a trading center for a large area of the Plateau country. In fact, it became the great trade emporium of the interior Salishan tribes. Trade from The Dalles and Columbia River going east, and a great deal of that going north, came here by way of the Spokan and Okanagon. The eastern trade from as far as the plains came here by way of Pend d'Oreille River, and passed south, west, and north. The old Lake route to the north, being impossible for horses, was practically neglected. The great trade route to the north was now across country from Colville to Okanagon River; thence it branched off, about half of the volume of trade going up the Similkameen to the Thompson, and the rest passing on to Okanagon Lake. The volume of trade that passed north to the Shuswap and Thompson became very great. The routes traversed were natural ones for horses, through open, well-grassed country, without any physical barriers. Goods were transported up Okanagon Valley by horses, although no doubt some went by canoe, as before. From Okanagon Lake a number of branch routes came into use, leading to the Thompson and Shuswap. Trade to the latter tribe went on to the head of the lake, as before. From there one route was to Spellumcheen River

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson.

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Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade.

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and parflèches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

439 skins. The Okanagon traded the same commodities to the Shuswap and to the Thompson. The Okanagon procured dentalia from the
487 Shuswap, and it is probable that before the introduction of the horse most of these shells were obtained from them.

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagon sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually. Large packs of dried fish and oil, and in later days even salted salmon, were transported over this trail.

They sold to the Lower Fraser people Indian-hemp bark and twine, dried service berries, and dressed buckskin, in exchange for the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, dentalia, and other shells.

From the Columbia it seems that marine shells, bags of the Nez Percé style, products from The Dalles country, some horses, salmon, coiled basketry, and probably some stone implements and woven robes, were procured in exchange for articles common to all the tribes, such as Indian hemp, robes, clothes, dressed skins, etc.

Some horses and buffalo skin were procured from the Spokan chiefly by the Sanpoil; but there was not much direct trade with this tribe, although Sanpoil visited the Lower Spokan. The Sanpoil appear to have done most of their trading with the Colville on the one hand and the Okanagon on the other.

The Colville procured horses, painted bags and parflêches, buffalo robes, etc., from the Kalispel, in exchange for dried salmon, and some articles reaching them from the west and north, such as shells.

The Lower Kutenai sometimes traded painted bags, parflêches and deer-skin robes to the Lake for dried salmon, and the Lake sold some bark canoes to the Colville. They also sold some products obtained at Colville to the Shuswap, receiving in return chiefly marmot robes and dentalia.

It seems that slaves were procured chiefly from the Columbia tribe. Tobacco and certain kinds of roots were trade articles to some extent. Camas roots, for instance, were often sold to the Thompson, and the latter sometimes sold one or two kinds of roots to the Okanagon. Red paint was sold by the Similkameen people to both the Okanagon and Thompson, and parties of these tribes also came to the Tulameen Forks or Vermilion to gather it themselves. Pipes and pipestone of red, brown, green, mottled, yellowish, bluish, and gray colors were interchanged. The bright-red catlinite came from the east, chiefly through the Kalispel. Green soapstone came chiefly from the Thompson. I learned nothing regarding early trading in copper and iron. It would seem that these metals were not in use to any great extent before the advent of the horse. Buffalo-skin tents reached the Thompson. Small, flat, disk-shaped beads of shell and

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487 ●

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438]

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 [177]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

166 174 167 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward [487] toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 582 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'xe*. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɛmtɛ'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171*

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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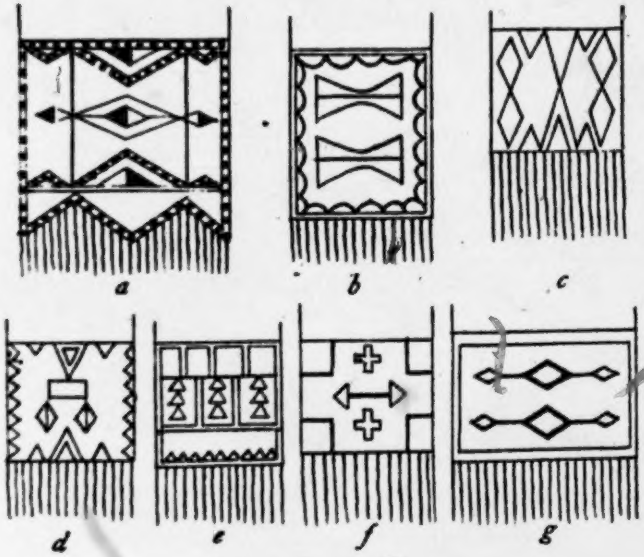

FIGURE 34.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 ● 439 438 [178]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

487 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy 438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy 439 country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down. The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away. From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for *[171] trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost [648] annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to trade for cattle.[13] There was not much trade directly north and south across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

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[13] E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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[177]
[171]*

informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ̄'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'x̣ɛ* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣ɛ* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'x̣ɛ* and Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣ɛ* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tunā'x̣ɛ*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣ɛ*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'x̣ɛ* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place
was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to
trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any
all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the
Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near
by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the
inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically
uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading
parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni,
and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties
of Salish-*Tuna'x̣e* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'x̣e*,
438 and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the
advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding
439 articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the
487 person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded
to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green
soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons,
ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood
and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia
River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later
days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward.
Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains,
also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River
route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses
ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that
passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same
material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including
polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo
skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally
000 buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long
ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot,
also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles.
The Salish-*Tuná'x̣e* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot
also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian
439 and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already
438 stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and
other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects
common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes,
clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after
members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and
other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting,
trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes
000 whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of
Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.) 000

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439 within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) and at Thompson Falls. 487 The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411 Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713 surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under "Hunting." 171* Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of knives, clubs, and tomahawks. [178] Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. [237] Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. [53] Shields and shield covers had painted designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. [531] Some of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171* Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. [725] They also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727] related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000 wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

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Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

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With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

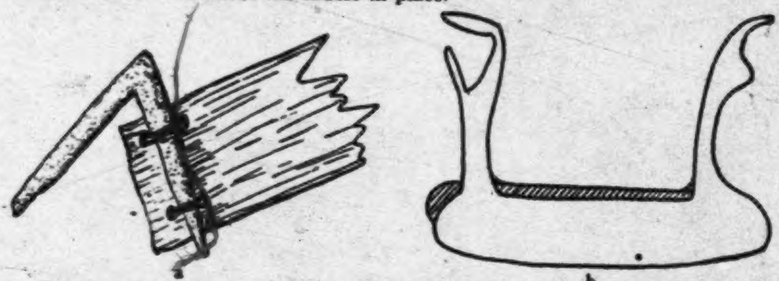

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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Pack saddles (wusuwa'sxukan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied [231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

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Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

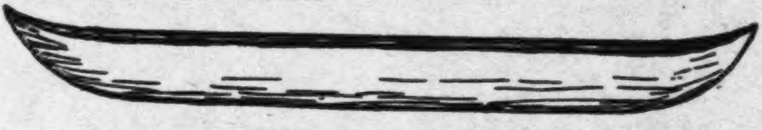

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

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Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'ləm) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (sənuxui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as food, most men having enough general power; but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help. 224 [777]

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kêkawa´p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or pack animals. 224 [784] [492]

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alī´p, "coyote"; sinikstī´a, "skunk"; ckámxī´ct, "bear"; kīlaũna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and arrow would be made. Children were supposed to be able to converse with dogs, 231 552 562 789 231 [825]

It is said that some pains were taken 231
in their breeding, that the best males were
loaned as studs and a puppy given to the own-
er as fee, even that puppies were selected
by being placed in a hole in the ground with
the mother outside, and the ones which con-
sistently struggled out best were kept and
the others killed. They may have crossed
with wolves: Suszen remembered cases. Some
very hairy dogs were reported, but dog hair
was not used for anything. Some dogs were
special watchdogs, but there was no word for
them. A good hunting dog was valuable; as
much as a buffalo skin and half a dozen deer [435]
hides were paid for one. None of the old
breed remain, and probably but little of its
blood survives now.

No special inquiries were made concern- 177
ing the role played by the horse in Sin-
kaietk life. It is of so recent an introduc- 231
tion and played so ancillary a part as not to
have seriously affected the ancient custom-
ary habits. The horse served solely as an 492
auxiliary means of transport; for riding and
packing. Its acquisition made a difference
in two directions: communication became more
frequent across country rather than by canoe
on the rivers, and visits to distant tribes,
trading, and ranging over a larger area for
food gathering became prevalent.

The horse is called sinḱ'tsaska´xa, or inkŭwa´p, "my horse," from in-kikŭwa´'pa, "my dog."

Men's saddles were buckskin sacks filled with deer hair. Women's saddles had high pommels and cantles of forking deer antlers laced with buckskin thongs to wooden side plates. An old woman's saddle seen in the field closely resembled typical Plains women's saddles with a broad band of skin slung between the high pommel and cantle. A bridle was simply a horsehair rope tied to the horse's lower jaw. Stirrups were made of bent sticks. Spurs were not used.

When horses were first acquired, or at least became common, is not altogether clear. Apparently the horse was introduced among the bands at the extreme northern and southern ends of our area earlier than in the center. That is, it can be dated to about 1840-50 among the Northern Okanagon, about 1850-60 at the mouth of the Okanogan, and in a central group such as those in the vicinity of the present Okanogan town only about 1870-75. Naturally, data on this point cannot be gotten with precision.

The Spokan and the tribes of southeast- 177
ern Washington in the Wallwalla-Umatilla dis-
trict had horses before they were brought to 231
the Sinkaietk. For a good horse the Spokan
were offered two buffalo skins with one or 171
more deer hides to boot. The Northern Okan-
agon traded them northward to their own peo-
ple at Vernon at the head of Okanogan Lake,
who in turn carried them north to the Shus-
wap. They also took horses to the Thompson
River, where they traded them for dried sal-
mon.

p.33 (B)

the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[188] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[189] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwazt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson. 481

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope. 231

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it: 177 231 492

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur [173]

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[188] Thompson, *a*, fig. 242; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 91.

[189] *a*, fig. 241.

[191] *a*, fig. 243.

[192] *a*, fig. 227.

177 237 492 d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokan. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokan, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

177 492 Horse Equipment.—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.[193] The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[194]

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[193] *l*, fig. 8.

[194] *l*, figs. 4, 20.

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Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.[195] Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.[196] The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.[197] It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.[198] Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.[199] Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags[200] attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.[201] Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.[202] Although the horse and dog travois were

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[195] *l*, fig. 17.

[196] *l*, fig. 2.

[197] *l*, figs. 2, 17.

[198] *l*, figs. 14, 15.

[199] *l*, fig. 18.

[200] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

[201] *l*, fig. 19.

[202] *l*, figs. 23, 24.

Altough the horse and dog travois were

~~[493]~~ 492 both well known to the Coeur d'Alêne, who had seen them constantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alêne as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[illegible] Large rawhide bags and parflêches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

439 TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alêne had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alêne, were obtained from the Spokan, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and was procured from the Spokan, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alêne made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokan territory, to dig it. The Spokan never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alêne. The Spokan also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne, however, preferred to

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[illegible] Peabody Mus. No. 194.

Carrying.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads. 482 231

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant. 481

Horses.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the 231 492 ● [173]

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[2] a, p. 256, fig. 240.

[3] a, p. 257, fig. 241.

[4] a, pp. 256, 257, figs. 239, 242.

173 earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid
231 to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was
very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long
● 492 sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the
horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking
sticks) as they went along.

492 **Horse Equipment.**—The Indians soon learned to make saddles
and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from
the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the
plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from
place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and
packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were
178 made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great
impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage;
492 also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation
of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long
distances in a short time and with little labor.

439 **Trading and Trade Routes.**—Before the arrival of the horse,
484 trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in
part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive
waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported
on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable
articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after
horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them.
It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering
through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the
other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading
trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to
distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed
into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

439 The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest
trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was
487 in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville.
Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction
of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon
River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was
easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head
of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry
their goods to the navigable waters of Spellumcheen River, Shuswap
Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central
point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona,
and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems
to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went
overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen
River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

224 of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited.
*171 When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes
traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot.
People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow
the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances
• [492] carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with
travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require
to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and
often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses
the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not
be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus
long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more
or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and
water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and
fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where
materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the
best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded
country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made
their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who
lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or
isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances
between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to
one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting
country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule,
people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling
over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food
supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled
light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving
all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were
not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some
other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

000 Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country
of the Salish-*Tuna'χe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds
were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many
places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the
abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more
valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were
136 abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles
used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and
not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game
as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds
of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country,
if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many
places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

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231 173 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

● 492 *171 482 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 *171 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parfleches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parfleches and secured by the same rope. [177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type[1] similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. [531] Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] I, p. 12, fig. 8

used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

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Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.[2] Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used almost altogether by women.[3] Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.[4] Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly different shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.[5] Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.[6] Beaded pendants[7] (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead,

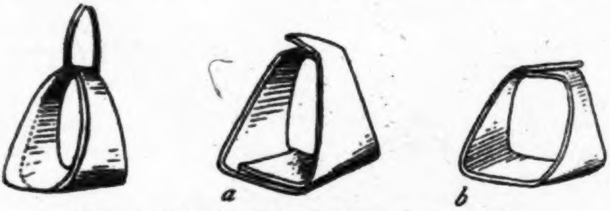

FIGURE 35.—Stirrups. a, Made of two pieces; b, made of one piece

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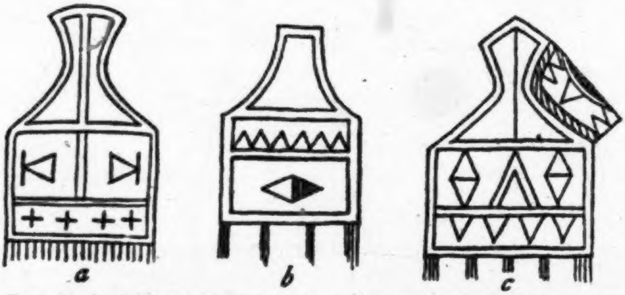

FIGURE 36.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. a, Common type. b, Less common type. c, With beaded foot rest

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[1] For the first type see l, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps l, p. 24, fig. 20; for the second, l, p. 10, fig. 5.
[2] l, p. 6, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.
[3] l, p 6. fig. 2.
[4] l, p. 18, figs. 11, 12; the former also used by women.
[5] l, pp. 18, 19, figs. 14, 15.
[7] l, p. 25, fig. 22.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

● 492 531 *171 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

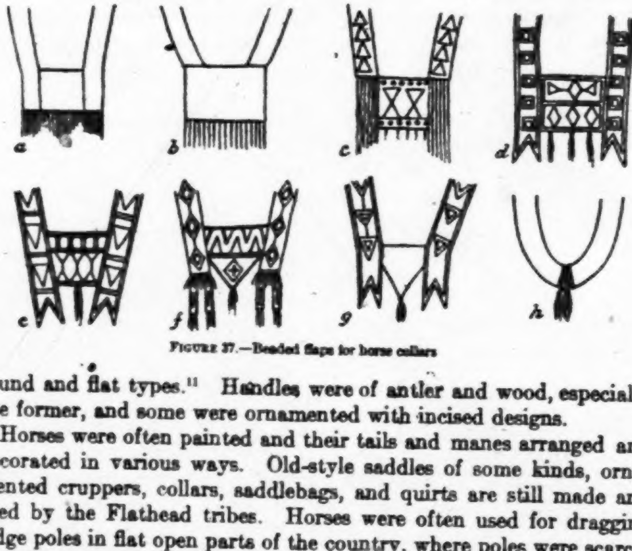

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and used by the Flathead tribes. 492 *171 Horses were often used for dragging lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover, safer and more expeditious. [415] [178] A sack to be folded and laced was in use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171*

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[8] I, p. 23, fig. 19.

[9] See Thompson, p. 203, a, fig. 151.

[10] [illegible] instance, I, p. 22, fig. 18.

[11] [illegible] figs. 23, 24.

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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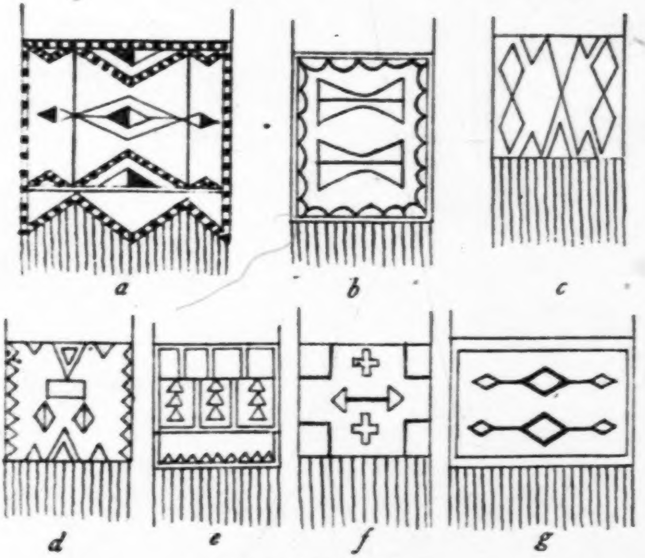

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 438 [178]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

501 **Canoes.**—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted "sturgeon nose" type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No "dugouts" were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.[186] Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.[187] In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

493 **Tump Lines.**—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people's backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

481 **Snowshoes.**—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.[188] Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as

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[186] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235, *a*, *b*.

[187] See Field Mus. No. 111954.

[188] *a*, fig. 239.

Altough the horse and dog travois were
[493] both well known to the Coeur d'Alêne, who had seen them con-
492 stantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alêne as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[38] Large rawhide bags and parflêches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

439 TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alêne had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alêne, were obtained from the Spokan, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and was procured from the Spokan, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alêne made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokan territory, to dig it. The Spokan never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alêne. The Spokan also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne, however, preferred to

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[38] Peabody Mus. No. 194.

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Pack saddles (wusuwa'sxukən) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied [231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

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Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

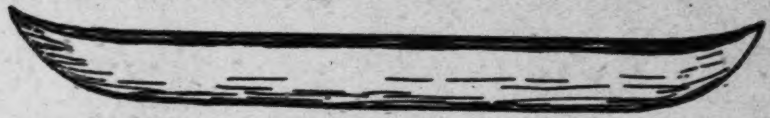

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

501 Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'ləm) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (samuxpui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

was made invariably of yellow pine. When pine was used the canoe was built where the log was found, then transported to the river. Cedar logs were obtainable only on the river as driftwood, for large cedar did not grow in Sanpoil territory. Logs were selected which would provide canoes twelve to sixteen feet in length by two and a half to three and a half feet in width. The shovel nose type was very shallow (twelve to sixteen inches deep at the center), the sharp nose was somewhat deeper (eighteen inches). Both canoes were reversible, being linearly symmetrical.

In building a canoe the log first was roughly burned out. The fire was concentrated and intensified with pitchy pine shavings. Great care was taken in the procedure to avoid burning through and to insure evenness. The second process was chipping with a wedge and hammer. The inside was smoothed and the outside shaped by this method. The final finish was given by abrading with coarse granite. The walls of the completed canoe were about one and one-half inches thick, the ends two inches.

The general form of the shovel nose canoe is described by its name. It differed from the usual type in that the prow and stern extended out horizontally at the level of the gunwales for about twenty inches. At the extremity the width was approximately fourteen inches.

The sharp nose type was a more satisfactory canoe than the shovel nose, but it required considerably more effort to build. The ends required tedious shaping which involved increased chipping. They were raised somewhat above the gunwales but separate pieces were never added. The ends were only relatively sharp. From the points they were cut under in an arc with a radius of approximately half the length of the canoe. The bottom was straight. In both this and the preceding type the gunwales were sometimes made thicker than the walls. Pine pitch was heated and run into cracks, or plugged into knot holes. Struts were not used.

Considerable skill was required in the building of a good canoe and the services of men adept at the craft were in demand. At best, however, the products were crude because the available materials, pine and drift logs of cedar, were poorly adapted to canoe construction. Thin walls in a canoe of pine were entirely impractical for cracking immediately would have rendered the vessel useless. Canoes were never painted.

Paddlers knelt or squatted in the canoe. The paddler in the stern guided the craft. Two or three men could carry a twelve foot cedar canoe and four or five a sixteen foot canoe of the same material, but seven or eight men were necessary to carry a canoe of the latter size made of pine. In portaging the canoe was upturned and poles slipped underneath for carrying. Canoes were used only on rivers. Rafts were made for use on lakes. Canoes were bailed with paddles or the hands.

Paddles (u'tc'ltən) were always of cedar. They were shaped very much like a modern canoe paddle. The length varied from four to six feet. The greatest width of the blade was about five inches, the thickness about two inches. The length of the blade was approximately one-third the total paddle length.

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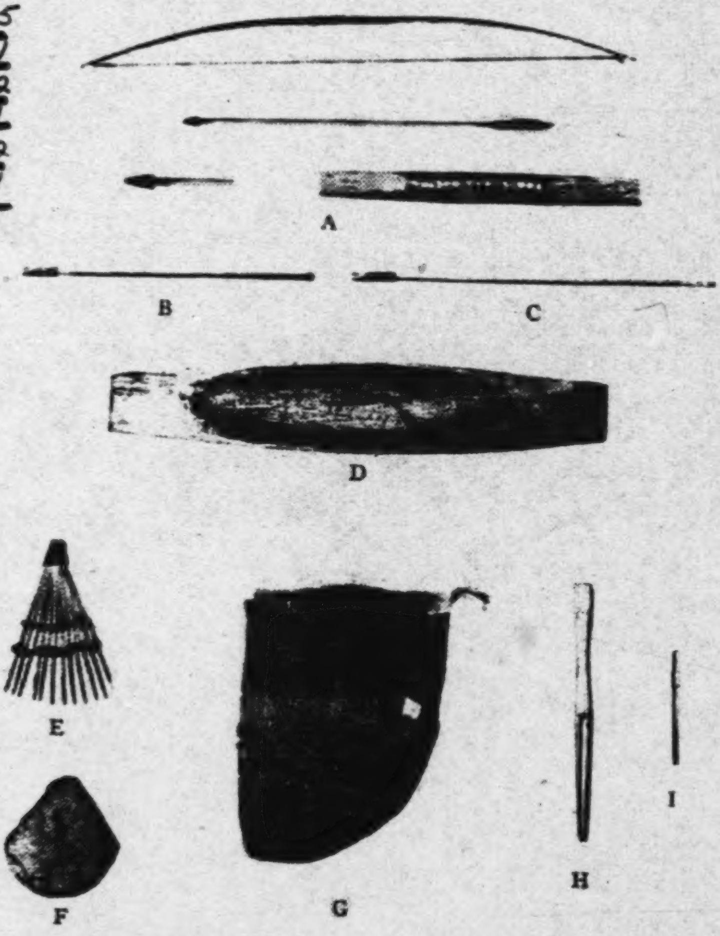

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-156, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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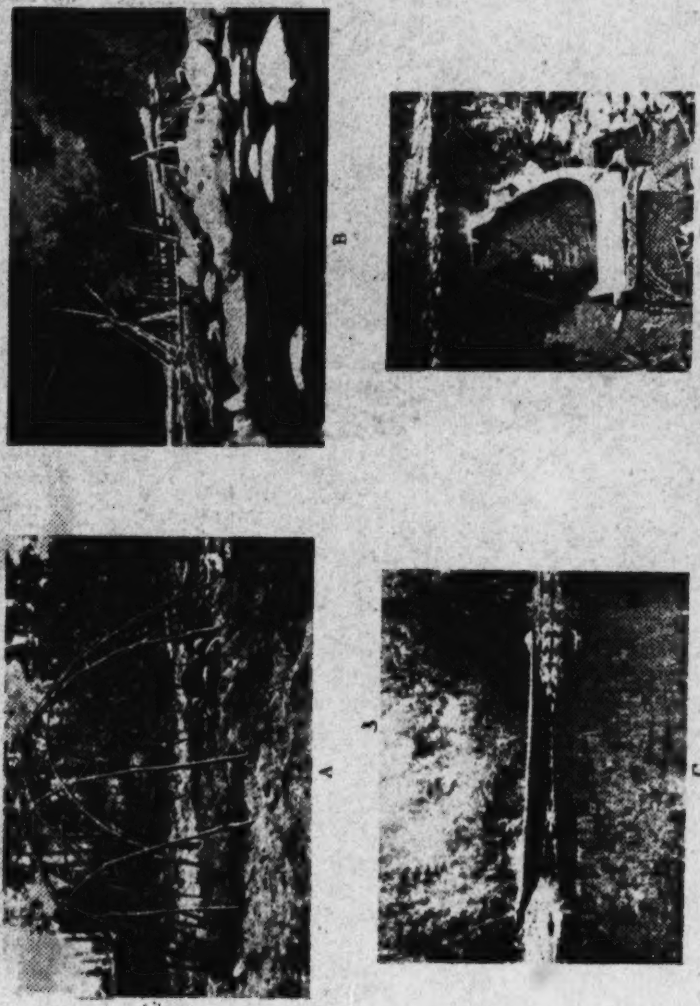

PLATE 3. (A) Frame of sweat lodge. Note fir boughs and stones (B) Small fish trap on the Sanpoil River. (C) Dugout shovel-nose canoe, side view. (D) Same canoe, end view. Note repaired ends.

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713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

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463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

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501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task. [441]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

[22] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VIII, 71. 1/A

501 used along the shore, especially on lakes. Paddlers usually knelt on grass in the bottom of the canoe. The steersman at the stern paddled mostly on one side, but the others paddled on both sides, shifting after every two or three strokes, according to Curtis."[1] Since the gunwale of the canoe was only a few inches above the surface the canoe often shipped water. This was emptied by tilting the canoe to one side and scooping out the water with the paddle.

171
501 Among the Northern Okanagon spruce bark canoes were abundant, some families owning two. (David Isaac stated that dugout canoes were unknown until after the advent of the whites.) Their maximum length was fourteen feet, the maximum load four persons, but usually three. Both ends were rounded (David said sharp) and "turned down" for strength (i.e., the bark turned down inside ?). This canoe was made of a single piece of inner bark of the spruce, with ribs of bluewood, about six inches apart, whittled flat on the side next the bark shell and sewed with cedar root. A central longitudinal bar was put on the bottom over the ribs. The gunwale was reinforced by a rim of bluewood fastened with pitch and sewed to the inside of the shell. A single piece was used for each side if long enough; otherwise lengths were fitted together. In sewing on the various pieces, an awl of bluewood, fire hardened, was used. The outside of the canoe was coated from time to time with pine pitch spread with a firebrand. A coat lasted about ten days if the canoe was used frequently. A single strip of wild cherry root, which turned yellow, was sewed around the canoe (gunwale ?) for decoration. There were no thwarts. Men knelt in the bottom, using a paddle four feet long, its blade thickened down the middle, and without a cross-grip to the handle. Paddles were neither painted nor carved. About three days were required by two men to complete a bark canoe. (David said the last of these was made sixty or seventy years ago.)

The Lakes (Senajaxtee) were said to use white fir bark for canoes.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

Salmon Spears

227 One and two-pronged spears with detachable heads, and one, two, three and four-pronged spears with non-detachable heads were used for spearing salmon. The commonest was the two-pronged type with detachable heads. Shafts were of fir, from sixteen to twenty feet long, shaped to a uniform thickness. Fir was chosen because it was not only naturally straight, but would not warp nor become heavy when wet. The forward end was beveled to receive two foreshafts about eighteen inches long, of any kind of wood such as service berry, bound to the shaft

[1] [For footnote, see p. 56(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501
and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481
like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231
Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177
1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, ac-
cording to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579
much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231
other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some 177
claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them
later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556
appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

501 Canoes.—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted "sturgeon nose" type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No "dugouts" were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.[186] Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.[187] In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

493 Tump Lines.—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people's backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

481 Snowshoes.—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.[188] Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as

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[186] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235, *a*, *b*.

[187] See Field Mus. No. 111954.

[188] *a*, fig. 239.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, TRADE

● 501

Canoes.—Canoes were used more or less by all the tribes. Bands that had few canoes depended more on rafts. The Lake had an abundance of good bark in their country, and therefore used bark canoes entirely. They were all of the "sturgeon-nose" type. Most of them were made of white-pine bark. The Lower Kutenai employed the same style of canoe. At the present day most Lake canoes are covered with oiled canvas instead of bark. The Colville were not as well supplied with canoes as the Lake, and in fact procured most of their canoes from the latter. The Sanpoil had no canoes formerly. All they had were a few small, poorly made dugouts; and they say that probably long ago they had not even these. Good wood and good bark were scarce in their country, so they depended chiefly on rafts pointed at both ends and made of poles. Rafts made of bundles of tules were also employed, especially on lakes. They were pointed at the ends like the pole rafts. Pole and tule rafts were used also by the Okanagon and all the surrounding tribes, particularly on the small mountain lakes. The Okanagon also used bark canoes of the same shape as those of the Lake. Balsam was the common bark used by them. It seems that they seldom made dugout canoes until after the advent of iron tools. The Similkameen people depended chiefly on rafts. They also made, at least during the past century, small dugouts of yellow pine, balsam, poplar, and cedar. In shape they were like one of those used by the Thompson Indians,[1] but usually shallower, and rather longer snouted. Dugout canoes had no ornamentation or painting. A common style of paddle among the Lake is about 1.2 meters long, nearly half the length being blade. The latter is very broad, with rounded end; and the handle is widened out at the end to a flat knob of round cross section. The knob forms a hand grip and the part where the points of the fingers cling just under the knob is slightly hollowed out, as in many eastern paddles. This type was used more or less by the different interior Salishan tribes; but paddle blades of the more northern Salish tribes were generally narrower.

Bark canoes were floored inside with loose strips of various kinds of bark, such as birch, cedar, spruce, and balsam, or instead of bark a flooring of brush or of long, light straight poles was used. For sitting or kneeling on, bunches of fir or balsam twigs and dry swamp grass were used. Small leaks were calked in the same way as knot holes; but large ones were patched with a strong piece of birch, balsam, or other bark cut out larger than the hole and sewed on, the arrangement of the stiches being similar to those on birch-bark baskets (a long and a short stitch), but not so close together. Afterwards the sewing and edges were daubed with pitch.

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[1] a, p. 256, fig. 227.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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619
171*

	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai	*A'lenuqli'hlm*[1] ("Flatheaded"). *Akiskwa'kes, Miksali'e* ("Leg or leggy people").	*Maqkwi'gruxt* ("Red willow people"). *ectinaqlilim*[4] [1]	*ectinamiti'kwa* ("river people") *ectinaqlilim*[4] [5] ("compress side of head.")	*Sxuyome'n.*[2] *Sxmitti.*[3]
Nez Percé		*asnis'lrmxe'ts'likxa.*	*kamu'spalo* ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		*ku'akpdu*[8], *pepakpdu'léms*[8] ("people of the great fir-trees").[8]	*ku'akpdu*[8], *pepakpdu'léms*[8] ("people of the great fir-trees").	*Cpúkt'n.*[7] *Cpuks'n.*
Wasco				*Lécil'cuks.*[9]
Klamath and Modoc				*Spuks'n.*[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	*Kak-sa'k-api-ta'p-i-e*[8]		*ai-ks-ko-ko-ta'p-i-e*[8]	
Gros Ventres	*Kaakaháinia*[10] ("Flathead man").			
Arapaho	*Ka-ka-i-thi,*[8] ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	*Ka-hi'-lo-ia-a-ta-ni-o*[8] ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	*Nabaqindibe*[8] ("flathead")			
Crow	*Ambe'pe, Ámbápe* (said to mean "Flatheads").	*ak-mi'n-e-sh u'-ps e*[8], *ak-min-e-sh u-ps e*[8] ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	*á-ma-hé-pe*[8]			
Yankton	*pa-bda-sha*[8], *pa-bda'-sa*[8] ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably e'ku'g'wak, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. I, p. 147.

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[171]*
[501] •
[184]

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Ssmil'use*, and *Tuna'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colvil[illegible]d Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'χe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 • [171]*

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Kalispel

Spokan

501 [177] [363] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it 501 *171 would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sɛmtē'use,* Salish-*Tunā'xe,* and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

[178] [177] →

231 *171 →

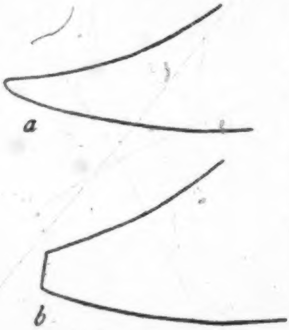

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau [262] [237] and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

221 796 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones [160] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed [855] and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to 512 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot 252 rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning 512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

264 house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain
461 up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this
512 order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen
in bed by men who were still up.

515 The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

462 cooking was done by women: it was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose.

This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day: 512

The women arose early;in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in 512
the river. Soon the meal was ready;this the family ate off tule mats spread on the 264
ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kūlĕnsō´tn; some old man would ask for help for them all [782]
through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits.

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women *shook and brushed the food mats*, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

During the day the people might be busi- 512
ly engaged either at camp or away from it,or 521

p.123 (B)

512 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while
521 speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snëI´mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dáve explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ülakI´m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork; mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top 322
house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, 332
necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although 342
easier to build than the conical-roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the [354]
matter of drainage and consequently less used.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smokehole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four 342
or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins 352
were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room. 513

The winter mat house (samaia'ilu, stktani'l^{e}) was a gable or inverted V 342
type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, [332]
to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two
poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end 322
to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated 285
by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approxi- 342
mately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horizontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
342 space directly under the open ridge. Protection
from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pillowing
513 the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were

raised two feet from the ground and were six
feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
[753] shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled and the mats rolled up and stored in trees for use the following winter, or some of them were carried along for use on summer shelters.

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342 The Colville were said to have had mat lodges precisely like those of the Southern Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side 513
was worn in and the outside was often decorated
with concentric circles in paint or 531
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall
the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel
living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were [439]
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes
of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of
woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted
and embroidered, or finely embellished
capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14]
woman's bodice worn just below the
breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush
and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by women 292
on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shaped 285
and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating
with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket
hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was 778
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buckskin
thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

512 521 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

• 513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

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SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent 251
lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to 343
keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered 417
with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against
the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching
skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for
drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting [251]
camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other
tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug 251
in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that 322
used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, 343
roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping
outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms
built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower
limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of
poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were
not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were
used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant.
Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country. [136]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among
other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where 285
people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of 314
rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to 352
some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to
cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine
boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts
one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials
were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed
mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often
blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of
bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains
or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged
on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins,
bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth
down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed
on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests.
Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as [513]
a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire.
If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire.
Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room.
Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or
sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials.
Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used [237]
as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

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house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen in bed by men who were still up.

The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kamtawiya'ks'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 856

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuywaykä'lpᵊ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the ennervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial. 515

The sweat lodge (kwi'l'stən) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing these at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats. 343 515

The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squatting or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[1] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses. 515

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsásuni'na', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called nax̣ax̣uax̣a'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of tweezers (laqtcəntcu'tən). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the 302 303

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[1] See page 179.

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the 524
violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them
were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the 755
older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks 755
into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not 861
to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but 593
the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the 855
threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw [527]
water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, 515
summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run
to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath 856
they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost 868
importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain 462
duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and 857
accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

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ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gathered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular (suto'χmdxaks) and elbow (snme'nsuxtan) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

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The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gathering place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

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[7] See page 54-55.

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23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (xoxti'lpᵊ, "cut-off búsh"). The roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, to form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful parts, sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultice in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hair wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (xoxo'i'lpᵊ). The stickers and outer covering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split into fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color, which was used for colds.

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stəmtəməni'i'lpᵊ, "gravebush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

[515] Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth. [302]

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̓ətsásuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pə'xpoxilpᵊ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̓iq̓i'təni'lpᵊ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

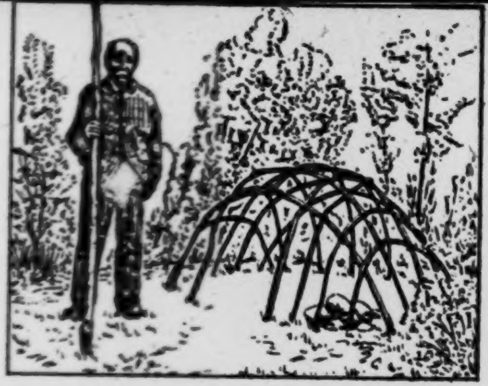

Fig. 6. Framework of temporary sweatlodge.

p.42 (c)

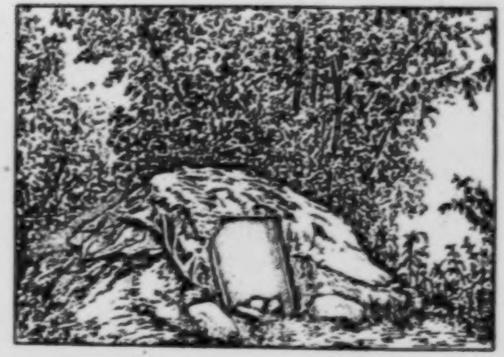

Fig. 7. Sweatlodge near Kartaro.

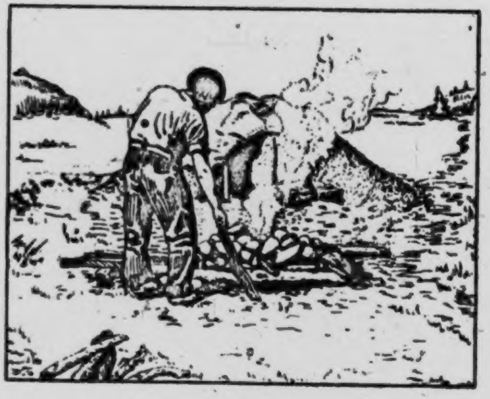

Fig. 8. Heating stones for sweatlodge at Disautel.

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on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 515 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsiapŪ´stĒn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwaIa) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi′lstEn) was a diety. In the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly. 343 773
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their training for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: 515 ● 788 [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi′lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa′ksEn qwânēnmI′nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlâūtiksq'ūâl
Let me live to be old,
kūwá′kskInxI′tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

nōkēnspâlsq'ô'lxwa
So I can kill deer, 515
Iati'sak'latsI'nEm
Deer. 788

Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

515 783 The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences.

776 177 The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance."[1]

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI'p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qōlūncō'tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qōlūncō'tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around.[1] Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,"[1] it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were seperate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 515

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

343 515 need from the stream first, so as not to be present while the women swam.

343 515 783 The sweat house song was invariable sung by all who entered the lodge. Each person usually prayed also (addressing the sweat house as ta'tö'pa, greatgrandfather) for additional strength and luck to attain his desire at the moment, such as success in the hunt or in love. The sweat house was important for success in gambling. An individual intending to play in any gambling game remained in the sweat house for some time, singing and praying for good luck. Prayers were often improvised to the tune of the sweat house song. After the sweat the gambler was required to take a swim, as this completed the physical cleaning and it was believed that cleanliness brought good luck.

If a woman entered or approached the men's sweat house, its strengthening influence was supposed to be destroyed. When an important issue was at stake, such as a hunt or a session of gambling, several sweats were taken, and women were avoided until after the activity in question was over. Sexual intercourse at such a time, or nocturnal emission, was supposed to counteract the beneficial effect of a number of sweat baths, and to lessen a man's chances of success accordingly. If complete sexual avoidance were observed, a sufficient number of sweat baths previous to a game were supposed to make success inevitable. If a man took forty or fifty sweats before going on a summer gambling trip, it was believed that the sweat house might allow him to lose almost everything he owned, but would eventually give him back all his losses and a great deal more.

p. 194 (A)

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Young children never used the sweat house. There was no ceremony connected with a child's first sweat. He was allowed to join the men in the lodge as soon as it was thought that his physical strength was sufficient.

Contests were engaged in by men to see who could stay in the sudatory for the longest period. Women do not appear to have held similar competitions.

One sweat house song was known to all. It might be sung by men or women. An individual often had an additional sweat house song which had been taught to him by his power.

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Although it is probable that the sweat house was ordinarily no more than a social gathering place for groups of one sex, it was certainly regarded as a spirit which could be propitiated or angered. Any irreverence was promptly punished by the sweat house itself. An illustration of this punishment is the story of J., who, at the age of fifteen, becoming annoyed because he was not able to light the sweat house fire, kicked the stones in the fire-pit, scattering them. Upon returning home he was struck with severe pains and lay ill for a week, until a relative discovered that the illness had been inflicted by the offended sweat house. He cured the boy by the customary shamanistic methods, warning him never again to offend the lodge in any manner. The seriousness with which J., who is half white, now recounts the story, and the care which he still takes to pay reverence before every sweat, is an indication that the sweat house is still sacred.

p. 194 (B)

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible] The importance 856
to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 861
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person 881
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially 881
those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the
same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed
that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond
between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures
of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[illegible] *a*, pp. 317–321, *b*, 247–250.

512 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering
521 monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

•516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own
461 at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution
512 insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

524 557 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu'ѕ, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'χum, "chief"
Queen	tuqɫumi'ɫuxʷ, "feet"
Flush	sq̓aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	χaxtɫtu', "straight"
Straight flush	χaxtɫtusq̓aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kaɫɫi'ɫɫ, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'ses, "four alike," etc.
Pair	ƙali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asɫu·'laxʷ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kanumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sam, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'a'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snmɫmɫuqua'p̓ulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	sit'nam, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksaxantcı'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imantcı'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (sma'uxʷ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

276 517 ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gathered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular (suto'xmdxaks) and elbow (sume'nsuctan) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

515 517 782 The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gathering place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

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[7] See page 54-55.

221 When several bands came together at a
262 fishing site they camped separately and the chiefs tried to keep peace and order. After fishing all day they might come together in
[517] the evening to trade, wrestle, and run races. The chiefs might meet to pass about their pipes and compete in showing off.
361

During late April and May the rest of the people left winter quarters for the bitter-root areas, or perhaps the camas lands far to the south. In either case the men hunted while the women dug. Wild carrots, wild onions, potatoes and pine tree sap were taken then too. Only the very old stayed at the winter sites all summer.

From June to October the salmon were running and the bulk of the roots and berries ripening along the rivers. The people were then living in semi-permanent camps at the salmon traps or temporarily at the berry and root grounds. Trips were made to Wenatchi territory for camas and rabbits, and into the hills for hunting.

During October came the great fall hunts for deer. Groups of up to four families camped together in the hills, the men spending all day hunting and the women at camp, cutting and drying the meat, digging the last roots and gathering moss.

Then came a short period of building winter homes. Some families camped at the mouth of the Okanogan to spear dog salmon. Nearly all were settled in winter quarters by the middle of November.

Each family would go to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing or digging, and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if firewood became scarce or some catastrophe occurred. The band wintering above the present location of Omak would hunt about Moses Mountain and Omak Lake; the band wintering near Monse went into the Twisp country for summer hunting, returning in September for salmon in the Okanogan. Trips were made in small numbers, not as a group. Routines were changed according to their successes, the advice of power, and the homes selected by the newly married, whose parents used frequently to visit them for a whole season or more.

An interesting summary is given by Curtis:

"All the interior Salish subsisted largely on salmon, such roots as camas and kouse, berries, especially choke-cherries and

p. 11 (B)

DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[1] [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

1 See also Individual Life Cycle. [1]

p. 185(A)

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of
[756] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517
577 Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts[330] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

778
779 Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[330] a, pp. 366, 367.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 521
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible."
(Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so
desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a
large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually
successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen.
Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child
if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball
and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same
place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous
and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were
washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines 854
were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but
weaker.[5] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with
a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the
medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's
mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some
of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the
cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or
thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune
to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally
some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the
interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn
skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used
exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was
made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied
from ten days to a month.

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[5] See pages 215 f.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listener: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter. ● [521]

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū'ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai'wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd cooking was done by women: it was a disgrace for a man to cook unless he was hunting alone. But both sexes gathered firewood. Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose. 462

This is Mary Carden's description of the start of an ordinary day: 512

The women arose early;in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

Then the breakfast was cooked in baskets of pine bark, while the men bathed in the river. Soon the meal was ready;this the family ate off tule mats spread on the ground, each family about its own mat. Before eating they prayed to Kŭlēnsō'tn; some old man would ask for help for them all through the day. The women of each family placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits. 512 264 [782]

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

During the day the people might be busily engaged either at camp or away from it,or 512 521

512 521 they might pass the time in conversing, or, more properly, listening to or delivering monologues. No one was interrupted while speaking, and when any important matter was being discussed there were frequent long pauses which all respected. The listeners did not look at the speaker but cast their eyes on the ground as though lost in thought.

516 When sitting about, the men sat on the ground with one foot under them, inside uppermost, with the other knee up, or with their legs parallel and extending to one side under them. They also sat with legs crossed under them; crossing the ankles before sitting and uncrossing them only after rising again. In such a position the knees might be on the ground or raised. The usual position, as when eating, was to kneel with the knees and feet close together, and then sit back on the heels: in this position the lower part of the knees, the front of the shins, and the instep were flat on the ground. A common working position for men was sitting with both feet flat on the ground before them, knees sharply drawn up. Another position when seated was to have the left leg folded in front of the body, the right knee up, and the right foot flat on the ground.

Women most often sat with their feet to the side of, rather than under their buttocks, the sole of one across the instep of the other. While not working they usually preferred keeping both legs stretched out before them. When women sat down they tucked the fringe of the bark skirt between the legs.

[291] The blanket or robe was held together by folding the arms over the breast, holding an edge of the blanket in each hand. Either right or left hand could rest on top of the other.

201 Pointing with the finger to designate something was a quite permissible gesture.

513 Should anyone decide to take a nap during the day, as was very commonly done, he would go to sleep right in or near the tipi, making no attempt to avoid the miscellaneous camp noises.

343 461 512 At each winter village, according to Cecile, the women had a house of their own at which they gathered to work. Presumably this was a mat lodge, but one which admitted more light. This was a Wenatchi institution insisted Lucy Joe, who is undoubtedly better informed. She stated that Southern Okanagon women on the contrary worked in their own homes.

The Wenatchi weaving house was a semi-underground affair entered from above by means of a notched log. The superstructure, erected over a pit two feet deep, was covered with bark, then grass, finally dirt. Its form was not clearly described. When women finished breakfast they went to this weaving house to stay until evening.

553 574 other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtIō′cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it.

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

553 778 Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians.

553 522 Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions.

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother thūtsaa′c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cIlhwapawckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

551 People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu.

A name given in childhood was called ckwIct; a power name, cinōmuxckwIct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?": a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculiarities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa´st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n·kwEskwEtsI´n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TExaI´lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TExa'pI´ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522 571

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stcaˊsla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 ●522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[4] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[4] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

796 535 776 Rock because a myth was associated with the place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 522 One of the shamans presiding at the dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 535 [271] 791 In an interval between performances, if the congregation was thirsty they made a noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221 of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 377 by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 427 were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just [462] the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

Festivals.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431 were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527 one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which 53 generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522] sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the

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[290] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

315 314 415 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 177 524 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regarding the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[5] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 415 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot, always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

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[5] See page 162.

323 415 its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

281 323 415 [136] A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

177 323 415 Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

323 524 Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

[276] [324] Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

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[6] The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia.* In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the head of the bag open. 304/854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the legs. Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kâli's, snᴀknᴀktki'n, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used. 854

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. In addition many other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the shell exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck. 524/854

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place to place. Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline. 854

524 955 955 861 Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

593 855 Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

[527] Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

515 956 868 The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

462 857 Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

GAMES OF DEXTERITY

The ball and pin game was played indoors, usually in the winter, by either sex. The ball used was a composite ball and ring made of the small variety of tule (Figure 21, b). A piece of tule was folded back and forth upon itself to form a ball about an inch long. One end was looped around to form a ring, and sinew was used to wrap the point between the ball and the ring and the end of the ball. A sinew or hemp string about eighteen inches long connected the ball with a thorn used as a pin. The long thorns from the Columbia hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell (stamo'q'), were picked while green and dried by the fire. Sometimes four colored bands were wrapped around the ring at various points. The wrapped end of the ball opposite the ring was called the "nose"

In play the ball was first placed in the mouth; this served to steady it, and to keep it damp so that the pin would not crack the tule. It was dropped from the mouth while the pin was held in the right hand, and an attempt was made to catch it with the pin. Each time the ball was dropped the player exclaimed "stslaqə'p," ("stick"). Each time that he was successful he called the name of a month, in sequence. This custom was termed "shortening the year."

The method of counting was determined arbitrarily before the game. The relative values were usually about as follows, counting twenty points to the game:

Any point on the ball credited one point.
"Nose" of the ball credited two to three points.
On the ring credited three to five points.
Inside the ring credited ten to fifteen points.
On a colored band on the ring (when used) credited twenty points, or game.

This game was very popular; it served to while away many of the long winter hours.

Several games of the general hoop and pole variety were played by the Sanpoil. The most common one was played in a shallow, levelled depression formed in the ground, about six feet wide, sixteen feet long and eight or ten inches deep. At each end a log four or five inches in diameter was placed and held in position by stakes. The hoop was a wooden ring four to six inches in diameter (Figure 22, a). It was carefully wrapped with buckskin and crossed with two buckskin thongs. On these thongs were strung pierced pieces of shell of various colors. They were secured against movement along the thong and separated from each other by wrappings of buckskin. Four other pieces of shell projected from the inside of the ring, also fastened with buckskin. The pole used was three or four feet long, and a half inch in diameter, made of hardwood and tipped with bone. The pole was wrapped at intervals of a few inches with bands of buckskin.

Only two players could participate in the game at one time. Sometimes teams were formed and the players alternated. The spectators decided by lot which of the players should first roll the hoop. Then the two stood together at one end of the plot and the one selected rolled the hoop toward the other end with an

524 underhand swing of considerable force. Immediately both players made ready with their poles which they grasped in the right hand. Occasionally the thrower used his left hand to avoid changing over. The players followed the ring as it rolled down the plot. As soon as it hit the log at the end and started to roll back the contestants threw their poles along the ground, each attempting to place his in a position so that the ring would topple over the top of it. If the ring fell free of the poles it counted no score for either player. If it fell against one of the poles the score was computed by the position of the shell markers on the ring and the buckskin bands on the pole. The pendant markers on the ring counted more than the stationary ones on the cross strings, and the bands near the ends of the pole counted higher than those near the middle. Certain unusual combinations netted the player a very high score. For instance, if two of the markers on the circumference happened to rest on a band at the extremity of the pole the game was practically won. At times a single game lasted only a few minutes. In other cases it lasted an hour or more.

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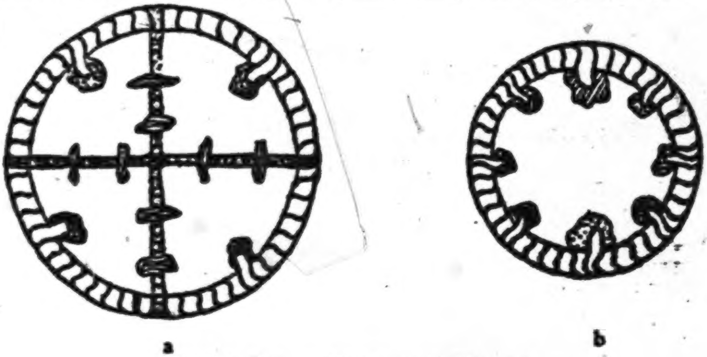

FIG. 22. Rings used in hoop and pole games.

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Players alternated in rolling the ring. The score made by each was kept with small wooden counters. Spectators acted as judges; my informant stated that their decisions were never questioned, although judgments were often difficult to make. It was sometimes necessary to blow the dust away from the ring before a decision could be made.

The players placed bets with each other on the outcome of the games. The spectators, as well, placed bets on their favorite players.

This game was played only in the summer, and exclusively by men.

A variant of the hoop and pole game described above, played in the same manner but with a different type of ring, was called suluq́ula‘uxəm. This ring was smaller, about two inches in diameter (Figure 22, b). The core was made of clay rather than wood. It was desirable to have a ring as heavy as possible for its size, hence clay was superior to wood.[3] The clay core was either moulded from wet clay or cut from a block of dry clay. Around it was wrapped several layers of rawhide to provide strength. First a thin narrow band of green hide was wrapped around the core. On this had been strung eight beads of various colors, arranged so that they would fall at points equidistant on the inside of the ring. Beads were pieces of shell, pierced to take the cord, and colored. On top of this first wrapping others were placed, of heavier, wider rawhide. The beads, of course, were allowed to project between the windings. The hide was wet when wound so that it would be tight and stiff when dry.

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[3] Since the advent of the whites, iron rings have been used.

The colors of the beads followed a definite sequence. Two of them, separated by three others, were larger than the rest. These may be called numbers one and five, in which case the colors were as follows:

1. pa'ik
2. q̇wa'i
3. qwa'i
4. kuɣa'i
5. ṗu·'m
6. qwi'n
7. kwı'l
8. xı'n[4]

No cross-strings were provided on this ring. The pole used was the same one previously described. If the pole went through the ring no score was made. If the ring fell on a portion of the pole where there was no band the score was computed from the value of the beads alone. An additional score was won if any bead touched a band; this score was figured according to an arbitrary, pre-determined standard. It was necessary that a bead actually touch the pole before it was counted. No point on the ring which was not beadedwas of scoring value. If more than one bead touched the pole, their respective values were added in determining the score. The relative values of the beads, on a basis of 150 points for a game, were as follows:

1. 50
2. 10
3. 25
4. 20
5. 50
6. 10
7. 25
8. 20

Another hoop and pole game of quite a different nature was called lala'usam. A hoop about ten inches in diameter was formed by splitting a maple limb while green, bending it into a circle with the flat side turned inward, and splicing the ends together with deer sinew. The poles were made of willow, about four feet long and not over an inch in diameter. A limb was selected with a fork on one end which was left intact, forming the butt of the pole, or one end of a straight limb was split and forced apart. Several poles were required for each player.

Two or more players participated. Any level plot of ground served as a playing field. A player rolled the ring down the field and threw a pole after it. The object was to pierce the ring and cause it to fall at a point as far distant as possible. If one player failed another attempted. When one succeeded in piercing and felling the ring he twisted his foot on the ground to mark the point where he stood. An opponent then stood in the same place and attempted to pierce the

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[4] Sanpoil color terms are described on page 224.

524 ring as it lay, raised from the ground only by the thickness of the pole. He threw his poles one by one, losing a point for each failure, until he succeeded, or lost all of his counters, which numbered twenty or twenty-five. A successful throw entitled him to roll the hoop. The game continued until one side or one individual won all of the counters.

This game was played by both men and boys, in the summer time.

In a game called ləla'mi'nəm the same poles were used as in the preceding game, ləla'usəm, and a similar field was required. A target on the ground was used in this case. Any object, such as a piece of tule, served as a target. Any number of players participated. Each, in his turn, stood on the same spot about thirty feet from the target and threw one pole as close to it as possible. After all had thrown, the one whose pole was nearest the target (that is, any part of the pole, unless the point was previously specified), won one counter. The first contestant to win ten counters was victor.

This was a man's game, and accompanied by betting.

A variant of the preceding game, called by the same name (ləla'mi'nəm) was played by children as well as adults. The same pole was used, but the point was sharpened. The poles were thrown so that they would stick in the ground. The first participant set the mark with his pole. Others attempted to come as near to the first one as possible. If a pole fell to the ground it became the property of the first player, and its former owner was eliminated from that game.

A bow and arrow game was played by both boys and men.

Slings were used by men and boys in a game, the object of which I am uncertain, but distance or the hitting of a target was probably involved. The sling was made of buckskin and Indian hemp cord. The buckskin piece had one hole for holding the pebble and two small ones in each side through which the string was tied. When it was desired to let the stone fly the cord attached to one side was let loose, the other held. Another device for throwing stones, serving to increase the effective length of the arm, was a thin paddle like stick of willow. The length was about eighteen inches. The end against which the pebble was placed was shaved very thin.

A limited number of sleight of hand tricks was performed. A string, wrapped around the fingers, wrist or arm was so looped that in pulling it free it apparently passed through the limb encircled.

Cat's cradles were made as a pastime by adults, and for the amusement of children. Tipi, owl and rabbit were some of the designs.

ATHLETIC GAMES

526 Shinny was usually played only by boys, but occasionally adults, both men and women, participated. A level field of considerable length, at least 200 feet, was required. The goals were marked by robes laid at either end of the field, or holes were dug in the ground. The ball was made of buckskin stuffed with grass; it was the size of the ordinary baseball or smaller. At the beginning of play the ball was placed in the middle of the field, either on the ground or elevated some-

526 Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[5] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognised. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[6]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

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857 Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

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[5] See page 136.
[6] See page 54.

524/157 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu'ʹs, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'x̣um, "chief"
Queen	tuqłumi'ʹluxʷ, "feet"
Flush	sq̇aia'ʹi', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	x̣axtətu', "straight"
Straight flush	x̣axtətusq̇aia'ʹi', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kałłi'ʹłł, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc.	mu·'sas, "four alike," etc.
Pair	łali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asəlu·'laxʷ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kanumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sam, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'a'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snməlmə·luqua'p̓ulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqita·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	siλ'nam, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksaxantcɪ'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'iinəntcɪ'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 87 Smoking (sma'uxʷ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so that the shield was convex. The shield was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of wood were reported by Suszen as the common type, but no details were obtained. 713 411

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge arrows depended on one's power. Boys played at war with shields and blunt arrows. [524]

Skin armor was made of thick deer and elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide reaching below the hips with a hole cut for the head to pass through. This was laced together on each side with thongs. The hide was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however. 292 713 411

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was customary to enter battle wearing only a breech-clout and with the body painted. 726 411

p. 55 (B)

526 778 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlialEwa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners." Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. Although bark cradles were not use
[854] for infants by the Southern Okanagon, littl girls sometimes made doll cradles which wer small models of the bark cradles used b Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pelēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sÜEnÜswal'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

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15 See also Mary Cardee's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

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"who were good at stealing" used buttons, which were difficult to obtain. The object of the buzzer game (papa′mEla) was to see which boy could make the loudest noise by rapidly slackening and drawing taut the string of his toy. Children were told by their elders not to play with the buzzer during the winter, as it was believed that this would make the weather turn cold. Girls did not play the game.

The following games were played by both boys and girls.

The ball-and-pin game (kEtłö̆öpsti′nkün) was played by children of all ages, but only in winter. The ball was supposed to represent the sun. Older people, who made the sets for children, would warn them to play the game in winter so that the days might go rapidly and bring an early spring. The ball was made of flat rushes or of Indian hemp, rolled into a tight sphere. This was fastened by a hemp cord two feet in length to a two-inch thorn of one of two unidentified bushes (x̣ax̣üi′tłp, wa'wa'ankitłp). The object of the game was to see how many times a child could catch the ball on the pin without missing. The first player to miss was given a fillip on the back of the hand by another child, using his middle finger. Adults sometimes amused themselves with this game.

Top spinning may have been aboriginal, but the only tops described were of modern pattern. They were made from pine wood or from a piece of bear's leg bone. Tops were spun mainly on the ice in winter, with contests to see which top would spin longest. They also attempted to split one another's tops.

The sling was considered a child's toy and had no use as a weapon. It was a piece of leather tapered at the ends (measuring five inches by half that in breadth) to which braided Indian hemp cords were tied. One cord terminated in a loop which was slipped over the forefinger, the other in a knot to be held between the thumb and forefinger. The knot was released when the missile, usually a small stone, was thrown.

Children also played ball games.

Boys and girls ran foot races in spring, summer, and fall. A hopping race was a favorite: two boys or two girls tried to see who could hop a certain distance faster, hopping on one leg. The race was always to a marked goal, around it and back to the starting point.

An endurance game (cxanikstun) was played by boys or girls in summer. Two children squatted facing each other, then hopped up and down clapping their hands. When one was exhausted, another of the group would take his place.

P. 192 (B)

A common Indian children's game of "staying sober" was played at any season. A group of children faced one child and attempted by pointing and ridicule to make the child laugh. As soon as a player laughed or smiled he was counted out and another child took his turn at keeping a straight face. 524

SMOKING

Adults, both men and women, smoked alone for pleasure at any time. It was commonly indulged in after the heavy meal of the day. In groups, a pipe was often handed around from person to person, but no ritual was involved; such smoking was purely social. The right to smoke, however, was delayed until after a young man or woman had acquired supernatural powers and had been instructed in a vision to sing at the winter dance. They might then be as young as ten or eleven. After this the smoker invariably used a pipe whenever his special powers were invoked, but he had also the privilege of smoking for his own enjoyment. Some old people with power smoked very early in the morning or late at night while others were asleep, so that no one would walk behind them while they were so occupied. Formerly the same pipe was used for ceremonial smoking and for pleasure. At present cigarettes are smoked at social gatherings. The stone pipe, carefully preserved and carried by every shaman, is restricted almost entirely to ceremonial use. 276

Kinnickinnick (skülsü'ɫmEn or ckElci't-ɫmilEx) was smoked. Informants stated that it was never used unmixed, but did not remember what was used for the mixture before commercial tobacco became common. The leaves and fruit of the bear-berry (skülɫ's) were dried, crushed, and smoked in pipes. A plant called sma'nxü, apparently a species of Nicotiana, was formerly abundant and was smoked unmixed. At present it grows only near Riverside. A white root (xacxac) was pounded fine, dried, and mixed with tobacco to make it mild.

Pipe bowls were carved of steatite with thin reed tubes about five inches long set into the side. The specimens seen were small inverted cones or cylindrical in shape. None were carved in animal shapes, and no symbolic meanings were attached to their decoration.

Smoking was a feature of all ceremonies, and ceremonial smoking was esential whenever a shaman paused to "think about his power" during a cure, when the leader of a gambling team wished to give supernatural assistance during a game, or when a hunting leader sought to invoke his special power during an expedition. In no case does there seem to have been any idea of a smoke offering to particular spirits. 276 788

‡ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 193(B), category 116. --Analyst]

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16 On the construction, see Material Culture. ‡
17 On this see Religion. ‡

PASTIMES AND SMOKING

524 Many games and pastimes were the same as among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and other tribes. A favorite summer rendezvous for horse-racing and playing games was at Moses Lake. In later days some of the Umatilla and Spokane went there to meet the Columbia.

SMOKING AND PIPES

276 Smoking-ceremonies were in vogue, and stone pipes were made in large numbers. It seems that the common kind of pipe in use long ago was tubular. The bowls of some were long, and of others short. Wooden stems were used with all. Pipes were ornamented with raised rings, flanges, and incised lines filled with red, white, and yellow paint. The most valuable pipes were of a semi-transparent greenish soapstone, similar to those of the Thompson Indians. Pipes of catlinite were also highly prized. Other colors of pipe-stone were white, gray, brown, black, and mottled. It is said that the elbow shape of pipe was common, at least at the end or in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Some pipes had small "hatchets" underneath the shank, close to the elbow.[60] These were occasionally perforated for attachment of ornaments and charms or used for strings by means of which the stem or mouthpiece was attached to the pipe. Simple bowl-pipes were also used. Some of these were similar in shape to short tubular pipes, except that the small end was closed, and the mouthpiece was set into the side instead of the small end.[61] Others had the bowl projecting upwards at right angles from a square base or platform which was bored for the stem.[62] The disk-shaped pipe[63] was fairly common among the Columbia Salish, as well as among the Sanpoil and Okanagon, but as far as I know, it was not used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Revais or some other informant told me that it was also used by the Nez Percé and Cayuse. Bowls of a few pipes were carved in human and animal forms. The tobacco appears to have been the same as that of the Thompson and Okanagon. The kinnikinick used seems to have been bearberry-leaves and red-willow bark. Pipes were occasionally made of antler, wood, and clay.

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[60] See Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, fig. 306; Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley*, fig. 113.

[61] See Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 275.

[62] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 113; Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 273.

[63] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 107-109.

237 411 set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tclzn* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

237 283 411 Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

411 524 Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

173 628 turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *C'il'iltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxɛne'* and lived with him. As all the males of *C'il'iltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxɛne'* and his helpers.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 Dice and Guessing Games.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.[219] The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.[220] Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks[221] was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

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[219] a, p. 272, and fig. 256.

[220] See Thompson, a, p. 276, and fig. 264.

[221] a, pp. 272, 273.

The hand game or *lehal* was very common and was played in the same way as among the Thompson,[222] but 22 sticks were used as counters instead of 10 and 12, as among most other tribes. Knuckle covers [223] were used by many in playing the game. They were made of otter, weasel, coyote, and other skins, and were fringed. Singing always accompanied the game, and time was beaten with short sticks on a log or board placed in front of the players.

Hoop or Ring Games.—A number of hoop or ring games were played. A favorite game was the ring and pole game of the Thompson [224] and other tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne the logs for stopping the ring from rolling too far were from 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter and generally placed about 5 meters apart. There were many different ways of playing, such as standing with the toe to a mark or not moving forward when throwing the lance or stick, erect, and taking one step forward when throwing, erect and two steps forward, sitting, kneeling, kneeling and one hand on the ground, and so on. The lance or stick was thrown so as to stop the ring and make it fall over on the stick. Points were counted according to the beads that rested against the stick. All rings had two blue beads, which counted the greatest number of points. The other beads were of various colors. In early times bone beads were used, also colored quills, or, instead, wrappings at the various spaces on the ring. The sizes of rings and throwing sticks were about the same as among the Thompson. Besides different methods of throwing, there were several ways of counting and all had names. Each bead and combination of beads and the positions of the ring on the stick had names, as well as almost every inch of the throwing stick. No other game had nearly as rich a nomenclature as this game. In most ways of playing, besides counting the beads and their positions against the stick, the part of the stick the beads rested against was also counted. Thus most sticks had divisions marked on them with rings and wrappings. People bet and gambled much in this game, and there were often disagreements and quarrels. Elderly men known to be honest and disinterested were appealed to or asked to act as referees or arbitrators to settle all disputes in the game. These referees used slender sticks or pointers, with which they righted ring and stick, thus ascertaining accurately the positions of the beads. Their decision was final.

Another ring and stick game was common. The ring was usually about 30 centimeters in diameter, or slightly more, made of a stick bent into a circle, the ends joined, or, more generally, two sticks bent and joined. A web of thong or bark twine filled up the inside of the ring like a net, leaving a circular hole in the center about 3 cm. in diameter. (Fig. 13.) The Indians claim that the weaving of the hoop was generally done as sketched. It seems that some hoops varied in the number of meshes and therefore in the size of mesh. Two persons rolled the ring back and forth to each other while two others, one on each side, took turns at throwing the stick or spear at the hoop. The persons throwing generally stood. As a rule, two played against two and turns were taken at rolling and spearing the hoop. The object was to throw the spear through the central hole. This won the game. Points were also counted according to the mesh that was hit—the nearer to the center, the higher the points. These meshes had different names. If a person hit the same mesh twice in succession he had to withdraw from the game or allow himself to be prodded in the backside by the other players with their sticks. (This was also a forfeit or punishment in ring games of the Thompson.) The stick or spear used in this game was more than a meter long, sharp-pointed, and made of a slip of a young tree with from three to seven stubs of branches left on the upper part to prevent it going entirely through the meshes.

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[222] *a*, pp. 275, 276.

[223] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 263; also Peabody Mus., No. 367.

[224] *a*, p. 274, fig. 260.

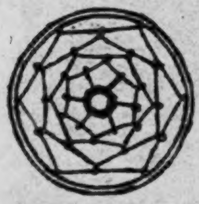

FIGURE 13.—Netted hoop

A game with feathered lances or sticks, like large arrows, was also common. These were about a meter in length and like war lances for throwing; only they had no attached heads, the points being simply sharpened. I did not obtain any particulars of this game, but it seems that the lances were hurled at targets and marks of different kinds.

A ring-and-dart game like that played by the Thompson[225] was much played by boys. The ring was about 15 cm. in diameter and made of tule or strips of bark wound around a core. The darts were feathered and like those of the Thompson. Both this game and the preceding one have been out of use for a long time.

ARROW GAMES.—A number of arrow games were played. In some of these rings and disks were used. One kind of disk was about 8 inches in diameter, made of a coiled stick wrapped with bark. It was round in section, and thick. It was set going and arrows were shot at it from the side as it passed, the object being to hit the disk as it rolled.

Another similar game was played with a ring or rolling target made of two sticks woven together side by side with bark. In this case the ring was wide in section and was shot at from behind as it sped away.

Another arrow game was to shoot at a target consisting of a circle marked on the face of a hard sandy bluff. Sometimes the target consisted of several rings marked one inside the other.

Yet another arrow game was like ninepins, only the pins were shot at. The pins or targets were made of grass wrapped tightly with twine. They were from 25 to 30 cm. in length and about 10 cm. in diameter. These grass targets were set up one or more at each end of the shooting ground. Sometimes rows of them were used.

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[225] a, pp. 274, 275, fig. 261; also Peabody Mus., Nos. 363, 364.

Another arrow game was to shoot an arrow into a sandy mound or bank and use it as a target, the object being to hit the nock of the arrowshaft.

A boy's arrow game in which blunt arrows were used was mentioned as having been at one time in vogue, but it has been out of use for a very long time and I obtained no details regarding it.

Ball Games.—A number of ball games were played. The most common one was played with bats having crooked ends and was the same as the ball game played by the Thompson [226] and other tribes. The bats were very much like hockey sticks.[227] In some forms of the game, netting was used on the sticks [228] and the ball was caught in this and thrown forward. It seems that the netted sticks were used chiefly in winter, when there was snow on the ground and the ball hard to advance without lifting and throwing. According to the rules of the game, the ball must not be touched with the hands, but it might be kicked as well as hit with the bat. Some players used guard sticks [229] in this game. Balls were made of deer's hair sewed tightly in leather. No wooden balls were used.

It is uncertain whether the ball game played like baseball, as described for the Thompson,[230] was in vogue very long ago, but a form of this game was played at one time. Another ball game was like one very common among the Lower Thompson.[231] The ball was thrown up and all tried to catch it. The one who caught it ran and the others tried to catch him before he reached the goal. When caught or slapped with the hand, he had to throw the ball up. Women often participated in these games. Some of both sexes played on each side when there were sides. Occasionally one sex played against the other. Usually men played together in one place and women in another; or the same playground was used by both sexes in turn. Ball games were played by the tribe until lately. Nowadays the young men of the reservation have a good baseball team, and play against white teams from neighboring towns in Idaho and Washington.

There are some indications that a ball-and-hoop game similar to that played by Thompson children [232] was at one time in vogue, but I did not ascertain this with certainty.

A ball game was played on smooth ice. A small ball was rolled at a mark. If it missed the mark, the game was lost. Sometimes a ring instead of a ball was rolled at a mark.

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[226] *a*, pp. 277, 278, figs. 265, 267, 268.

[227] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *a*.

[228] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 267 *b*.

[229] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 268.

[230] *a*, p. 277, figs. 265, 266.

[231] *a*, p. 278.

[232] *a*, p. 279, fig. 269.

524 The ball-and-pin game was common, and was the same as among the Thompson.[233] The pin consisted of a sharpened stick or bone, and the ball of grass, tule, or bark. In the early summer balls for this game were often made of the growing heads of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) before the flowers came out. It is said that some of the ball and other games that were in vogue long ago have now been forgotten, and even the names of some games are no longer remembered.

526 SPORTS.—Many kinds of athletic games and sports were at one time practiced. Favorite winter sports, engaged in by old and young of both sexes, were coasting and sliding. Coasting slides were made on open parts of hillsides, and the toboggans consisted of pieces of rawhide and bark, which were bent up in front. Sliding was practiced on good smooth ice, after a light fall of dry snow, and was much enjoyed.

Tugging or pulling games were common. In one of these, hooks made of eagle bones were used, two men pulling against each other until one bone broke. Pulling with the middle fingers and pulling on a rope was practiced. Sometimes teams of men took part in rope pulling.

Wrestling contests were common among men, and women also wrestled occasionally. A wrestling match between women often furnished great amusement to the spectators.

All the Indians could swim. The arms were worked dog fashion, and they struck out with the right foot. Sometimes there were swimming races. Nearly all the men could dive, and some men could dive right across St. Joe River.

Foot racing and canoe racing, and in later days horse racing, were common. Jumping for distance and height were both practiced, and also the standing jump, running jump, and vaulting.

A catching game was in vogue, called "making slaves." Two goals were marked at opposite ends of the playground with stones, poles, pegs, or scratches in the earth. On the clapping of hands by a "chief," who sometimes stood in the middle, the game commenced. The object was to touch the hands of any person of the opposite side, and then return and reach one's own goal without being caught by him. The person caught was considered and called a "slave" or "captive of war," and was conducted over to the enemy lines by the person who caught him. The game continued thus until one side was out. Women often participated in this game.

A kicking game[234] was in vogue among men, especially at gatherings where there were many young men. There were contests in this game between men of different villages and of different bands.

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[233] Peabody Museum, Nos. 362, 403.

[234] This game was also common among the Thompson.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcēlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 177
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat 201
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for 535 727 796 four days.

TSUWIKT DANCE.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327]

TRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL WAR DANCES.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of [203] war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. [524] Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

MARRYING DANCE.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, 796 Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[327] *b*, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *c*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

578 173 *lɛx* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

● 524 I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same, way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] Cat's 526 cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 226.

[2] a, pp. 272, 273.

[3] a, p. 274.

[4] a, pp. 274, 275.

[5] a, pp. 277, 278.

[6] See p. 133.

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Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npui'lux°, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and dried the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

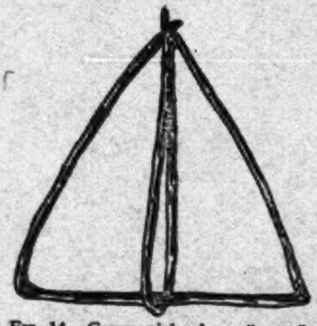

Fig. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

251

The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri-
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal 366
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snakā'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay 439
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals,
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the 439
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 177
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 577
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lᴀ'lukʷ; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

opposite side called for additional bets from his followers, or attempted to get others to join his side and make their bets. The new contributions to the pool might more than equal the difference; then it became necessary for the other side once more to call for stakes. 525

The game was played with two pairs of bones, one of each pair being marked, and the other unmarked, and twenty sticks used as counters. The bones were made usually of the tibia of the deer. They were two and a half or three inches long and an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. The marked bone had a narrow painted or incised band around the middle, or was encircled with a buckskin thong. The counters were simply pointed splints a foot long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. 221 525

The essential point of the game was to guess in which hands the players with the bones held the unmarked ones. The game proceeded as follows: The players of each side knelt or squatted in two parallel rows facing each other, a distance of about five feet separating them. Anyone who had placed a bet was privileged to play, but not required to do so. Before each row was placed a long log, elevated two or three inches from the ground on small sticks. Between the two groups were fires if the playing took place at night. During the winter when the playing was done inside the long house the rows formed on either side of the fireplaces. The leaders took their positions at the middle of their respective sides. Each player was given a stick with which he beat on the log before him. These were twelve or fifteen inches long, an inch or two in diameter; when not in use they were kept in a buckskin bag or wrapped in buckskin. Every prominent gambler owned a set of these sticks. 525

The leaders each took ten counters and one pair of bones. To determine which side was to have the first play, the leaders matched the bones after having rolled them in their hands, shifted or pretended to shift them under cover of a blanket, garment, hat, or behind the back. The arms were outstretched and the hands opened revealing the bones. The leader winning the match took both pairs of bones and won one of the opponents' counters. The players on the side gaining the bones proceeded to beat in time on the log before them at a tempo of about 240 per minute, and started singing a gambling song such as the following, which was started by its owner: 525 533

a··xa··i··axau··ana··xauiu···, etc.[1]
(Meaningless syllables; gradually fading out toward the end)

Or: oi···'xenaxawiu··o··ai··oxena'awi··
xə'nanə··o··xenə'əwiyi···'
xenə'əwiyi···, etc.[2]
(Meaningless syllables)

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[1] John Tom's song.
[2] Bear's song.

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533 Arbitrary words were sometimes inserted, such as the following:

o·'ya'ta' ti·'s naqsá'luq
I pity my lone counter.

525 After a moment's hesitation the leader picked up the bones which had been thrown in front of him, examined them carefully, then rolled them in his hands, swung his arms from side to side in time to the music, went through various other fantastic movements, then threw the bones, one pair at a time, to two players of his selection, one at his right and one at his left. The players selected were usually at opposite extremities of the line, but not invariably so. They went through a procedure similar to that of the leader, hesitating before taking the bones, waving the arms, hiding the bones and shifting them, sometimes many times. All of the motions of the players holding the bones were intently watched by the leader on the opposite side; he did the guessing. After a few moments the players brought their arms forward and crossed them in front of their chests, often with the hands in the opposite arm pits.

The guesser then held out the left hand with the palm outstretched and made various motions as of guessing with his right hand, in order to confuse the players or to gain from them some inadvertant indication of the position of the bones. If a player believed that the guesser knew in which hand he held the plain bone he might shift them again, or go through false motions under cover. The guesser continued with his gestures. Other players on the side of the guesser also were permitted to go through the motions of guessing in order to confuse their opponents. The difference between a true and a final guess, and a false or preliminary one, was a subtle nod of the head, or a dropping of the arms to the sides. Since a player immediately surrendered the bones as the result of a correct final guess, the preliminary gestures, if carefully conducted by the guesser, were very apt to cause the player to make a minimal movement of surrender if correct or to gain an indication of security if incorrect. If such indications were made by either or both players, it was a simple matter to indicate a final decision and win the bones. Both final and tentative guesses were made by indicating the position of the bones with a conventionalized gesture of the right hand and at the same time clapping
201 the left hand on the right shoulder. The signals were as follows (M indicates the
525 marked, U the unmarked bone):

U M — M U	Thumb and index finger extended, others flexed.
M U — U M	A gesture downward and straight ahead with the right hand; index finger extended.
U M — U M	Gesture to the left with the index finger extended.
M U — M U	Gesture to the right with the index finger extended.

That is, if the guesser judged the player at his left to have the unmarked bone in his right hand and the player at the right to be holding the plain one in his left hand, he indicated his guess in the first manner above, etc.

525 If the judgment was correct the bones were thrown to the other side. Of course, the guess may have been correct for only one player, in which case the

other continued to hold the bones, and play was resumed with only the one pair. The guesser indicated his judgments by a simple gesture to the left or right when only one player was hiding the bones. As soon as he had correctly guessed the hand in which the plain bone was held his side took the bones. Meanwhile he had lost one counter for every incorrect guess where one player was involved, and two counters where neither of two players was guessed aright. Conversely, he won for his side a counter for each correct guess. 525/532

When a wrong guess was made the player slowly extended his arms, palms outstretched, and displayed the bones, then often threw the bones in the air and caught them again, uttering exclamations of satisfaction. The other players on his side jeered at their opponents, in song. Throughout the play the beating on the log and the singing continued.

When the opposing side took the bones they began to beat on their log and to sing, and those who had lost them became quiescent. Thus the play proceeded with the bones passing back and forth, until one side had won all of the counters. Occasionally the game ended within an hour or two, but more often it lasted several hours or all night.

At successive periods of play the leader threw the bones to those nearer and nearer him in his line, until all had had an opportunity to play. However, if one person were having particularly good luck the bones might be returned to him several times in succession; if a poor player were present he might be passed up. On the other hand, if a player were having a run of luck which he feared might not last, he was privileged to return the bones to the leader, who went through the original motions with them, then threw them back, either to the same or another player, at his discretion. Even when originally presented with the bones a player might refuse to take them if he feared ill-fortune. 525

The leader seldom, if ever, kept the bones himself. If all the players had had a turn, and the game still continued, the bones were usually returned again to the players at the ends of the line. The leader sometimes called upon another to guess for him, especially if he had been consistently wrong for a time.

The counters, as well as the bones, were handled in a formal manner. When the leader first received the ten splints he thrust them in the ground before him. Upon losing one he pulled it up, rolled it between his palms to remove the dirt adhering to the point, then threw it to the other side. The counters won were not touched until the bones changed hands, whereupon they were forced into the ground at an angle or laid across each other on the ground. In surrendering counters those of the original stock were all used before any subtractions were made from those which had been won. In order to win the game, it was necessary for a side to hold its own counters as well as those of the opponent, twenty in all. In other words, all those counters originally thrust in the ground had to be removed and placed with those won before the game was over.

Occasionally, in games where only a small number of players were involved, only one set of bones was used.

525 The side winning the game took the pool collected by its opponents. Division of the goods was made in accordance with the value of the bet placed by each player. Winning players received back their own bets also, of course.

Women played the same game, except that smaller bones were used, and singing was the only audible accompaniment. Instead of beating on a log the women swung their arms in opposite directions, from side to side, elbows flexed.

Women are considered by the natives, at least at the present day, to be better gamblers than men—that is, they bet more freely. In pre-white times women undoubtedly played the stick game much less, however, than at present.

WOMEN'S DICE GAME

The dice game (muqmuqami'n, "dice") was the most popular woman's gambling game. It was played at any time during the year when participants were available. Men, as well, sometimes played the dice game.

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Four dice were used, made either of beaver teeth or deer ribs (Figure 21, a). Beaver teeth were used in their natural shape. When deer ribs were used pieces three or four inches long were cut, then steamed and straightened, polished and pointed at the ends. One side of each of the bones or teeth was incised with four concentric-circle or dot and circle designs (sqaia'i'), the other side with one to three groups of stripes (nxlapι'qən, "skunk," from the lines on the skunk's back). The incisions were filled with red or black pigment. The dots and circles were made by twirling a stone fragment with two points, one acting as a pivot. The dice were made by the women, and great pride was taken in their appearance.

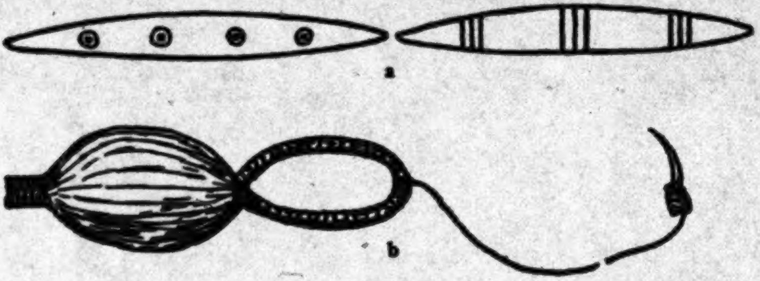

FIG. 21. (a) Bone dice for woman's dice game. (b) Tule ball and thorn for ball and pin game.

525 The game involved shaking the dice in the cupped hands, then throwing them with a sidewise motion from the left side of the body onto a robe of buckskin. When deer rib dice were used they were thrown forward. Several women played at one time. Each was entitled to a turn, in order, during which she continued to throw the dice until they fell with all circles down, an arrangement which transferred the dice to the next person. Approximately fifty counters were used, form-

585 ing a "pot" from which payment was made to players as [redacted] Points were calculated as follows:

Four circles paid two counters.
Three circles paid one counter.
Two circles paid no counters.
One circle cost one counter.
No circles cost two counters.

All of the counters in the "pot" had to be first removed by payment to the various players, then one player was required to win all of her opponents' counters before the game was over and she became the winner. After the "pot" was depleted, payment was made at the end of each woman's turn by an equal contribution from all others in the game. If the number of points won could not be divided equally among the others, someone would pay the difference and indicate the fact by laying aside that number of chips; the discrepancy would be made up to her later in the game. When any player lost all of her counters she was eliminated from the game. Betting seems to have been carried on independently of the counters. A pool was probably formed prior to the game, all of which went to the winning contestant.

OTHER WOMEN'S GAMES

A staring game was played by women during the winter. Sides were chosen; these sat in parallel lines facing each other. Each side selected from its number a representative. These two individuals sat in front of their respective sides and stared at each other until one of the pair smiled. Each team taunted and jeered the woman on the opposite side in an effort to make her smile and bring success to their side. Bets were placed between individual members of either team, and when the representative of one side lost, all on the other side collected their bets.

An endurance game called spa·ni'kstan was played by women. A group formed sides of equal numbers and placed bets. Each side formed a row facing the other, with about four feet between. They all squatted on their heels and began to sing the song characteristic of this game. At the same time they started to hop up and down a distance of three or four inches above the ground, and to clap their hands, all the while retaining the squatting position. One by one the women tired out, and fell down, laughing. The side which had one or more contestants remaining after all their opponents had dropped out was the winner.

Women also played a game involving holding the breath for as long a time as possible. A spiral two or three feet in diameter was traced on a level sandy spot. The players, taking turns, sat before the figure and, while holding the breath, started at the center of the spiral and touched successive spots about a half inch apart with the tip of the index finger, moving around as many turns as possible before taking a breath. The player was carefully watched by a judge. If she skipped too far between points she was checked, and the instant that she took a breath she was stopped and the point she had reached was marked. The woman reaching the outermost spot on the spiral won. Betting accompanied the playing.

428 the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

428 553 If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

428 778 787 Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

626 685 There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

525● 626 At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or woman.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

626 This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 206-207.

p. 91 (B)

DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 ● 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling, but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

1 [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[1] See also Individual Life Cycle. 1

538 There was no distinction between tales
for men and women, adults and children. However,
562 Billie Joe said that his grandfather
used to send his sisters away because certain
tales were considered unfit for girls
to hear. Probably each individual was familiar
with all of the tales and could tell
them on occasion, yet this familiarity did
not lessen the eagerness with which a story
was received at any telling. Favorite legends
were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster,
was the chief actor. A Coyote
myth invariably evoked interest and laughter,
no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in
the evening. During the day, children would
861 gather around an old man or woman for hours,
demanding tales. These were seldom for the
purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained
[868] educational matter, such as directions
for making tools, houses or clothing,
the preparation of food, technique of the
hunt, or rules for playing games; but these
points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology
and ethical concepts were all implicit
[864] in the myths and were doubtless absorbed
by everyone in childhood through the
medium of the story-teller; yet there was no
formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no
secrecy or sacredness.'[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sunshine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlêncôltên, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (x̣ôîxEntsx̣al or xîkê´kîkê´nsplâk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI´klâh (?), myth; insIm'a´pEl0ka, "French" fairy tale; k0mmIxI´ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the
leisure life of nearly every adult man or
woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

•525 were "professional" gamblers to the extent that they spent their time on little else, especially in summer when large groups were gathered at a camp site. Such individuals would travel from camp to camp, playing for stakes with anyone who chanced to be free. Power was requisite for success in gambling, more than in any other activity. The "professionals" were usually persons whose guardian spirits were especially dedicated to gaming, or to the particular sport in which the gambler excelled. In games played by teams, the leader of each team was usually a man whose power gave him supernatural aid in the game concerned. Often this leader (xatō´s, "man with power"; the same term is used for the leader of a hunting party), did not play in the game, but went aside to smoke and think of his power, in order to give his team the requisite supernatural aid. A team winning under such circumstances was supposed to have been assisted by a leader of stronger power than that possessed by the opposing leader. Betting was especially high on the side of a team known to have a strong power behind it.

525 778 Individual players had various gambling powers. That for a racer was usually some swift animal or bird. One informant told a dramatic story of a race lost by a champion with sage-hen power because the opposing runner had been blessed by a mouse, a more insignificant but a quicker animal:

Suszen's grandfather was a good racer. He got power from sage hens and won many races. Once he went to the Inc'lI'ūm tribe to get salmon with the others. As he used to do, he looked for someone to race him and found a man for it. His people asked him what power he had, and he told them he woul say after he had won or lost. They ran and Suszen's grandfather lost. The Inc'lI'Ūm man shook hands with him and said, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't think I would. When I was a young man I saw a mouse running fast. He talked to me, and told me that I was going to be a good racer. He said, 'Listen to me. I can run fast, and I will give you my power." The winner said, "Maybe your power is good, but my power beat you, yet it is only a mouse." Suszen's grandfather stopped running after this, for all the people laughed, that a man with sage hen power should be beaten by one with power from a mouse.

A player of the hand-game might be blessed by a power which told him to prepare special bones for hiding-sticks. These would insure victory for whatever side the dreamer championed. The bones must be kept away from the influence of a menstruating woman, who would draw away their power if she chanced to walk over them. This influence could be avoided by wrapping the gaming bones in buckskin and burying them in an ant hill. The strongest power for the hand-game was given by the woodpecker, who made the same sort of noise with his bill as did the gamblers beating time with their sticks during the game. A man's power might also give him, in a vision, a special song to sing at the

525 778 hand-game. Power for wrestling is indicated in the following anecdote.

A man once easily threw a much larger Blackfoot who had taunted him. He and his party then immediately ran off for home. He had the stronger power for wrestling, despite the Blackfoot's calling on his own power by acting like a buffalo. But the Blackfoot had other strong powers. The Blackfoot called after him that he would live only long enough to see his parents. When the party reached home, the river was in flood. The wrestler saw his parents, and then, jumping into a canoe to go to them, was drowned.

Though individual players had special powers which made them valuable to their teams, gambling was not ordinarily a matter of individual winnings, as in our poker games. The presence of a champion with a strong power strengthened a team's chances, but bets were placed by watchers or players on the success of the favored team, not by the individual on his own chances, except of course in games with only two players.

THE HAND GAME

•525 The hand-game (ts!la'lEqEm· or stslal-Ekum) played by the Southern Okanagon is the common western game of lehal. It is believed by the Okanagon to be of great antiquity, and is the only pastime except foot racing which is mentioned in tales of the mythical period "when animals were men."

Two pairs of hiding-sticks were used. They were made from small sticks or bones, about two and a half inches long. One of each pair was plain, all white if of bone, or with the bark left on if small pieces of green wood were used. The second piece of a bone pair was wrapped around the middle with cord or a narrow strip of buckskin, which soon became black and served to distinguish this from the plain piece. In a wooden set, the marked piece had the bark removed in a narrow strip around the middle, leaving a band of lighter color. (These sticks were not designated male and female as elsewhere.)

To play the game, two long poles were laid parallel along the ground or floor, with a space of five or six feet between them. The players, in two teams of equal numbers, ranged themselves opposite each other behind the two poles, kneeling. Ten counters for each side, sharpened sticks about a foot in length, were stuck in the ground in the space between the poles. To begin the game, the two players first in line on one side each took a pair of the bones and, while the others of their side beat with sticks upon the long pole before them and sing a hand-game song (n·tsla'lEq^{EtEn} or kxEnqwEntsö't, person who starts song), the holders quickly shifted the bones back and forth from one hand to the other, concealing their movements as much as possible. They then held their clenched hands out before them, and the first player opposite on the "guessing side" guessed the position of both unmarked bones.

The system of gestures by which he indicated his guess in pointing toward the two holders, was as follows:

Index finger moved to the right	Both plain bones in the opponents' left hands;
Index finger moved to the left	Both in opponents' right hands;
Index finger pointed between the two holders	Both plain bones in opponents' inside hands;
Index finger and thumb spread horizontally	Both plain bones on the outside

Having indicated his guess, the guesser cried out x̣ó!, and the two holders opened their hands to show the bones. If the guesser had indicated the position of both unmarked bones wrongly, his side paid the holding side two counters. If he guessed only one wrong, his side paid one counter. If he guessed both correctly, no counters were paid, but both pairs of bones changed hands and the guesser's side then became the holder's side. Players on both sides took turns on down the line at guessing or holding; the game continued until one side had lost all its counters. This sometimes happened quickly. More often a game lasted for several hours, sometimes even carrying over for two or three days. No individual won in the game. Players and bystanders placed bets on the winning side, or on the total number of counters to be won by either side.

Men and women played together on both sides, men against women, or two teams of men or of women against each other. Women might sing any of the gaming songs, but were not permitted to beat time with sticks on the long poles.

Local bands played against each other at intertribal or interband summer gatherings, bystanders betting on their local teams. At holiday gatherings in modern reservation days, Okanagon teams are often pitted against Nez Percé teams.

Bets were paid formerly in blankets, skins or horses. Often a man would stake and lose all his property on the outcome of a game. Nowadays all gambling is for money.

Songs sung during a hand-game were usually wordless, having definite tune and rhythm but only nonsense syllables. The same situation obtains elsewhere, as on Puget Sound,[2] but no songs were recorded to determine whether these tunes may be similar to those of other groups.

Informants knew that drums were beaten during the hand-game "on the coast," but said that Southern Okanagon did not use them.

The form of the hand game in modern

1 [For context of footnotes, see p. 187(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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2 Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 277.
3 Culin, Games, 321; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 274. 1
4 Quoted in Culin, Games, 300, 303. 1

p. 187(A)

The form of the hand game in modern vogue among the Southern Okanagon is practically identical with that found on the Northwest Coast, particularly among the Kwakiutl and the Klallam,* except for differences in the gestures used by guessers to indicate the position of the unmarked bones. It is probable that there are also local differences in the signs used by Southern Okanagon. 525 171

A hand-game of somewhat different form is described by Alexander Ross as played on the lower Okanogan River in the early nineteenth century. In this game six players at most played on a side; only one pole for drumming was laid between the teams, and only two bones were used, each party taking one of them. Other features of the game agree with the modern form. The name given by Ross, "tsill-all-a-come," is evidently the ts!la´lEqEm of this account. At the period described by Ross, the gamblers played with arms and bodies naked, but with wrists and hands muffled "with bits of fur or wrapping," to conceal the holders' movements in shifting the bones. Similar wrappings to cover the hands were used by the Thompson Indians.* 525 184

DICE GAME

The dice game (mákamáka or mikamikami´n', possibly a Chinook jargon term) was played at any season, but perhaps more often in the winter because there was then more leisure. It was played by two men or two women. Occasionally a man and a woman were opponents. 525

One informant said that beaver-tooth dice of the usual coast type were used; however, straight dice of shaped bone with incised, painted markings seem to have been the common type. The dice were from four to seven inches long, flat and tapering at the ends. Counters for scoring were used, a certain number to each player. The score was taken from the combinations turned up by the dice when they were thrown on a blanket. Methods of scoring given by informants did not entirely agree; it was not determined whether this was due to the informants' faulty information or to local variations.

Two forms of the game were recorded:

1. The first form was explained by Chilowhist Jim. Ten counters (thick sticks of wood six inches in length) were used. These were placed in a pile between the two players. The four bone dice were blank on one side. On the other side (the face), two dice were marked longitudinally by three round incised dots, two by five transverse lines. (The decoration varied.) One of the dotted bones was wrapped around the middle with a thread (in early times with a sinew); this was called the "man." The other three dice were called "women." The incised faces

*[For footnotes, see p. 187(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

525 of all were made more distinct and effective by filling them with colored paint.[5]

In beginning the game, the first player held the dice in his right fist and threw them forward on the blanket (or ground, if no blanket was used), passing his hand forward and opening the fingers so that the dice slid forward longitudinally. There were six combinations into which the dice might fall to score for the thrower:

Combination	Score	Name of Throw
All dice face up	4	hŏ'lŭ
All dice blank	4	rŭ'xĭkĭn
"Man" face up; 3 "women" blank	5	lĭka'lc
"Man" blank; 3 "women" face up	5	lĭka'lc
2 dotted dice face up; striped blank	4	hŏ'lŭ
2 dotted dice blank; striped, face up	4	xŏĭ'tcŭ

If any one of these combinations were thrown, the player took the proper number of counters from the pile, and threw again. If he threw any other combination, he gave the dice over to his opponent. When all counters were gone from the center pile, each player took his winnings from the opponent's pile. The player gaining all the counters won the game. However, the play could be continued up to any score. For example, if a player had eight counters, his opponent two, and he threw a combination scoring five, he credited himself with the ten counting a game, placed seven counters in the center and kept three toward the second game. In a game played for high stakes, a good horse might be bet for fifty counters to be won.

525 171 This form of the dice game, in which one of the four dice is specially marked, and one pair identical, is the same as that described for the Thompson by Teit, who says that it was similarly played by the Northern Okanagon, although in these tribes it was strictly a woman's game.[6] These games, in turn, strongly resemble the woman's dice game reported by Culin for the Blackfoot, where one pair of the bone dice was marked with zigzag lines, and one of the four was wound around with thread and named "the chief." Culin also reports this version for the Twana-Skokomish and Songish, and Gunther finds it so played by the Klallam as a woman's game.[7]

525 2. A woman's dice game described by a woman informant is evidently the simple beaver-tooth game of West Coast women but played with four bone dice of the shape and size described above, instead of with beaver-teeth. Michel described it as primarily a woman's game, sometimes played by men, and with the use of beaver-teeth. All dice are blank on one side. The faces of two of

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[5] Specimens in the Washington State Museum, no. 2-280 a-d.
[6] Teit, quoted by Culin, Games, 157; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 260.
[7] Culin, Games, 56, 157, 158; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 276.

the four pieces are incised with a number of dots, the second pair with a double zigzag pattern (Figure 37). Incisings were formerly filled with charcoal; later with red and yellow clay. Modern pieces are decorated with paint. The dice with the zigzag lines were called mak'ama'k'a, those with dots, xwûlaxû'la. The informant had never heard them designated "male" and "female" as elsewhere.

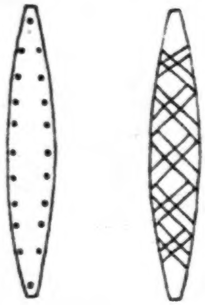

Fig. 37. Women's dice (after native sketch).

To play, two women sat about eight feet apart, with a blanket spread between them. Each player had twenty counters. The players tossed for first throw in the game. Each holding a pair of dice in the right hand, they knelt, placing the left fingertips on the ground. Then they threw the dice on the blanket simultaneously. The player having two faces up won the first play; lined dice won over dotted. In case of a tie, both players threw again. The winner of the first throw then threw all four dice. The method of scoring was given as follows:

A pair of zigzag faces	Wins 4 counters;
A pair of dotted faces	Wins 2 counters;
4 blanks	Wins 4 counters;
4 faces	Wins 4 counters;
3 faces up	Thrower loses turn, but pays no counters.

If two dice fell crossing each other, the thrower lost the game, regardless of counters previously won or lost. Otherwise, the game ended when one player had all of the counters.

In its essential form (the use of two pairs of dice with four scoring combinations) this simple version of the dice game corresponds to that played almost universally by Indian women from Puget Sound to the Klamath. In most groups cited by Culin and others, the two pairs of dice are designated as "male" and "female." The omission of this feature in the Southern Okanagon ac-

525● count may be due to the faulty knowledge of our informant. On the whole, the simple form of the game seems to be more common among western Indians generally than the more complicated form (No. 1. above). However, both types have been definitely recorded for the Makah and Klallam.* It is possible that further investigation would reveal the occurrence of both forms in other tribes.

SHINNY

526 Shinny (sk!pökü'lt'n or spö'klam) was an important summer game. Tribal teams made special trips to play it, accompanied by large numbers of spectators who cheered their champions and bet heavily on the outcome of the game. [525] Teams were usually formed by men, but teams of women occasionally travelled from place to place challenging local women players.

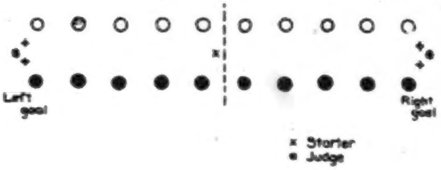

Fig. 38. Diagram of shinny game.

The ball for shinny was about the size of an indoor baseball, made of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The stick for striking it was two or three feet long, hooked at one end like a hockey stick. It was made from an unidentified wood (cqüsqan'kí'ľp) which was very tough and heavy (and incidentally used for no other purpose). The striking face of the hook and the bottom were flat. In a mêlée the hook could be used for pulling the ball away from other players and its flat surface then used for driving the ball down the field. Each man made his own stick, seldom loaning it to another.

For the playing ground a smooth, level field 150 to 200 yards long was chosen. A goal was marked at each end, either by holes in the ground, two and a half feet in diameter (in which the ball was supposed to lodge) or by two stakes between which the ball was driven. In the latter case, the ball might be driven through either from behind the goal or from the field in front of it. The field had no other definite bounds.

The game commenced with the two teams of ten or twelve men each (one informant said an indefinite number) lined up as diagrammed (Fig. 38), the upper team facing the right goal, the lower the left goal, as most players were right-handed and swung their sticks in the manner of a right-handed golfer. The leader (xatü'c) of each team

524 ring as it lay, raised from the ground only by the thickness of the pole. He threw his poles one by one, losing a point for each failure, until he succeeded, or lost all of his counters, which numbered twenty or twenty-five. A successful throw entitled him to roll the hoop. The game continued until one side or one individual won all of the counters.

This game was played by both men and boys, in the summer time.

In a game called ləla'mi'nəm the same poles were used as in the preceding game, ləla'usəm, and a similar field was required. A target on the ground was used in this case. Any object, such as a piece of tule, served as a target. Any number of players participated. Each, in his turn, stood on the same spot about thirty feet from the target and threw one pole as close to it as possible. After all had thrown, the one whose pole was nearest the target (that is, any part of the pole, unless the point was previously specified), won one counter. The first contestant to win ten counters was victor.

This was a man's game, and accompanied by betting.

A variant of the preceding game, called by the same name (ləla'mi'nəm) was played by children as well as adults. The same pole was used, but the point was sharpened. The poles were thrown so that they would stick in the ground. The first participant set the mark with his pole. Others attempted to come as near to the first one as possible. If a pole fell to the ground it became the property of the first player, and its former owner was eliminated from that game.

A bow and arrow game was played by both boys and men.

Slings were used by men and boys in a game, the object of which I am uncertain, but distance or the hitting of a target was probably involved. The sling was made of buckskin and Indian hemp cord. The buckskin piece had one hole for holding the pebble and two small ones in each side through which the string was tied. When it was desired to let the stone fly the cord attached to one side was let loose, the other held. Another device for throwing stones, serving to increase the effective length of the arm, was a thin paddle like stick of willow. The length was about eighteen inches. The end against which the pebble was placed was shaved very thin.

A limited number of sleight of hand tricks was performed. A string, wrapped around the fingers, wrist or arm was so looped that in pulling it free it apparently passed through the limb encircled.

Cat's cradles were made as a pastime by adults, and for the amusement of children. Tipi, owl and rabbit were some of the designs.

ATHLETIC GAMES

526 Shinny was usually played only by boys, but occasionally adults, both men and women, participated. A level field of considerable length, at least 200 feet, was required. The goals were marked by robes laid at either end of the field, or holes were dug in the ground. The ball was made of buckskin stuffed with grass; it was the size of the ordinary baseball or smaller. At the beginning of play the ball was placed in the middle of the field, either on the ground or elevated some-

what on a mound of earth. One member of each team stood opposite the other, with the ball between them. The stick used was simply a tree branch of any kind with a crook at the bottom. Each of the two players struck at the ball when the signal was given, and started it in motion. The ten to thirty players forming each side attempted to drive the ball past the opponents' goal. No player was allowed to touch the ball with either hand or foot. Skiliui players were stationed near the outside of the field; poorer ones near the center. When one team drove the ball past the opponents' goal two out of three times they won the game. The victors customarily challenged the bystanders to produce a team that could defeat them.

Shinny was played only during the spring, at which time it was very popular. Double ball shinny was not known.

Marathon races for distances of twelve to sixteen miles were run by teams composed of two or three men. The man who finished first brought victory to other members of his team as well, though they may have fallen out long before (which was usually the case; ordinarily only one man from each team finished). Bets were placed by the participants and others prior to the race.

Races to the tops of nearby mountains were also common. Each individual vied with every other one; teams were not formed. The race did not include the return; the one first to reach the top was winner.

Races between two picked runners to a point about a mile and a half distant, and return, were popular and were accompanied by liberal betting. The halfway point was marked by a pole or a tree, around which the contestants were required to run before starting the return lap. At this point betters gathered to encourage their runners as they passed. Well known runners were often challenged by members of other villages. Sometimes women ran in such races.

Jumping contests included the running broad jump, standing broad jump and the high jump.

A gymnastic trick involving jumping was performed by grasping the ends of a stick about two feet long, holding it downward at arm's length, and attempting to jump over it. Another trick consisted of holding a similar stick tight against the back of the ankles while a jump of as great distance as possible was made.

Another gymnastic trick, comparable to "skinning the cat," was executed by grasping one end of a stout pole about five feet long, placing the other end firmly on the ground with the pole slanting, rigidly extending the body to form a ninety degree angle with the pole, and retaining this position while completely rotating the body.

Weight lifting and weight putting were among the oft repeated tests of strength. Stones of various sizes served as weights.

In another game of strength two contestants sat opposite each other on the ground with the soles of their feet touching. Both then grasped a short stick, one individual placing his hands next to each other in the middle while the other's were on the outside. Each pulled with all his strength, with the object of raising the other from his position. This contest was occasionally accompanied by betting.

526 Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[8] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognized. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[9]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

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857 Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

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[8] See page 136.
[9] See page 54.

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Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

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Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu's, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'χum, "chief"
Queen	tuqłumi'lux ͫ, "feet"
Flush	sįaia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	χaxt.tu', "straight"
Straight flush	χaxt.tusqaia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kałłi'łł, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'sas, "four alike," etc.
Pair	ƛali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asslu·'lax ͫ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kmumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sam, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'ə'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	smułmłuqua'pulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqita·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	sià'nam, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksχantcə'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imantcə'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

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Smoking (sma'ux ͫ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

791 754 it caused only a painful swelling, which a shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 778 526 Power helped people to play games. When players of two tribes came together for a match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling, but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[1] [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

[1] See also Individual Life Cycle.

count may be due to the faulty knowledge of our informant. On the whole, the simple form of the game seems to be more common among western Indians generally than the more complicated form (No. 1. above). However, both types have been definitely recorded for the Makah and Klallam.[8] It is possible that further investigation would reveal the occurrence of both forms in other tribes. 525

SHINNY

Shinny (sk!pökü'lt'n or spö'klam) was an important summer game. Tribal teams made special trips to play it, accompanied by large numbers of spectators who cheered 526●

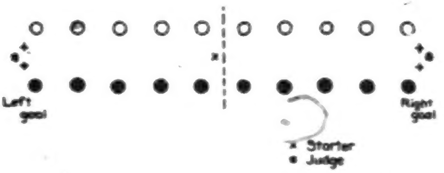

Fig. 38. Diagram of shinny game.

their champions and bet heavily on the outcome of the game. Teams were usually formed by men, but teams of women occasionally travelled from place to place challenging local women players. [525]

The ball for shinny was about the size of an indoor baseball, made of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The stick for striking it was two or three feet long, hooked at one end like a hockey stick. It was made from an unidentified wood (cqüaqen'kī'łp) which was very tough and heavy (and incidentally used for no other purpose). The striking face of the hook and the bottom were flat. In a mêlée the hook could be used for pulling the ball away from other players and its flat surface then used for driving the ball down the field. Each man made his own stick, seldom loaning it to another.

For the playing ground a smooth, level field 150 to 200 yards long was chosen. A goal was marked at each end, either by holes in the ground, two and a half feet in diameter (in which the ball was supposed to lodge) or by two stakes between which the ball was driven. In the latter case, the ball might be driven through either from behind the goal or from the field in front of it. The field had no other definite bounds.

The game commenced with the two teams of ten or twelve men each (one informant said an indefinite number) lined up as diagrammed (Fig. 38), the upper team facing the right goal, the lower the left goal, as most players were right-handed and swung their sticks in the manner of a right-handed golfer. The leader (xatü'c) of each team

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stood at the center of the field. The starter (a neutral), holding the ball, stood between them. The better players of each team lined up just ahead of the leader, to receive the ball first if he succeeded in driving it toward their goal. There was no definite order in the positions taken, most of the players taking places at random. At each end of the field, behind the goal, stood a judge or umpire (côqû'a'tsûm) authorized to discipline either team for fouling.

The starter began the game in either of two ways. He might throw the ball into the air between the two central men, who then struck it as it fell, or he might place the ball between them and call "go." The two central players then struck at the ball with their sticks, each endeavoring to drive it towards his own men who stood in the direction of the goal at the leader's left. No player was permitted to cross the line of the center of the field until the ball had been driven across it; thus only one-half of each team began the action. As soon as the ball had crossed the center line, all players followed it.

It was not permitted to pick the ball up by hand, although in strenuous playing as the ball approached a goal, it was permissible to push it forward with the hand or the bottom of the foot. In the open field only sticks were used. To pick up the ball, or to strike another player intentionally with a stick constituted a foul, which the judges penalized by ordering the ball returned to the center of the field and the play started over. If the playing became too rough, judges might stop the game, but there were no rules against pushing, holding, even wrestling with a man, to lift him and throw him aside. Minor accidents were frequent and sometimes a player was badly injured. No substitution was allowed during a game, however, and no one stopped playing even when exhausted or hurt. Intermissions were made when the two leaders arranged them; when the players could bathe their wounds and bruises in cold water.

A game was ended when one side made two more goals than the other; these two need not be successive. After a goal the teams exchanged goals and lined up to a new start. As many games were played as the teams desired, usually more than two at a match, often four or five. Bets were arranged before each game; individual players often betting more than the spectators. If stakes were high, a third party was asked to judge whether the two stakes were of even value, to be a witness of the negotiation, and to see that its terms were carried out fairly.

Shinny had not been played much since the coming of the whites, and few Indians now know the game. [177]

The term xatû'c to designate the leader of a shinny team is the same as that designating the leader in the hand-game, or at a salmon trap or a hunt. In this case it does not appear to have the usual implication of a person possessed of special supernatural power.

First choice of goals for shinny was decided between the two leaders. A flat stick was spit upon and then thrown; the players then chose "wet" or "dry" as we choose "heads" or "tails" in tossing a coin. The surface of the stick turning up at the fall decided the choice.'

Another method of deciding the choice is described as follows: a stick was thrown from one player to a second who caught and grasped it in one hand. The first player then placed his hand above that of the second on the stick, and so on, mounting rapidly to the top of the stick. The last hand to fit the stick won first choice of goals. If the last person had a secure enough grasp of the stick to throw it over his head, the grip counted as a "hand." This method does not appear to be aboriginal.

HOOP-AND-POLE GAME

The hoop-and-pole game was played by the Southern Okanagon, but it has been obsolete for so long that most informants failed to remember details. Accounts obtained also varied considerably, perhaps because the informants came from different localities. The most complete description was given by an informant of Wenatchi affiliations (Billie Joe) who had travelled a good deal in the north and among neighboring tribes to the west. He described the game as played by Southern Okanagon, but his account may be colored by outside experience.

The hoop was a ring, twelve inches in diameter, with a foundation of a green willow or service berry branch about three-quarters of an inch thick. The outer bark was peeled off and the stick held over a blaze while it was bent slowly into a circle. Each end was whittled to a thin edge and joined with a two inch wrapping of sinew. The entire hoop was then wrapped with a strip of rawhide three-fourths of an inch wide, the edges of the rawhide meeting at each turn of the spiral. Wrapping began and ended at the splicing point on the ring, the last loose end being tucked back under the wrapping to finish. A final wrapping was then made, of wet buckskin strips, one-eighth of an inch wide or narrower, which had been previously stretched. When this outer wrapping dried, the hoop was solid. Clay was never used instead of the wooden base, as by the Sanpoil." The hoop was not decorated or marked in any manner.

Ten poles were usually made to each hoop. They were of unpeeled willow or service berry branches, an inch thick, forked

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8 Culin, Games, 197, 155; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 274.
9 The rules of the game seem to have been over-formulated by the informant. —
10 Ray, Pottery on the Middle Columbia, 127.
11 This seems impossible, else the game would be unending. — L.S. 1

p.190(A)

1[For context of footnote, see p. 190(B), category 116. --Analyst] at one end (the handle). The unforked end was sharpened to a point. The pole was also unmarked.

The alley for the game was a space of ground about sixteen feet wide and perhaps one hundred feet long, cleared and levelled. The players (usually six men or six women; never both sexes together) lined up at intervals along the alley, three to a side. Each player had an opponent directly opposite him. All held their poles in readiness. Some players preferred poles three feet in length, others five feet. Those with shorter poles stood further back from the alley, as the shorter pole could be thrown for a greater distance.

Any player might start the game. Standing at either end of the alley, he rolled the hoop down the runway, throwing out and down from the right shoulder. (Left-handed men threw from the left shoulder.) At each throw of the hoop, facing opponents decided which of them should try first to stop the hoop with his pole as it reached their section of the alley. Each player threw as the rolling hoop passed him, until the ring was stopped. The man stopping the hoop with his pole, threw for the next play. If the hoop were not stopped, the thrower walked to the opposite end of the alley and threw again from that point.

For counters, six twelve inch sticks were used, whittled flat and sharpened at one end for sticking in the ground. Two scorers for each side sat at one end of the alley. To score, the sharpened end of the pole must be thrown through the center of the hoop so that it would fall over on the pole and stop. The player making the score then had to call out, "We won one stick. Put a stick in the ground for us;" otherwise the score was not counted. If a player threw his pole and missed, he dropped from the game, and if his side had previously won a point, it became null."[1] If the thrown pole hit the outer edge of the hoop, there was no score but the player might stay in the game. To win, one side must score all the counters.

There was no opportunity for cheating in playing or scoring. Bets were made on the game only when other tribes came to play (?), at which time each side had a "man with power" to assist. These men went off alone before the game and smoked their pipes. During the game they watched and "thought about their power." If one of them thought that his side was losing, he took out his pipe and smoked again to give his people strength. A game was not abandoned if one team knew beforehand that the other side had a more powerful spirit behind it; the doomed players would be "ashamed to back out."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 190 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Two other informants, one a Northern, one a Southern Okanagon, were less clear in their recollection of the game; but their agreement on a number of points indicates clearly that their reference was to a rather different form of the hoop-and-pole game. Only two people played in this game. The alley was a straight trench dug in the ground. One player rolled the hoop along the trench, while the other attempted to stop it with his pole. The hoop was only three or four inches in diameter: informants were not sure how it was made. Both hoop and pole were marked for the purpose of scoring, the pole with different colored lines and the hoop with corresponding marks on the inner rim. The Southern informant stated that the ring was marked with eight shells or beads, called by numbers, one to eight. The line on the spear and the marker on the hoop touching each other in the fall, determined the score. If the hoop fell so that it lay entirely on the spear, it scored eight points. This indicates that the object of the game was simply to knock the hoop, causing it to fall on the pole, as it would be impossible for the ring to lie entirely on the pole if the spear were thrown so as to pass through the hoop as in the game described above. The systems of scoring also appear to differ: a scoring throw made only one point in the game first described, while in the second the score varied according to the positions assumed by the marked hoop and pole. A further difference is in terminology, but this may be merely a dialectic variation. The name for the game given by the informant with Wenatchi connections was kaqa′tsEla, that given by the Southern Okanagon was sxElq[illegible]la^{xu}.

The game described by the two older informants appears to be quite similar to that played by the Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne and Northern Okanagon, according to Teit."[1]

BALL, BAT, AND HOLE GAME

A "ball, bat and hole" game (skEtsa′pEtsanEm) resembling cricket, was played in the summer months. The ball used was the same as that used for shinny. The bat was flat and widened at the distal end. Four men played this game, two to a side. Two holes were dug in the ground about fifty yards apart. To begin the game, players ranged themselves as shown. The side is designated by the subnumeral, the player by capital letter:

Goal Goal
A_2 A_1 0 0 B_1 B_2

A_1 and B_1 are at bat at the goal holes. A_1 throws the ball to B_1 who must strike at the ball with his bat. If he misses and B_2

[1] [For footnote, see p. 191 (c), category 116.--Analyst]

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catches the ball, side 1 loses its turn to bat. If both miss, B_1 throws the ball back to A_1, who attempts to hit it. If B_1 hits the ball at the first throw, however, he and his partner (A_1) exchange goals. It is not necessary for the runner to reach the goal with his foot in this exchange of sides, but simply to come close enough to insert his bat in the hole while still grasping it. Meanwhile opponents on the "out" side (A_2 and B_2) try to hit or touch one of the runners with the ball before he can insert his bat into the hole toward which he is running. It is permissible for the "out" players to throw the ball to one another in this attempt. If side 2 succeeds in thus blocking the exchange of goals, side 1 loses its bat and side 2 comes to bat, side 1 now assuming the "out" positions.

Each successful exchange of goals counted one point for the side at bat. The score was kept with stick counters. For each score made by side 1 a counter was stuck in the ground. When side 2 came to bat, for each score made by them a counter was removed from the tally of side 1 until no counters were left standing; then, for each subsequent score made by side 2 a counter stick was stuck in the ground, and the process repeated. The game ended when one side made a predetermined number of points."[1]

RACING AND WRESTLING

Foot races (sk·ötlaxnEm) were a feature of summer gatherings, with much betting. A fast runner from one band would run against a champion from another locality. Races were always run to a point marked by a tree, a stake, or a rock, around this point and back to the starting place. Occasionally races were run by women, but contestants were more often boys or young unmarried men. Suszen stated that a chief who wanted to furnish amusement would race with a young man. There were no relay races."[1]

Horse races (sênkEtsaasqa′x̣a) were run in the same fashion, never more than two riders racing at a time.

Wrestling (cx̣ûx̣tEnw$^{x̣û}$) was engaged in by young men or women. Intertribal champions were always men, wrestling for their group at the summer camps. The combatants embraced each other; each wrestler grasping his own left wrist with his right hand behind the opponent's back. Bets were placed on the contest before the match began, after which the combatants decided how many throws were to win. "Wrestling is play."

In wrestling and racing, the strength of the contestant's power was important. When an able man was defeated, it was be-

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 191 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst

p. 191 (B)

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lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlIalEwa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners." Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. Although bark cradles were not use
[854] for infants by the Southern Okanagon, littl girls sometimes made doll cradles which wer small models of the bark cradles used b Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pēlēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sŭEnŭswal'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

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15 See also ~~Mary Carden~~'s account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange. 439

VII. WARFARE

WEAPONS.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. 411 721 War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sxleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. [526] They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[204] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[205] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[206]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[204] *a*, fig. 246.

[205] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[206] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

524 The ball-and-pin game was common, and was the same as among the Thompson.[233] The pin consisted of a sharpened stick or bone, and the ball of grass, tule, or bark. In the early summer balls for this game were often made of the growing heads of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) before the flowers came out. It is said that some of the ball and other games that were in vogue long ago have now been forgotten, and even the names of some games are no longer remembered.

526 SPORTS.—Many kinds of athletic games and sports were at one time practiced. Favorite winter sports, engaged in by old and young of both sexes, were coasting and sliding. Coasting slides were made on open parts of hillsides, and the toboggans consisted of pieces of rawhide and bark, which were bent up in front. Sliding was practiced on good smooth ice, after a light fall of dry snow, and was much enjoyed.

Tugging or pulling games were common. In one of these, hooks made of eagle bones were used, two men pulling against each other until one bone broke. Pulling with the middle fingers and pulling on a rope was practiced. Sometimes teams of men took part in rope pulling.

Wrestling contests were common among men, and women also wrestled occasionally. A wrestling match between women often furnished great amusement to the spectators.

All the Indians could swim. The arms were worked dog fashion, and they struck out with the right foot. Sometimes there were swimming races. Nearly all the men could dive, and some men could dive right across St. Joe River.

Foot racing and canoe racing, and in later days horse racing, were common. Jumping for distance and height were both practiced, and also the standing jump, running jump, and vaulting.

A catching game was in vogue, called "making slaves." Two goals were marked at opposite ends of the playground with stones, poles, pegs, or scratches in the earth. On the clapping of hands by a "chief," who sometimes stood in the middle, the game commenced. The object was to touch the hands of any person of the opposite side, and then return and reach one's own goal without being caught by him. The person caught was considered and called a "slave" or "captive of war," and was conducted over to the enemy lines by the person who caught him. The game continued thus until one side was out. Women often participated in this game.

A kicking game[234] was in vogue among men, especially at gatherings where there were many young men. There were contests in this game between men of different villages and of different bands.

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[233] Peabody Museum, Nos. 362, 403.

[234] This game was also common among the Thompson.

578 173 *lxx* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kxsaskai'lxx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kxsaskai'lxx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kxsaskai'lxx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] Cat's 526 cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue.[7] A famous rendezvous of

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 256.
[2] a, pp. 272, 273.
[3] a, p. 274.
[4] a, pp. 274, 275.
[5] a, pp. 277, 278.
[6] See p. 123.

526 the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

201 A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

565 575 621 ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

622 CHIEFS.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitclū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 177
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE 173

According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat 201
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not

524 755 855 861 Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

593 855 Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

[527] Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

515 856 868 The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

462 857 Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stx̌a'lə̆m) has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch. 535 171 796 439

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home. 439 431 527● [834]

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning 527 439

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527 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in 574 the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. 439 When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsIū'ū^x) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmI'^{xū}) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (StuwI'x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SūqwEtI'kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[For context of footnote, see p. 78 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96 f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket.
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar.

572 me and I will give you things." They would
431 agree to exchange presents and hospitality
as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinûqōẋhwĭtstûĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tûĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ûĕ; a gift chwĭtax.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 Among many groups the men had regular
partners with whom they preferred to trade
572 when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups
often went, and the women went along, for
439 they were useful for carrying and the care
of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like
[527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter
dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people
[584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 By the time that full middle life was
reached, social recognition of individual
554 differences was achieved. Differentiation
in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 377
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 427
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands
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the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[290]

Festivals.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given 431
were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of 527
one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which
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no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they [522]
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[290] *a*, pp. 295, 296; *b*, p. 246.

431 527 leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[291] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

[535] Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

534 Musical Instruments.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[292] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[293] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[294] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide [294] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[294] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[291] a, pp. 297-299.

[292] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 a.

[293] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 b.

[294] See Nez Percé b, p. 230.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

567 Slaves.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

551 Names.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

421 Property.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. 421 On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. 431 Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

● 527 [431] Festivals.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntcixa'nk* or *ntsehă'nk* or *toxto'xᴇm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'ᴇm*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents

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[5] For instance, *Ä'tsnaᴇn* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 263 to 276. The names *Skelí's*, *Welé'pkᴇn*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[1] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe[2] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[1] See e, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.

[2] See l, figs. 107-109.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements 221
of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened 311
by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places 421
were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

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[290] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

252 out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day
342 progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house
354 could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added
on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

285 Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cook-
314 ing and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the
implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread,
352 and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been
415 noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

285 Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tsιtsa'-
314 pax*), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups,
415 berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory.
To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic.
484 Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xləkət'cι'n; water containers, əməmi'l'xmən. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

~~283~~ Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce
285 roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or
314 three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working
415 with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were
[321] used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with
[390] wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in
the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

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[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a 285
tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed 314
through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One
variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong 415
was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed.

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was 251
never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 283
2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches
in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket 314
for various products. 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various 482
names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumasti'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying
personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These [331]
were almost invariably decorated.

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers
mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such [137]
bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardized in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches.

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The 285
inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lp^u, "sour- 386
plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed [132]
to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called ququpui'lp^u, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lp^u, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverized and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses.

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloqəlke'n) were utilized extensively 285
for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of 313
the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two

feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk. The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

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The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

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Birch bark baskets (ṗi'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large numbers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots, the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrapping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqa'istan). Indian hemp was used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'pəlap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, naqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches. The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple design of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

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MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (snta·"min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spɛ'ksman) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called stita'tlam, "little canoe," in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common. 322 415

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'man). It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint. 321 322 415 [531]

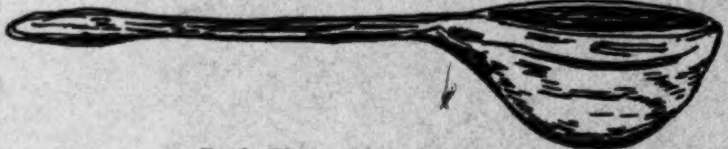

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were substituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to hold food. [285]

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another. 264 415

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 322 324 412

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Extensive use of buckskin characterized the second or middle period. When that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kililxwa'katxəntən) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

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Foot wear in the form of moccasins (səpəsi'pi'xən) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

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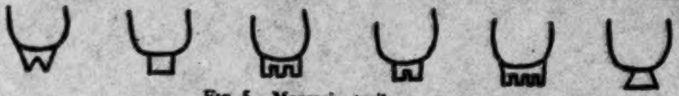

Fig. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

291 Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch
291 grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around
531 the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple
geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (sq̓wa'l')
on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with
quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

294 Caps (kwa'tskan) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (skmálkwá'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

177 The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than
281 either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article
291 of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'à'lks) (Plate 1, Figure
A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom
either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'á'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin [531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 776 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
531 three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew,
forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers
were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder.
Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and
feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable
prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from
arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The
Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors,
perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result
in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the
penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some orna-
mentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for
its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The
shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
292 Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoul-
der and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large
whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright.
Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they
were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two
were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

237 292 301 531 Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

[489] 301 Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iáks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

Ear ornaments (snàtsatci'na) were fashioned from shells of the fresh water clam in various shapes, notably round, triangular and rectangular. The edges were provided with holes through which sinew could be threaded for suspending the ornaments from the holes in the ear. The flat pieces of shell were polished by rubbing with sand and ashes. Rings made from sections of bone were also hung from the ears. Dentalia were not used in this manner. Ear ornaments were worn alike by men and women. 301

Labrets and nose ornaments were not known.

Such ornaments and accoutrements as those described in this section were worn during the winter ceremonial season, at assembly meetings, special ceremonies and when visiting.

FACIAL PAINTING

Facial painting was practiced for decorative, ceremonial and practical purposes. All participants in the winter ceremonials painted their faces. Shamans painted before practicing. Individuals painted to escape or avoid illness, to withstand the cold and for a multitude of other reasons. The designs used were almost unlimited, for each person attempted to decorate his face somewhat differently from anyone else. Some designs were dictated by guardian spirits. However, certain designs were more often repeated than others. Some of these are shown in Figure 6. All designs had one feature in common: the eyebrows were always 302 381

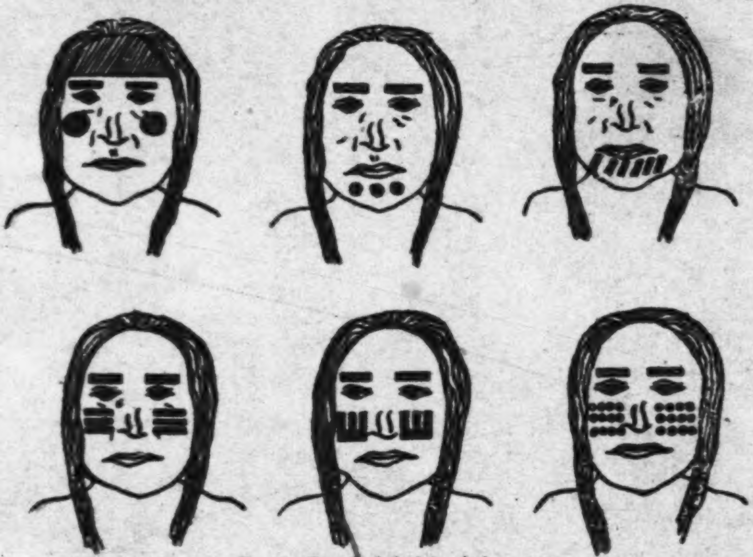

Fig. 6. Types of facial painting.

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nukmu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (axtu'lman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease; or applied dry.

[756] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes varying from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, panpana·'ks, means "folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16.

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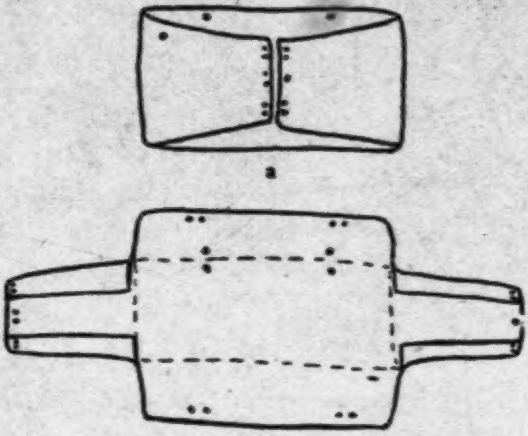

FIG. 16. Parfleche patterns; (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

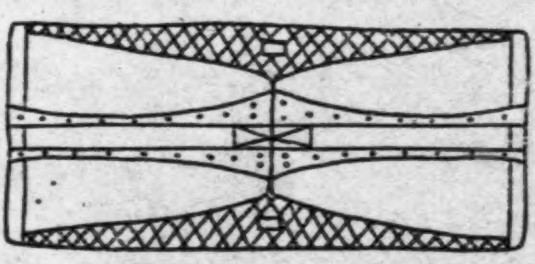

FIG. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, 177 Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, definitely is restricted to this group. 281 On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, 415 notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens 537 and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[illegible]

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. 251 These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs.

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called sunlanqu', "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the 281 hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement.

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

[illegible] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration*, *passim*.

525 The side winning the game took the pool collected by its opponents. Division of the goods was made in accordance with the value of the bet placed by each player. Winning players received back their own bets also, of course.

Women played the same game, except that smaller bones were used, and singing was the only audible accompaniment. Instead of beating on a log the women swung their arms in opposite directions, from side to side, elbows flexed.

Women are considered by the natives, at least at the present day, to be better gamblers than men—that is, they bet more freely. In pre-white times women undoubtedly played the stick game much less, however, than at present.

WOMEN'S DICE GAME

The dice game (moqumoqum'i's, "dice") was the most popular woman's gambling game. It was played at any time during the year when participants were available. Men, as well, sometimes played the dice game.

521 / 525 / 531 Four dice were used, made either of beaver teeth or deer ribs (Figure 21, a). Beaver teeth were used in their natural shape. When deer ribs were used pieces three or four inches long were cut, then steamed and straightened, polished and pointed at the ends. One side of each of the bones or teeth was incised with four concentric-circle or dot and circle designs (sqaia'i'), the other side with one to three groups of stripes (nxlapa'qen, "skunk," from the lines on the skunk's back). The incisions were filled with red or black pigment. The dots and circles were made by twirling a stone fragment with two points, one acting as a pivot. The dice were made by the women, and great pride was taken in their appearance.

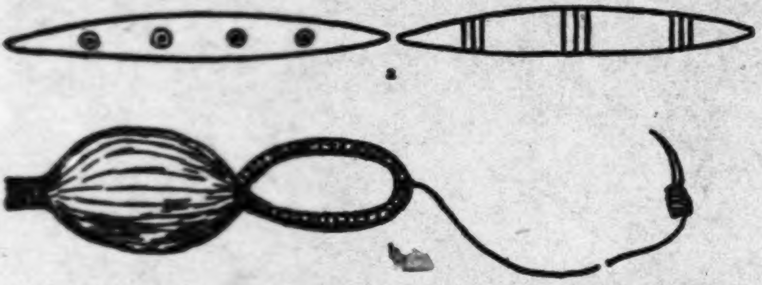

FIG. 21. (a) Bone dice for women's dice game. (b) Tule ball and thorn for ball and pin game.

525 The game involved shaking the dice in the cupped hands, then throwing them with a sidewise motion from the left side of the body onto a robe of buckskin. When deer rib dice were used they were thrown forward. Several women played at one time. Each was entitled to a turn, in order, during which she continued to throw the dice until they fell with all circles down, an arrangement which transferred the dice to the next person. Approximately fifty counters were used, form-

524 underhand swing of considerable force. Immediately both players made ready with their poles which they grasped in the right hand. Occasionally the thrower used his left hand to avoid changing over. The players followed the ring as it rolled down the plot. As soon as it hit the log at the end and started to roll back the contestants threw their poles along the ground, each attempting to place his

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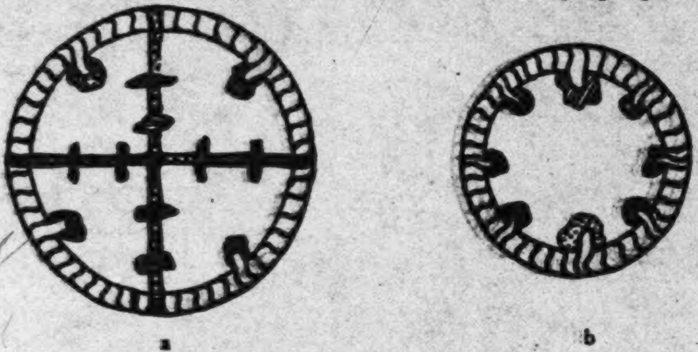

FIG. 22. Rings used in hoop and pole games.

524 in a position so that the ring would topple over the top of it. If the ring fell free of the poles it counted no score for either player. If it fell against one of the poles the score was computed by the position of the shell markers on the ring and the buckskin bands on the pole. The pendant markers on the ring counted more than the stationary ones on the cross strings, and the bands near the ends of the pole counted higher than those near the middle. Certain unusual combinations netted the player a very high score. For instance, if two of the markers on the circumference happened to rest on a band at the extremity of the pole the game was practically won. At times a single game lasted only a few minutes. In other cases it lasted an hour or more.

Players alternated in rolling the ring. The score made by each was kept with small wooden counters. Spectators acted as judges; my informant stated that their decisions were never questioned, although judgments were often difficult to make. It was sometimes necessary to blow the dust away from the ring before a decision could be made.

The players placed bets with each other on the outcome of the games. The spectators, as well, placed bets on their favorite players.

This game was played only in the summer, and exclusively by men.

A variant of the hoop and pole game described above, played in the same manner but with a different type of ring, was called suluqula'uxam. This ring was smaller, about two inches in diameter (Figure 22, b). The core was made of clay rather than wood. It was desirable to have a ring as heavy as possible for its size, hence clay was superior to wood.[3] The clay core was either moulded from

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[3] Since the advent of the whites, iron rings have been used.

poles were tied together near the top, one 171
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622

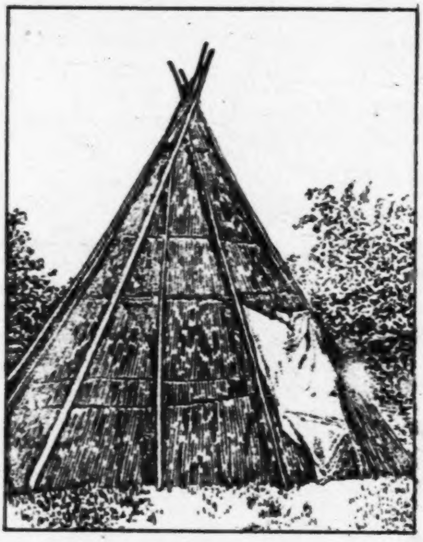

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531] ●
which covered the chief's lodge were decorated on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large [791]
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our
area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular pit about a foot deep was dug, and
three or four poles (both numbers were regularly used) sharpened and tied together at
the top were set up inside the excavation.
Other poles of smaller diameter were then
tucked in among the foundation poles, the
butt ends of all poles resting against the

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 39(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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4 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 69.1/A

291 [531]

The apron of the clout was sometimes decorated with a fringe. The belt was a piece of tanned skin tied at the front in a flat knot, bowknots being unknown in the old days (?).

Men's leggings reached from the breechclout to the moccasins. They were frequently made of wolf, coyote, or fox skin in winter, and buckskin in summer. The exact construction is not clear. Each legging was apparently made of a single piece of skin sewn or laced with buckskin on the outside of the leg and so cut as to leave a triangular flap along the seam, point downward. This was often slit in fringes. Stripes of [531] porcupine quills, shells, or feather quills were sewn down the seams and around the bottom as decoration. The legging was held on by a thong attached to the top on the outside, which was tied to the belt. The legging was not attached to the moccasin, but simply fell over it or was tucked in. Winter leggings, most often of coyote skin, were worn fur side out and were not decorated. The sides were sewn with buckskin, using an awl. Additional leggings of groundhog skin, sometimes added to eke out the length of those covering the thighs, reached from knee to ankle. Women's leggings were shorter than men's, reaching to just above the knee. They were always of buckskin and worn the year around. (Chilowhist Jim stated that they wore goat hide in winter.) The edges were tied together with three buckskin thongs on the outer side of the leg. Apperently there was no triangular flap as on the men's leggings. Decorations were of porcupine quills [531] or paint, but shells were not used.

Two types of moccasin were in use, although both come in the category of "one-piece" moccasins. One, said by informants to be the older, was made with a tongue covering the instep, the seam of the wide sole-piece extending from the toes to meet it. A later one-piece type, said to have been borrowed from the Nez Percé, has almost completely superseded the older type. This has its own seam around the margin of the sole. Both were made from smoked skin lest wetting make them stiffen. There were no sex differences in cut.

For the older style moccasin a piece of buckskin was cut larger than the sole so that it could be lapped over the sides of the foot. This was then sewn up from the toe to the instep, and vertically up the heel (Figure 9).*[1] A folded double tongue piece covering the instep was then inserted, the sole piece being slightly gathered to fit the tongue. The circular seam securing this was reinforced by inserting in it an extra strip of buckskin. A straight piece of buckskin, about three inches wide and long enough for its ends to overlap about two inches at

[1] [For footnote, see p. 43 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 43 (B)

291 buffalo skin with the hair inside. These needed no stuffing and were not decorated.

291 531 At present moccasins are undecorated except those used in the winter dances. The modern decoration is bead work in floral designs of the Great Lakes type. The old style moccasin was decorated with embroidery on the seams and surface of the inset tongue. Presumably the embroidery was done in porcupine quills in early times; after the introduction of the horse, horse hair was a common embroidery material. One pair of moccasins of the older style obtained was decorated with horse hair at the curved seam of the tongue: two lines of black horse hair at the outside, a white line inside these, and a third black line inside the white. For this several strands of hair taken in a bundle were wrapped with another bundle to form a cord-like line. The stitches of sinew with which the hair cord was sewn on passed through the turns (?) of the wrapped bundle of hairs. The two center lines of hair were thicker than the two outer lines. A tassel of hair about two inches long was left on the right side of each moccasin.

291 The man's shirt was made of two deer skins, neck end up, sewed together over the shoulders. It had sleeves to the elbow, beyond which a thong might extend to tie to the gloves. Sometimes the sides were fastened only with thongs. According to Teit,[10] Northern Okanagon shirts had the margins of the neck cut circular or triangular to be bent down and sewed to the body of the shirt in the manner of the pendant flaps of Plains shirts. A poncho-like shirt made of a single skin with a hole cut for the head to pass through was also worn. Fringes and embroidery were not emphasized. Neither the vest nor the neck wrap mentioned by Teit was described by our informants.

The woman's dress was made of two buckskins, hung from the shoulders and reaching as low as the calf or ankle. These skins had the flesh side out. One informant stated that the tail end of the skin was at the bottom of the dress because this was the broader part of the skin, but another stated that it was at the top, which agrees with Teit's information. The shoulders were either sewed or laced together with buckskin thongs. The sides of the dress were sewed together below the armpits. This stitching was well within the margins of the skin, which was purposely cut over size. The marginal portions could then be slit for fringes. The leg skins were left attached and sewed as a sort of sleeve. This was sewn along the upper side, but apparently unsewn below, or at best laced, so that it resembled a cape draped over the arm. Mary Carden mentioned sleeves of elbow length. Sleeves evidently varied greatly in length. Seams, ends of sleeves, and the bottom of the dress were usually fringed. Wealthy women added a

[10] Teit, _Salishan Tribes_, 232.

yoke to the dress. No belts were worn with 291 these dresses until recently.

The dress was decorated with paint (colored dots applied with the thumb across the 291 top and around the bottom) together with 531 short pieces of buckskin thong doubled and

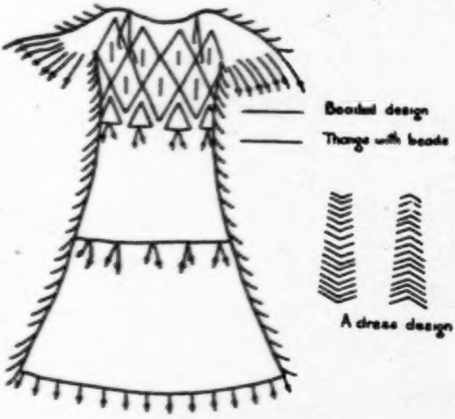

Fig. 11. Women's dress (after native sketch).

sewn on at the fold to resemble small bows. Mary Carden denied the use of painted decoration. Other dresses had designs made with bone beads or embroidery of porcupine quills along the yoke and near the bottom of the garment (Figure 11). Various special designs might be used by women with certain kinds of power. For example, a woman with power [778] against being shot would have rows of little holes around the top and bottom of her dress. On the whole, women kept articles indicative of their power hidden inside the dress. A women with the power of a swift bird might have some of its feathers tucked into the buckskin ties on her shoulder: when pursued she would throw these feathers behind her.

Porcupine embroidery was said to be made by doubling the quill, slipping the ends through two holes close together. The ends were then interlocked or tied with buckskin on the under side. (This may well be questioned.) Designs used were a series of short parallel lines, squares, triangles, zigzag lines, and chevrons. Beads or shells (including dentalium shells) were sometimes attached to the fringes. The use of beads was learned from the Nez Percé.

Some notes on design styles in general were obtained from Cecile. Solid dots and concentric circles were used; the dot within a circle as a unit being unknown. Long before the earthquake (about 1870) they were

291 using floral designs, but these were much more crude than current examples.

531 Hill-Tout[11] states that women's dresses as a rule were made of finer, softer material than men's, and were often more highly ornamented.

[285]

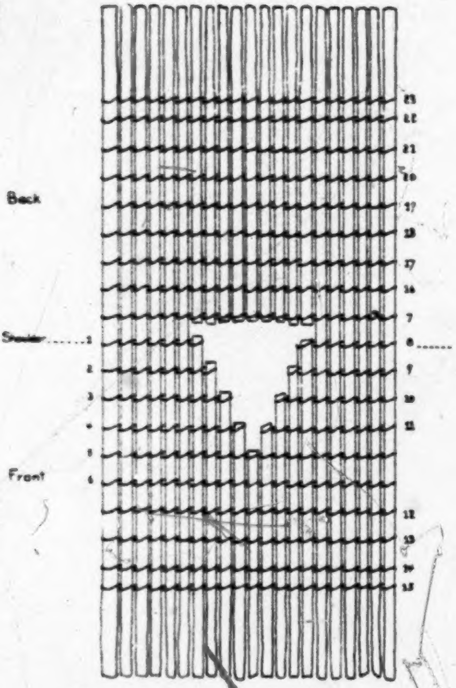

Fig. 12. Diagram of method of twining woman's poncho-like shirt.

296 317 Buckskin clothes might be cleaned by spreading wet white or red clay over them and scraping it off with the bone skin scraper after it had dried. A white clay for the purpose was obtained from a lake above Riverside: this, called q'ō̆lō̆'q'ōtc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth.

291 Skirts were sometimes worn. These were decorated with a fringed piece of skin sewn around the lower border so that the ends of the fringe hung even with the bottom of the skirt. The skirt reached only to the waist where it was drawn tight with a buckskin thong tied at the back.

Sagebrush skirts were formerly worn by women who apparently could not afford better materials. Such a skirt consisted of two

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[11] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.

p. 46 (A)

291
285
aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

[292
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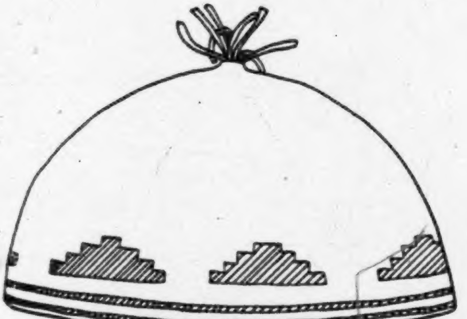

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

292
841
839
During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

292
Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary 292
Carden stated that capes were not made of
willow bark.

Large robes of deer, bear, or several 291
skins sewn together served both sexes for
bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side
was worn in and the outside was often decorated 513
with concentric circles in paint or
porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall 531
the beaded bosses on Plains belts and
robes.) These were worn about the shoulders
and fastened in front by means of a skin or
hemp thong passing through small holes. A
specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel
living among the Okanagon, measured
forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12]
Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the [439]
Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were
valuable: worth a horse. Other than this
there was not much trading in articles of
clothing.

These robes were spread over grass or 513
soft bough tips in the houses for bedding.
Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or
three boys lay together on the father's side;
girls similarly on the mother's side. The
fur was placed next to the body.

No evidence was obtained of certain 291
features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes
of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of
woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted
and embroidered, or finely embellished
capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark.

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by women 292
on gala occasions, not as protection
against the tump line. These were dome-shaped 285
and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13)
had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green 531
and red stripe around the bottom, and above
this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating
with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket
hats were worn.)

A special type of hat, which could be 292
worn only by a man with strong power, was
made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a 778
crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear
flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14).
The flaps were tied under the chin with buckskin
thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow-

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[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and 292 others had them, they were not formerly used by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of 292 the typical Plains type. 531 The head band was occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong net was used, with meshes one inch apart. The feathers, of which there were one or two dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart on the band, their flat sides outward. These bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which might reach even to the ground. The lower end of each quill was cut down to a strip, which was passed through the fabric or skin of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were often decorated with tassels of horse hair or down. No other ornaments were attached. [622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[15] and by them only on special public occasions or when travelling.

[302]

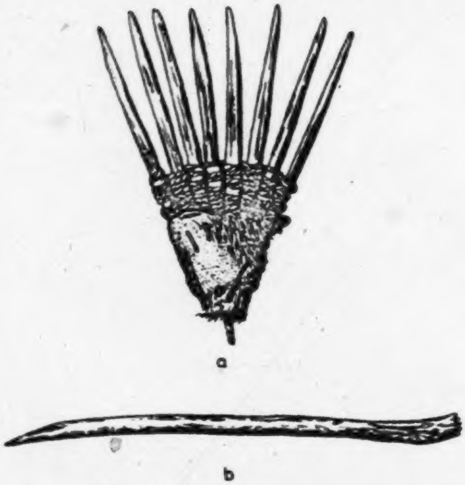

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

293 211 554 622 Before the introduction of the Plains bonnet, feathers were worn with the following significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers flat on the head. One feather indicated a single matter of business, two feathers indicated two matters of business. Scouts wore one or two feathers upright, depending on the prestige and standing of the individual. Three feathers indicated a chief. Such standardization seems highly dubious. [778] The wearing of feathers was also connected with power, in that an individual without the proper power could not wear feathers without suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[15] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48(A)

854 were sharp, but in a specimen seen in the field (Figure 19) they were somewhat rounded. Six holes, in pairs, were bored down each side of the cradle to receive the loops necessary to lace the bedded infant to the cradle if the board was to have no pouch attached (Figure 17,b). Three loops on each side were then formed of a cord (thong ?) which passed in and out of the pairs of holes, beginning from the under face of the board. A willow bark pad was tied between the uppermost pairs of loop holes to lie under the child's neck; a second similar pad was tied between the middle pairs of holes to rest under its knees (Figure 17, b,1,2). Baby and bedding were laced in by a buckskin thong passing through the three pairs of loops. This thong was permanently tied to the lower left loop (that is, on the baby's right side and was carried first to the opposite lower loop, thence to the left and right middle loops, thence to the upper left loop,and was finally tied at the upper right by a simple knot followed by a half-loop.

When a pouch was to be attached to the trapezoidal board a row of holes was bored around the periphery (to judge by the specimen shown in Figure 19; there being no other data). The pouch itself was evidently shaped much like thaft of the baby's first cradle.

In all trapezoidal boards a hole was bored in each upper corner to receive loops to which the tump line was attached. These loops were of tanned skin from the neck of a deer, which is tough; the tump line was bearskin, worn with the fur side next the carrier's head. The ends of the broad tump strap were brought through each loop, lapped back, and sewn with buckskin thongs. A shade bow was also previded to hold a covering away from the baby's face, so that it might at once allow plenty of air, yet keep off the flies. This arch was a green service berry or willow branch, trimmed to a half-inch thickness and fastened in the proper shape until it dried. It was tied to the tump line loops at each side and was of such a size as to stand ten inches above the baby's face. The arch was adjustable: it could be laid flat or raised as desired. When travelling the arch was held erect by two strings tied in grooves at the top of the arch; one end of each thong extended to a hole in the handle extension at the top of the board,the other to the middle lacing loops. A mattress just the length of the child was made foruse with at least the pouched variety of this cradle, together with pillows for head and knees. These pillows were somewhat smaller (?) than those provided for the baby's first cradle.

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•531
[846]
These boards were not decorated: "the board was so small that there was no room left for painting." Strings of dentalium shells were hung from the shade bow for the baby to play with. As in all other cradles, the baby's umbilical cord, tied in a buckskin, and sometimes a fool-hen's heart, were attached to one side of the cradle near the top.

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

411 Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple."[1] The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] [1]

237 322 411 The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

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18 See Individual Life Cycle.

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 53(C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53 (A)

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 283 or of Indian hemp, the latter two ply, rolled [237] on the thigh by women. One end of the string formed a loose loop, the other was 411 lashed to the opposite nock. When the bow was not in use the loop end was loosened and slipped down the bow. Great care had to be taken that the string be new and strong, for if it should break, the bow would snap from the tension of the sinew.

Arrows for hunting were about three and 411 a half feet long, while war arrows were perhaps a foot shorter. Service berry wood was 322 used for arrows, as the pliability of this wood when moist permitted easy straightening, and its stiffness and elasticity when dry made it admirable for shooting. A fairly straight piece of wood was selected, stripped of its bark and bent straight while heating it before a fire. The teeth were used as a vice, or a perforated piece of wood (about five inches by three) as an arrow-wrench. Wrenches were also made of bone and horn. Stone straighteners were not used. Sometimes arrows were straightened by weighting with flat stones. They were smoothed by rubbing with a handful of service berry shavings or tough grass; never with a stone. Just below the nock the arrow was made thin to provide a better finger hold.

It was feathered with three vanes of eagle, grouse, or hawk feathers. These vanes [237] were always parallel to the axis of the shaft. Each feather was split and the wider half discarded. The quill of the narrow and stiffer half was shaved as thin as possible, while being held between teeth and hand. The vanes were bound on at both ends with sinew from the back of a deer. One end of the chewed and shredded sinew was held in the teeth while the other was started around the arrow about three quarters of an inch below the nock, after pine pitch had been applied. The vanes were fastened by inserting a tuft at one end under the sinew with the left hand while the arrow was rotated with the right, thus rolling the sinew around the shaft. When the vanes were neatly in place the arrow was rotated until enough sinew had been wrapped on. The forward ends of the vanes were fastened in the same way. There were no grooves into which the quills were set; neither were they bound in the middle, but fastened merely by the sticky gum and the binding at both ends. Arrows for small game [211 were often decorated with paint to facilitate finding them in the bush and probably 531] also for identification.

Before the feathers were put on, a strip 411 of sinew was wrapped spirally, or in a double spiral, about that portion of the shaft 531 where the vanes were to be. Pine pitch was smeared over this section and charcoal, red ochre, or the yellow pigment inside cotton-

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p. 53 (B)

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
531 in natural color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow,
which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads
could be made only by a man with proper
778] power. The first time he used this power
to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'ĭstin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake
278 heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely
psychological and its use was connected
[821] with the belief that contact with a lightning
struck tree would prove fatal. According
to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called
atsátsZxŭnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic
element, in food. This caused slow consumption.)
No song or spells were known to
help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows
were kept in separate quivers, but were not
protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-272, 2-273.

411 Arrows were carried in a quiver of hard rawhide slung over the right shoulder by a strap, so that it hung under the left armpit. The quiver was somewhat shorter than the arrows, so that their feathered ends protruded. Bows were also carried in quivers. Some quivers were made with a wooden bottom and had a wooden or buckskin cover. Quivers did not have a stiffening rod. Decorations were of beadwork and fringes. Both men and women made quivers.

Wrist guards were worn on the inside of the left wrist: a triangular piece of thick buckskin, one apex directed forwards and the other two connected by a thong passing around the wrist. The hide was sometimes stiff enough not to require a tie at the forward point. They may have been used only by small boys.

[412]

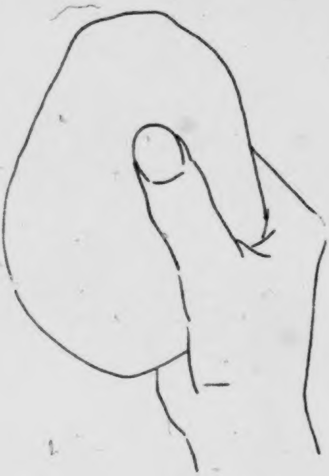

Fig. 21. Stone scraper or knife.

War clubs of the "slave-killer type were made of a stone called sqëa´sxEn. A piece of stone about two feet long and three inches thick was ground down with another stone to about the shape of the human forearm. A buckskin loop, fastened to the handle, slipped over the wrist. The club had no covering of skin or other material.

[321] A deer-horn club was made of a horn from which the tines had been cut. The horn was scraped smooth and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). The handle was somewhat thinned. This was first covered with pitch, a circular piece of buckskin wrapped over it, and bound with sinew. Pictures inspired by

● [531] the owner's power were incised or painted on the club. A similar club made of deer horn

372 this fashion, which was then distributed. At night logs were left to smoulder, turned over in the morning, and blown into flame.

Fire was carried on journeys in a fuse of sage brush bark bound with Indian hemp into a tight bundle two inches in diameter. These might be very long when new; perhaps thirty feet. About seven inches of its length burned away in twelve hours.

Cooking and Household Accessories

252 412 A piece of dried cedar wood, about twelve inches long, whittled flat at one end for half its length, served as food stirrer when cooking. A makeshift spoon or stirrer was made in summer by twisting and knotting a willow twig on itself to form a racquet (Figure 27). The tip was passed alternately over and under each successive coil encountered an indefinite number of times. The twig might be split in two for the purpose, or a forked twig used.

Meat was served by spearing with a pointed service berry or arrowwood stick about a foot long. Spits for roasting meat were made of cedar or arrowroot. They varied from two to four feet in length, and were sharpened at both ends. The meat was put on one end, while the other was stuck into the ground. Every woman had three or four roasting sticks of various sizes at hand. After meals, women rolled roasting sticks, stirrers, and the sticks used for serving meat in the mat on which the meal had been served.

412 356 Brooms were made by tying the stems of several branches together, such as white sagebrush. The dried wing of a large bird (goose, owl, eagle, etc.) was used to brush clothing, mats, and the like.

Mops used for beating up foam-berries were made by tying dried "pine grass" to the end of a service berry handle about a foot long and an inch thick. The bundle of grass, which was about ten inches long, was placed around the handle so that the ends of the grass were flush with the end of the handle. This was then bound, near the end of the stick, with Indian hemp cord. The free ends of the grass were then allowed to fall back over the end of the handle and again bound while in this position.

252 354 Cooking stones were smooth, about fist-size, and were heated on a crib of sticks which was fired from below.

Sticks for handling hot coals, stones, and the like were made of a hard, relatively noninflamable wood, such as dogwood. A pair were whittled spatula-shape at one end; their •[531] round handles being about three quarters of an inch through. The handle was decorated with incised lines filled with red or yellow clay. The designs were simple spirals around the shaft for its whole length, paralleled by dots, or a similar arrangement with spirals in opposite directions and thus crossing. The Chelan used the same kind of

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●531
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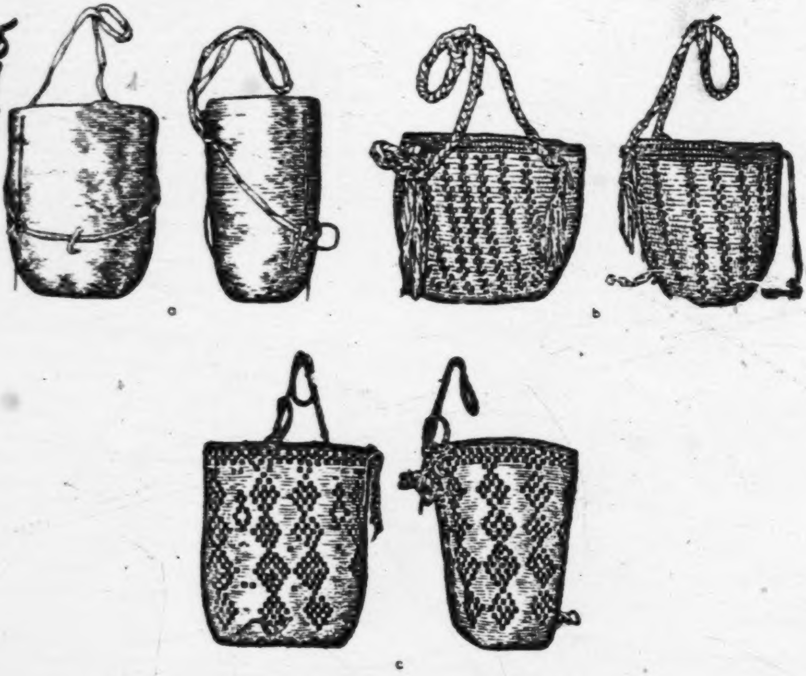

Fig. 28. Coiled baskets (front and side views).

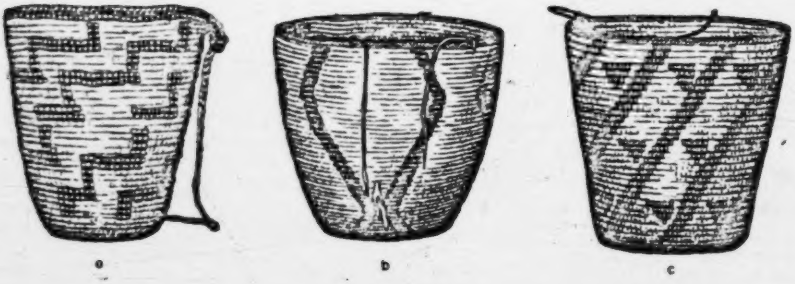

Fig. 29. Coiled baskets (a, c, Southern Okanagon; b, Wenatchi).

p.61

over the rim from the inside, and pierces 285
(from the outside) the stitch that has been
skipped. The elements of the foundation bun- 415
dle are cut off one by one at the rim so
that the foundation coil tapers to an end
and the edge of the basket is even.

Imbrication was the only mode of decor- 171
ation. This was done with a kind of grass
called slEkē´stla, which was picked in the 415
Pend D'Oreille country in midsummer. This 285
was sometimes colored with vegetable dye. Ac-
cording to Boas[28] the home of imbrication 531
seems to have been somewhere in the Cascade
region, the Okanagon having received the
trait about the time of the coming of the
whites.

Cooking baskets were always set into 252
the ground for stone boiling. They were not
washed out but scraped with the fingers,
which were promptly licked.

Twined bags with round bottoms resem- 285
bled baskets in shape (Figure 30).[29] [1] These
were made of Indian hemp, of wild hop vine 415
bark (qētslasEnI´m), or with tule warps and willow bark wefts. The tule-willow bark bag was described as follows. The bottom was first twined, working in a clockwise direction, new warp elements being added as the work proceeded. This was begun by wrapping the weft once around the warps where they crossed at the center. The tule warp elements were then bent up to form the sides. Loops of tule were put around the rim of the bag, by which it could be tightly laced when

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[28] Boas, Coiled Basketry, 139-140.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63(D), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 63(A)

filled. Bags of other materials were apparently made in an identical way. These had 285 handles of buckskin, with little buckskin reinforcements. 415 A hop vine cord specimen seen had its base in simple twining, its sides in diagonal twine. They were decorated by false embroidery in red and black, [531] worked with the inner bark of a plant called pŏ′qwē. This plant was brought by the Similkameen in bundles about five inches thick, three of which were worth a blanket. The bark was dyed in a concoction of Oregon grape root boiled in water. The lacing was always done with a two-strand Indian hemp cord. If the bag was to be carried any distance, the top was stopped with grass and leaves before it was laced. The tump line was then tied around it. Such bags were used to transport anything that was not fragile, such as dried meat, berries, or pine cones.

Flat twined bags of Indian hemp were used for carrying roots and berries, or for supplies taken on a hunting trip. They were about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches deep (Figure 31).[1] Such a bag was woven as a flat fabric, then doubled, and sewed along the sides. A buckskin handle was fastened on each side at the opening. An Indian hemp rope fastened to the handles was slung over the shoulders for carrying. As in the [531] specimen illustrated, the two faces might bear different designs. The making of corn husk sacks of Nez Percé type was derived from the Wenatchi (?) within the last two or three decades.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 63 (D), category 116. -- Analyst]

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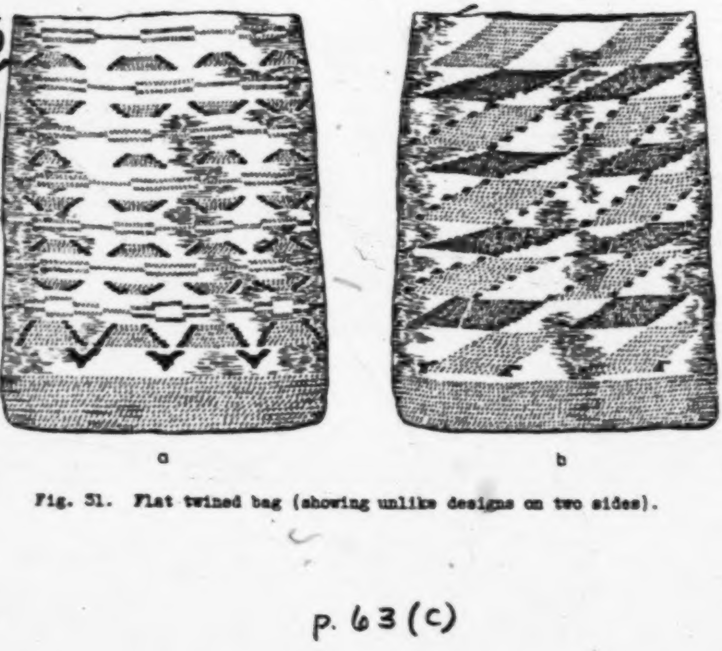

a b

Fig. 51. Flat twined bag (showing unlike designs on two sides).

p. 63 (c)

285 415 Bags similar to the flat bags above were also twined of green willow bark. A mat with single or multiple warps about four feet square was twined, doubled over, and sewed up the sides. The rows of twining were about three inches apart. This bag was filled with meat for storage, the opening laced through loops along its edge. Willow bark wears better than similar bags of tule.

314 415 Birch bark buckets were made of a single rectangular piece of bark (Figure 32).[1]

Green bark was used and could be secured at any season. Two diverging cuts were made at the middle of each end (Figure 33, a), the size and angle depending on the width of the bucket. The sides (c) were folded and the flaps at the ends (d) folded and lapped. Sewing began at the rim, proceeding until the points at the ends of the bottom (b) were folded up and sewed. The sewing element was Indian hemp or willow bark. The rim was reinforced by a green willow twig sewed inside. The ends of this twig were shaved to overlap. The rim of the bucket was folded down over the twig; the sewing, starting from the end seam, was a plain over-and-over stitch, proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction. The Indian hemp twine was poked through all holes from the outside, pulled up, over, and down on the outside, then poked through the next hole, as in coiled basketry. The termination of this sewing strand was a simple knot on the outside. [531] A characteristic of this binding is the decorative effect produced by lengthening the stitches at intervals: this also prevented the bark from splitting due to too great strain on any single line of grain. A handle of buckskin was sewed to the rim at the seam (?). Bark baskets varied in size with the material avail-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 64(D), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 64(A)

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe. 276 [562]

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?). 276 316 439

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (*Equisetum*). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold. 276 324 [531] [462]

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs. 276 623

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then 314 [137] 276

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaōta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued
this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert [324]
worker in stone, who received a price for it.
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 •531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

BAGS

Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parflèches and square hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian-hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. - Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

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WOVEN CLOTHING

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

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with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the 291
cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses 281
opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were
common among men, and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, 301
which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common
use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by
men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a
good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other
robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-
skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places.

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use 291
of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White 531 ●
earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered
with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across
the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or
triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a
wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded
or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these
styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills
applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted.

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of 301
shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair- 321
ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were
common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for neck-
laces and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of
copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common,
and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other
animals, and others of teeth of elk and horse, were used. Some pendants
were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were
attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used,
also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of
syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few
antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was uni- 304
versal, and some people tattooed.

281 them,[22] were used in cleaning all large, heavy hides. As long ago the
Coeur d'Alêne did not hunt buffalo or dress buffalo skins, the methods
of treating large buffalo hides and the adze-shaped or crooked scraper
were adopted from the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles. After iron
became common, iron scrapers replaced those of stone; but a few
people always preferred those made of stone.

It was considered best, whenever possible, to flesh and clean skins
as soon as an animal was killed. The skins were then folded while
still slightly damp, kept in place by tying or with weights, and dried.
In this state they were much lighter and easier to handle and carry.
No decoction of birch leaves was used for soaking skins. Entire
skins were sometimes dyed in a decoction of alder bark. Before
undergoing this process, they were soaked in water and dried.[23]
Instead of alder bark, decoctions made of wolf-moss or of red, yellow,
blue, and black mineral paints or earths were used. Sometimes
entire dressed (finished) skins were painted by moistening them with
water, and then rubbing them over until dry again, with wolf-moss
or with different colors of dry paints. For this purpose they were
[463] often stretched or pegged. The dressing of skins was entirely the
work of women.

281 Skins and skin clothes which had become soiled or dirty were
whitened and cleaned with a white earth mixed with water. The
296 skin was then worked with the hands until the dirt came off and it
was left clean and soft. Sometimes the skin was first beaten with
a stick, and then worked with the hands in the same way as clothes
are washed.

283 Sewing.—Thread was made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of sinew from the backs of deer, elk, and other animals.
294 Twine and rope were also made of Indian hemp, which grew plenti-
412 fully on the St. Jo[illegible]iver and in some other places. Needles were
414 made from the sm[illegible] bones of bear's feet and ankles. They were
cleaned, scraped, sharpened, and smoothed with grit stone and then
bored. Some needles were also made of syringa and other wood
of which combs were made. Some awls and pins for clothes were also
made of syringa and other hard woods. Long thorns were also
occasionally used as pins. Most awls were made of deer and bear
bones, and in shape were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[24]
Thong of dressed skin was much used for the coarser kinds of sewing
and stitching; but as a rule the best clothes were sewed with fine
294 thread of sinew or Indian hemp. Embroidery, before the advent
531 of trade beads, was done almost entirely with porcupine quills,

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[22] See Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 33 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 6.

[23] The Shuswap formerly used this method a good deal, and the Thompson to a less extent.

[24] *g*, figs. 72–74; *h*, fig. 357 *b*, *c*; Yakima, *i*, figs. 56, 57.

usually dyed two colors. A little quillwork was still done not long 294 ago. Beadwork embroidery was very common until recently, and 531 a little embroidery with silk thread has been done of late years. Seldom is embroidery of any kind now done, since the Indians ceased making decorated bags and fancy clothes for dances.

Mats.—Mats were formerly much used and were made in at least 285 three kinds of weaving. All the best mats were of rushes (probably *Typha latifolia*) and tule (*Scirpus* sp., probably *lacustre*) woven with Indian-hemp twine. Long mats of rushes and young tule were used [352] in the lodges as floor covers and for couches and seats. They were woven in the same manner as the floor or bed mats of the Thompson.[35] Another common mat used for spreading food on, or for wrapping, was of bulrushes woven in the same manner as the food or table mat of the Thompson.[36] Some coarser mats woven in the same style[37] were made of bark stripped from dead trees, generally willow. A few coarse mats of cedar bark were made long ago, and used for wrapping. They were like the cedar-bark mats of the Lower Thompson, but coarser.[38] Lodge mats were of tule sewed with Indian-hemp twine, and appear to have been like those used by the Thompson.[39] It is uncertain whether the tule or woof element of any sewed mats was twisted.[40] Tule would probably not be twisted. Berries were often spread on lodge mats. A special berry mat was made, although probably used for some other purposes as well. It was small, woven of the large leaves of an unidentified plant called *q'wa'sq'wes*, which grows near lakes. Mats were hardly ever ornamented. A few, however, had the natural colors of the rushes grouped so as to form light and dark bands, as among the Thompson. A few had the loose ends cut in several styles, as among the Kalispel. (Fig. 1.)

Woven Bags.—A great variety of bags were formerly made. 285 Oblong bags of matting doubled over, and the ends inclosed in 415 buckskin, were common.[41] As among the Thompson, bags of similar shape and with inclosed ends were woven of Indian-hemp twine[42] in twined weave.[43] These bags were used for holding roots and other things. Round bags of Indian-hemp twine, some of them with narrow mouths,[44] were also made in the same weaves as the oblong bags. Both round and oblong bags woven of rushes on an Indian-

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[35] *a*, fig. 131 *d*.

[36] *a*, fig. 131 *f*.

[37] *a*, figs. 131 *e*, *f*.

[38] *a*, fig. 133.

[39] *a*, fig. 131 *c*; Yakima, *i*, fig. 70.

[40] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 71.

[41] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 75, 77, 88.

[42] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 149.

[43] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131 *h*.

[44] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 150; Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 81.

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hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.[45] Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somzone'lp*(?), which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying.

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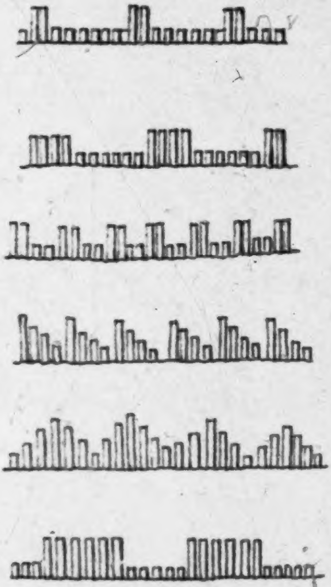

FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes. The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.[46] Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine

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[45] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

[46] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 219.

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quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

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SKIN BAGS AND POUCHES.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These [177] fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small, round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[47]

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[47] Cf. fig. 36.

237 281 415 531 Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of [177] the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflèches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflèches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other [386] colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches.

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[48] See Shuswap, *e*, pl. 13.

[49] *c*, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.

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Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint. [462]

FLEXIBLE BASKETS.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[31] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these

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[31] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

285 baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

415 531 314 **Openwork Baskets.**—Some openwork baskets or creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[52]

Birch-bark Baskets.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[53] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare [2B3] among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[54] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[55] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

285 314 415 **Cedar-bark Baskets.**—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[56] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[52] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[53] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[54] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[55] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[56] Ottawa Mus. VI, M. 72, Field Mus. 111713.

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also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. 285 They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*" 415 baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in parflêches. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.) Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbri- 285 cated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as 415 well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that no cherry or willow bark was used. 531 The grass was applied nearly always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and 221 river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They 286 had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.[57] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject 531 is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still

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[57] *a*, fig. 134.

531 green, and the stems were cured. These retained their green color to a considerable degree. Later in the season the dry grass was collected. The stems were all sorted, the whitest ones being separated from the yellow ones.

171 **Designs on Flat Wallets.**—On woven wallets of the Nez Percé
531 type made by the Coeur d'Alêne the designs are said to have been of exactly the same kind as are to be seen on wallets of the Nez Percé

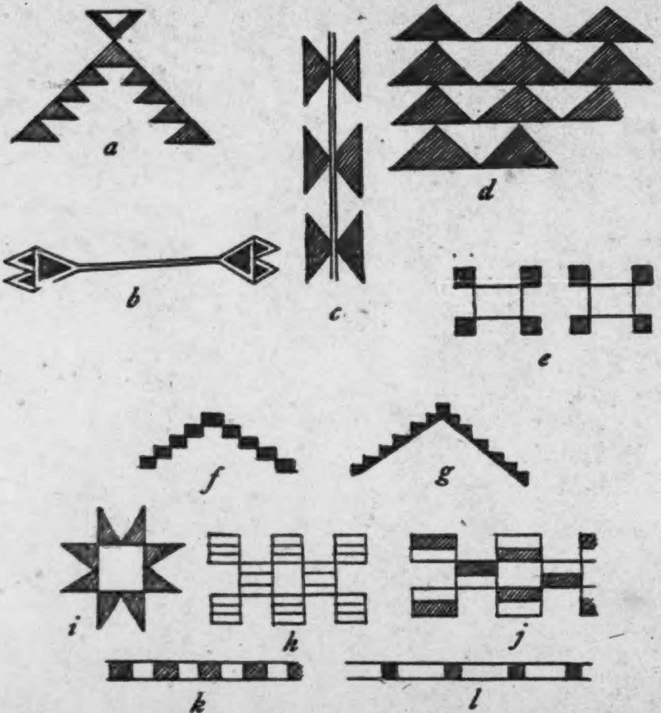

Figure 4.—Designs from woven wallets

(fig. 4)[28] and neighboring Salishan tribes. Some designs had names and others had none. All the designs were geometric, and each side of a wallet generally bore a different set of designs. So much alike were all the wallets of neighboring tribes, that a bag made by the Coeur d'Alêne could rarely be told from one made by the Nez Percé or some other tribe. I saw a few wallets among the Coeur d'Alêne, but obtained very few explanations of any of the designs on them.

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[28] b, fig. 6.

Designs on Beaded Bags.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time. I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral designs, and obtained a few explanations. 531

Designs on Rawhide Bags and Parflêches.—Rawhide bags and parflêches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur d'Alêne were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate with the Coeur d'Alêne, the latter did not know the names or meanings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alêne women were constantly making and painting these bags and parflêches, on the whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in 177 531 [462]

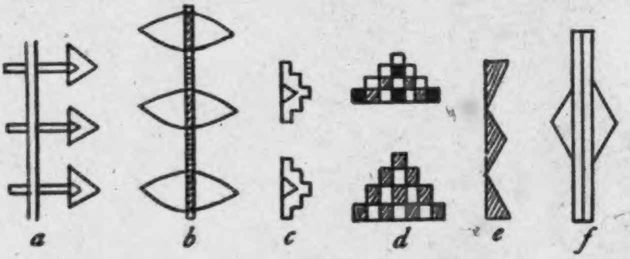

Figure 5.—Designs from beaded bags

time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflêches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflêches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

531 DESIGNS ON BARK BASKETS.—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

285 CONICAL MAT LODGE.—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered
342 with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the
Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched
on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of
mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few
inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked
up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark
[332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double
[314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These
lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It
seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles.
I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all
particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common
mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From
[592] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied
by single families.

237 SKIN LODGE.—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any
342 kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend
d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide,
as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in
by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the
Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other
kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling.
When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white
men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-
[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 LONG LODGE.—The long communal lodge was also used, especially
at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated
temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single
one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front.
Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one
or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks,
or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on
hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the
spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a
double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end.
[354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet
for the smoke.

281 294 consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others, made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together, making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair. [531] All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for [177] show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs. Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used on robes by the Blackfeet[76] and may have been copied from eastern tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips [286] of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes. Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78] Some buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar

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[76] *c*, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] *a*, fig. 131 *g*. [78] *a*, fig. 301. [79] *a*, fig. 163.

appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by 281
women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes. 294

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn 286
long ago by some people in rainy weather. 292 Both kinds reached to the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of 293
them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had 237
more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were 294
chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and
white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in 531
three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In [413]
later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both

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[110] a, fig. 191.

[111] a, fig. 194.

[112] c, fig. 15 and p. 56.

[113] c, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.

[114] c, fig. 19 and p. 57.

[115] c, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.

[116] c, fig. 25 and p. 60.

[45] unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were
237 generally used unsplit.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much
294 beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed
531 the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was
also common. White was the usual color for the background; light
177 blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[117] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

294 Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but
531 brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[118] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

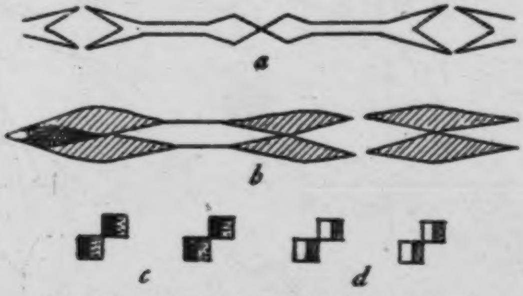

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

about an inch wide, or sometimes more, and were composed of oblongs and squares alternating in different colors. Sometimes all the lines were placed close together, so that the whole formed a field of solid beadwork. Horizontal meandering and zigzag beaded lines were also fairly common on the upper parts of women's dresses. Generally there were two or several of these at equal distances, one above another. Another ornamentation on dresses consisted of a fairly wide beaded line following the tops of the shoulders, and another following the edge of the yoke. Narrower vertical lines about 5 to 7 cm. apart connected the two all around. Beaded lines, one to four in number, composed of checks and oblongs, were often embroidered on the skirts of dresses.[119] The lines were 5 or 7 centimeters apart or more, following the bottom of the dress. On some men's shirts and women's dresses there was an embroidered or painted triangular line on the front and back. The end pointed downward, reaching almost to the waist. Inside the area inclosed by the line there were often small detached designs of dots, crosses, or triangles; and on painted shirts, sometimes realistic figures of men, weapons, animals, moon, etc. Sometimes the whole area was in solid beadwork. Some men's shirts were almost entirely covered with tiny spots of red paint, which, according to some, represented blood.

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[117] See Coeur d'Alène bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alène, No. 1.

[118] See *a*, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 320, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

Robes were painted with straight and zigzag lines and other geometric figures, as well as with pictographs of mountains, lakes, people, and animals. Some pictographs represented incidents in dreams, incidents and feats in war and the chase; and some were representations of the guardian spirit and of objects connected with it. After hunting began on the Plains the old styles of pictographs fell into disuse to some extent and paintings on robes became for the most part pictures, made as realistic as possible, of personal encounters, battles, etc., after the style of the Crow Indians. Long ago designs were also made on robes by scratching off the outer layer of skin with a sharp bone.[120] As a rule, they consisted chiefly of small triangles and straight lines, made in various forms and combinations. Sometimes long lines were made, with short lines radiating from them; triangles, diamond-shaped figures, and squares. Lines of triangles, called "arrowheads," were also made, and stepped triangles called "mountains." It is said that no designs were made on robes or clothes by searing. Elk and deer skin robes very often had the hair cut in parallel, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stripes about 5 cm. in width. The hair in the lines was either uniformly clipped halfway down to the roots, or it was clipped in steps.[121] A

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[119] See Pend d'Oreille (Flathead) specimen, Field Mus., 111909.

[120] See designs made on buffalo-skin pouch of Thompson; *a*, fig. 300; also *f*, p. 192.

[121] See Thompson, *a*, pl. 18, and Thompson specimen Field Mus., 111915.

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few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were painted red.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

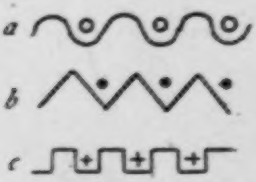

FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.[132] (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.[133] Red lines were also often painted on seams.

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MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.[134] Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from

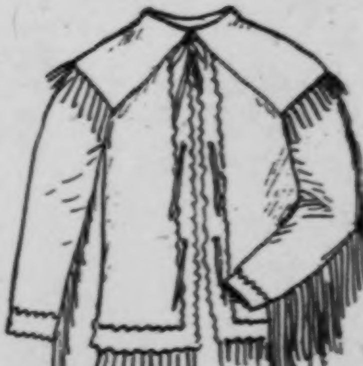
FIGURE 9.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern coat

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[132] See Thompson, a, fig. 191.

[133] For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, a, 183, 184; Lillooet, b, p. 220; also f, p. 192.

[134] See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

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yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint. 302

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women. 307 532

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.[109]

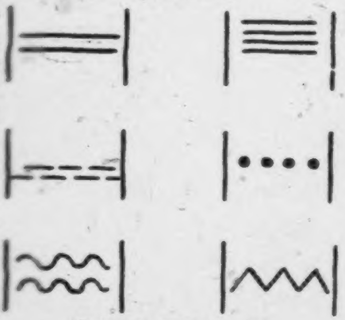
FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only 304 531

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[109] See p. 169.

304 531 by men, and was not common. Long lines were sometimes made following the ribs, and small figures of animals were also sometimes made on different parts of the body.

Face tattooing was fairly common among women long ago, but was rare among men. The figures were all geometric. Women used short single or double lines extending downward from the corners of the mouth, two or three vertical lines on the upper lip below the nostrils, a dot or a small circle on each cheek, and rarely a similar mark on the brow. Men used a line of dots along the top of the brow. From one to five radiating or sometimes vertical lines on the chin formed a fairly common tattoo; but my notes do not make it clear whether this mark was used by men or women, or by both. All tattoo marks had names, but now these are nearly all forgotten. Although the figures all had names, it is said that most of the geometric designs had no significance. It was just fashion to make the marks that way; and they were merely considered decorative in the same way as certain face paintings and other designs were used for decoration only, and followed certain customary forms or outlines. Most of the triangles in tattooing were called "arrow-heads"; the vertical lines on the chin were called "tail feathers"; and the radiating lines on the chin, "eagle's tail." Realistic designs were often connected with the person's dreams or guardian.[141] It seems that most tattooing was done by pricking with a sharp bone or a sharp pin or needle of hard wood. Powdered charcoal was rubbed into the wound. Some men preferred cutting the skin, especially for making lines. Powdered charcoal, red ochre, and white earth were rubbed into the wounds by men. After the Coeur d'Alêne began to go to the plains to hunt buffalo, tattooing gradually fell into disuse, as it was not fashionable among most tribes living to the east. A few women have continued the practice in a modified way until recently.

V. SUBSISTENCE

137 221 241 262 FOOD.—As among other inland tribes, the food of the Coeur d'Alêne consisted of the flesh of animals, birds, and fishes, and of vegetable products which were much depended on; but meat and fish were of chief importance. No agriculture was practiced. The principal vegetal foods used by the tribe are given below.

ROOTS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
1. *Camassia esculenta* Lindl.	*sx̣a''ulutx̣wa* (Thompson *ski'an* raw, *ätxwa* camas) (camas in the raw state), *e'lx̣wa* (camas when cooked).
2. *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh	*sp'it'ɛm*.

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[141] See p. 192.

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A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokan, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokan also used this type of bow. A few Spokan, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin.

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alêne, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokan. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

Arrows.—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsĕ'elp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *mxtmxtstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if Syringa was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.[138] Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a

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[138] See p. 42; Lytton, *g*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

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similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé[159] were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts[160] were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.[161] A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,[162] was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,[163] for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points[164] were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.[165] A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and waterfowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'tclen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *tcatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

Quivers.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,[166] and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.[167] No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern

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[159] *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3–22.

[160] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b*; Field Mus. 111735.

[161] Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

[162] Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *d*.

[163] Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

[164] Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

[165] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f*; Chilcotin, *e*, fig. 276 *c*; Field Mus. 111729.

[166] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

[167] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

535 ~~[illegible]~~ 821 Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

[531] Sun Dance and Sun Worship.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqen*, the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

535 796 Horse Dance, Thanksgiving Ceremony.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqen* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

Medicine Dance.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[38] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

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[38] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.

Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guardians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun. 776

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms 778 of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflèches.[21] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian 531
spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, 778
robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in
a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence 304
were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian 531
spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was 778
believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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[21] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 3.

304 531 778 one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[333]

532 778 ROCK PAINTINGS.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

532 776 IMAGES OF GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

412 32 171 rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15)[7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

386 PAINTS AND DYES.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

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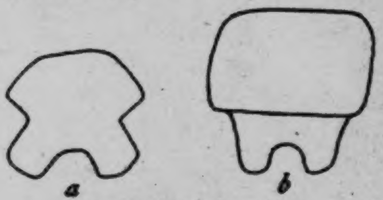

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

281 412 DRESSING OF SKINS.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

285 415 MATS.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson[9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats[10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188-190.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 131, c.

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them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates 285
and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the
Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, 415
and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even 314
by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the 285
Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out
and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made 531 ●
of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

WEAVING.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin 286
blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328).

WOVEN BAGS.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the 285
Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used 283
were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark,
and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were 415
made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*.

[12] See Thompson, *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *e* and *f*.

[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.

[14] See ibid., VI. M. 78.

[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 78.

[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 76.

[17] *a*, p. 189, fig. 131, *d*, *h*, *i*.

[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 93.

[19] See Thompson, *a*, p. 222, fig. 149.

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Other common bags had the backs longer than the fr[illegible]ts, the extension of the former making a cover.[20] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[21] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[22] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

[531] FLAT BAGS—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[23] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[20] See Thompson, a, p. 200, fig. 122.

[21] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 86.

[22] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 130.

[23] See Thompson, a, p. 199, fig. 122, and Shuswap, c, p. 497, fig. 219.

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SKIN BAGS.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[34] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

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RAWHIDE BAGS AND PARFLÈCHES.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[35] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[34] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[35] See Shuswap, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible], and Thompson, c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

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BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[36] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[37] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

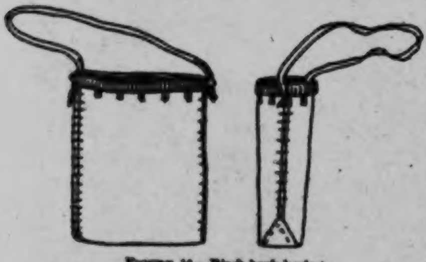

FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting.

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[36] See Field Mus., Nos. 111839-111862.

[37] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

COILED BASKETRY.[3]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia. The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements, as they also procured some from the Columbia. The Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets, and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication on baskets and that the process was introduced among them about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil. The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people think it came from the south, and some think it must have been learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely. Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted. About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased, most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns

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[3] See 6, pp. 140-142.

● [531] were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The
285 former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets, however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether
285 of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their
415 baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller of the older "*stlūq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson. (*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800. Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 26 *a*). Some were made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped, the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.

286 294 predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.[a] In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

● 531 Designs on Bags.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

Designs on Baskets.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

332 342 Underground Lodge.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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[a] See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 481.

[1] e, pp. 193-194, and figs. 135, 136; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

291 Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

301 Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

● 531 Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[23]

301 Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if it all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nosepins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[24] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[25]

304 Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue.

302 The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear [26] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[23] a, pl. 18.

[24] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203.

[25] a, p. 227, fig. 210.

[26] This refers to 1909.

000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
177 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was
[411] confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
[412] made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
[324] The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
[531] same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
[323] to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
*171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most 531
ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were prin- 171*
cipally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly
black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most [386]
of them were obtained from mineral earths.

Dressing of Skins.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner 281
as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such 171*
as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by
the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by
methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4]
Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the
Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

Rawhide Work.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. 281
Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides
sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were 415
used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were 171*
comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were
lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide [178]
bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another
one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflèche came into use
with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylin-
drical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably
not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and par- [439]
flèches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring
tribes.

Woven and other Bags.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes [531]
were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven 285
wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least 171*
by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were
made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead,
who, according to some, made skin bags only.

Woven Mats.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and
are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven
of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on.
The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of
rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red 285
and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their 531
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[1] c, pp. 67, 69, figs. 33, 34.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] f, pp. 175, 176.

[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.

[5] See p. 44.

[6] f, p. 176, fig. 3.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

7

285 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel.
531 (Fig. 26.)

*171 WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of
the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by
286 the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the
*171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of
[237] vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

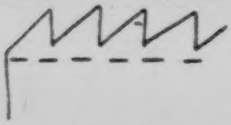

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope
283 were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp
being chiefly used. Most of the thread for
*171 sewing was of sinew taken from the backs
294 of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer.
Needles were little used, but sewing was gen-
237 erally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed.
Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon.
*171 Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It
227 is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the
*171 Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all
the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead,
415 made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the
314 ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets 171*
were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement 415
of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of 314
cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied
ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of
the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are
made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest 171*
bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This 415
may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan 314
country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close 184
to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend
d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the 171*
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, 285
were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the
tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine
stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular.
Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The
bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat
bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was
made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly
all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by 171*
the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend
d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane 285
among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. 531 ●
Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their
baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets
not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower
Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was
learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain.
Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems
grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes 000
south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication
have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the
Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the
Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet.
This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms
and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling
from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

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[1] See c, pp. 140-142.

000 ever, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344-351). The Carriers and *Stuwi'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shuswap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia, the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded corners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular. They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

*171 285 [415] [531] [177]

DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflèches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

531 *171 [178]

DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflèches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

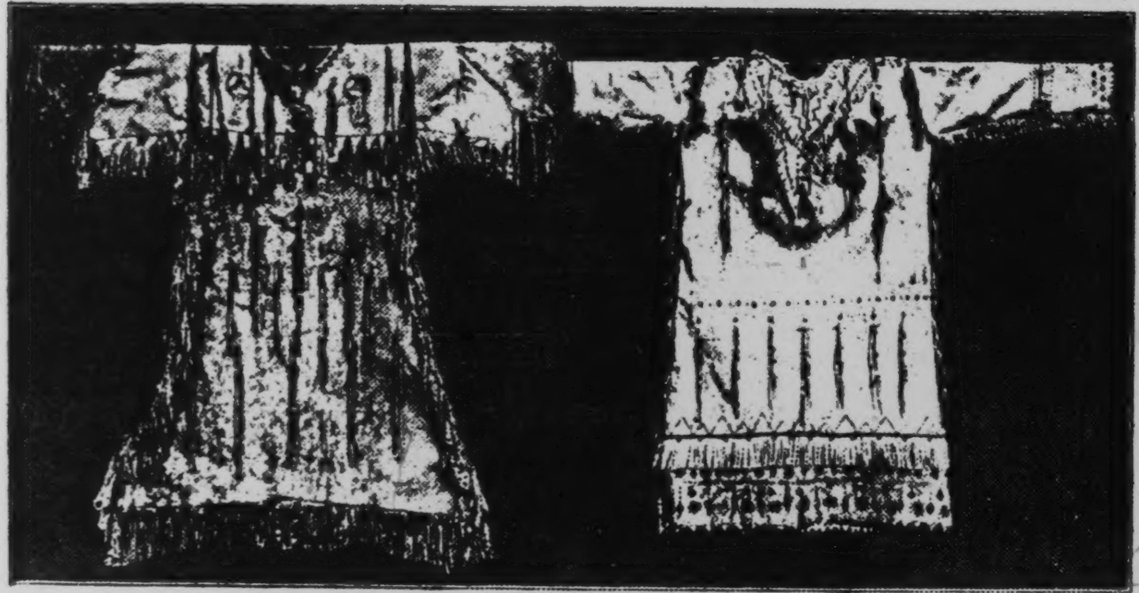
361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[53] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 3



DRESSES

Interior Salish.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Kalispel

Spokan

opp. p. 334

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in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27. 291 281

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered. 171* [531]

Men's Clothing.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings. 291 171*

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar- [284] [531] [178]

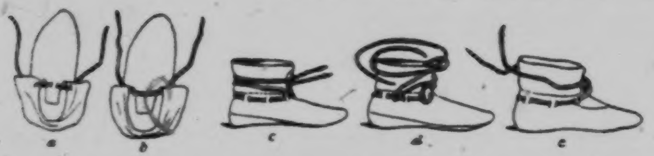

Figure 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] d, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[6] d, p. 47, fig. 1.

291 *171 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

[178] [531] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

292 *171 [439] Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

291 *171 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." 294 *171 Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 *171 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

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[7] 4, p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111[illegible]

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111[illegible]

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and other tribes. 291 171*

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11] [531] 291 171* [178]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes. [237]

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[10] cf. pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111985.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented

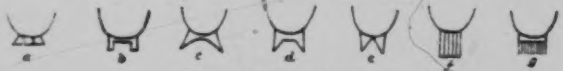

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

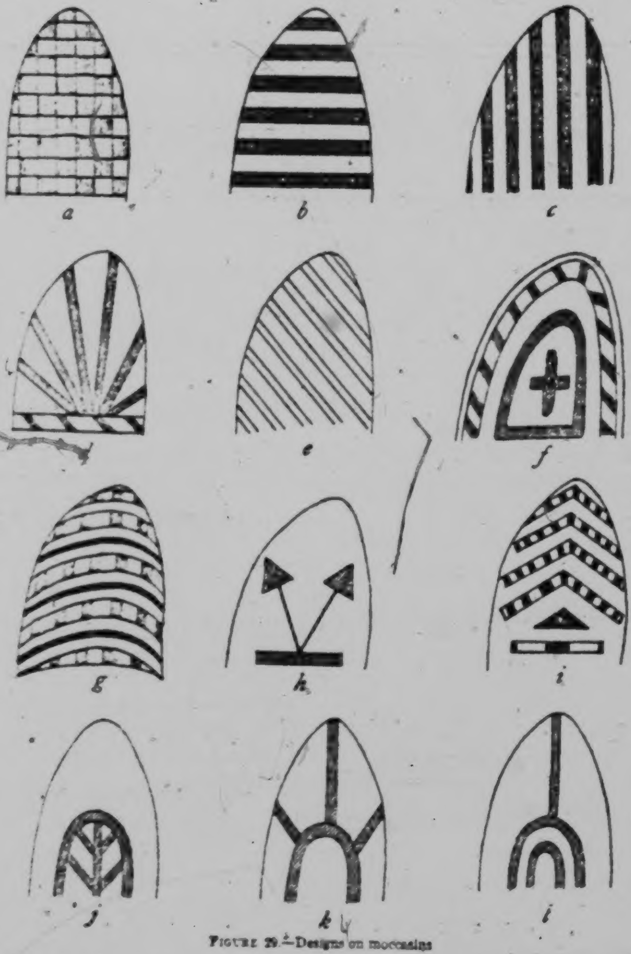

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28. 291 531 • 171*

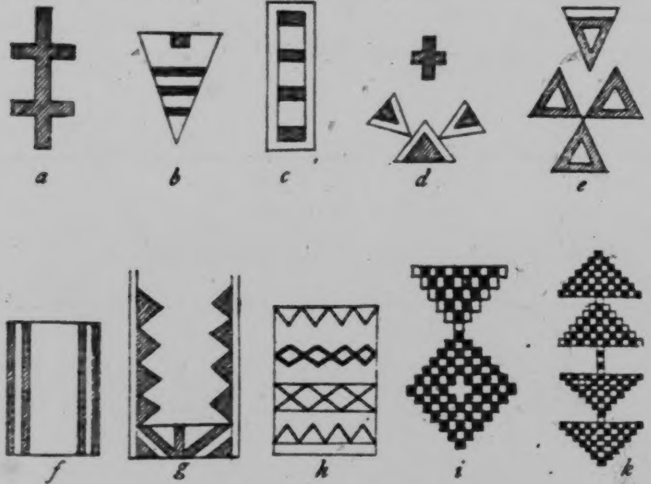

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

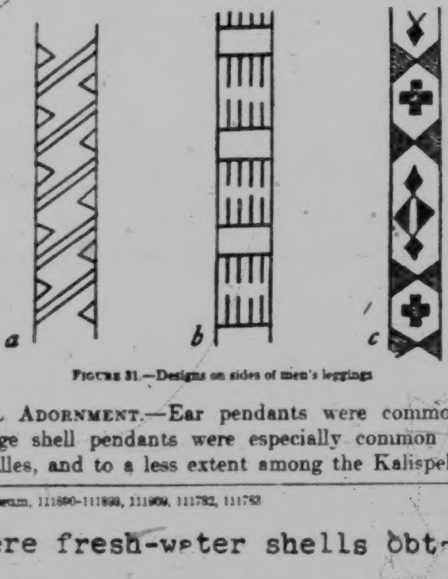

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. 301 171t [237]

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[12] See Field Museum, 111890-111898, 111909, 111782, 111783

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000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were
common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian
and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
317 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*191 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302] yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
[103]

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[531]

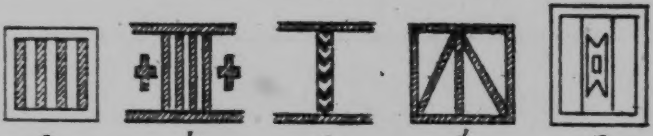

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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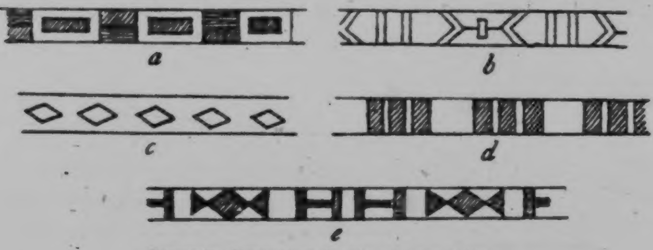

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was
exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the
introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said
that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open
and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*191 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

231 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called 173 other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 Transportation and Horse Equipment.—Before the advent of *171 the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for 482 carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common *171 method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflêches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflêches and secured by the same rope. [177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type [1] similar to those of the Thomp- [531] son, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

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[1] [illegible], p. 12, fig. 5

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

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Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.[2] Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used

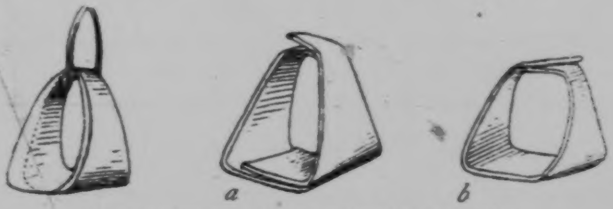

FIGURE 35.—Stirrups. a, Made of two pieces; b, made of one piece

[531] •

almost altogether by women.[3] Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.[4] Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly dif-

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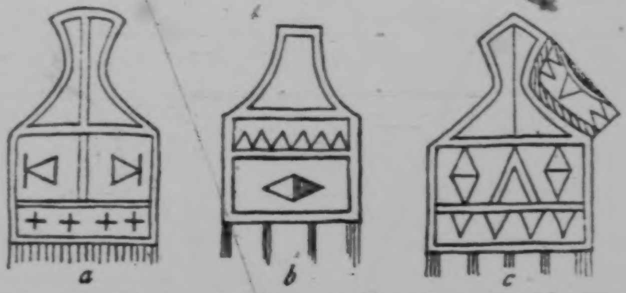

FIGURE 36.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. a, Common type. b, Less common type. c, With beaded foot rest

ferent shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.[5] Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.[6] Beaded pendants[7] (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead.

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[1] For the first type see l, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps l, p. 24, fig. 20; for the second, l, p. 10, fig. 5.
[2] l, p. 6, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.
[3] l, p. 6, fig. 2.
[4] l, p. 16, figs. 11, 12; the former also used by women.
[5] l, pp. 18, 19, figs. 14, 15.
[6] l, p. 26, fig. 22.

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492 531 *171 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

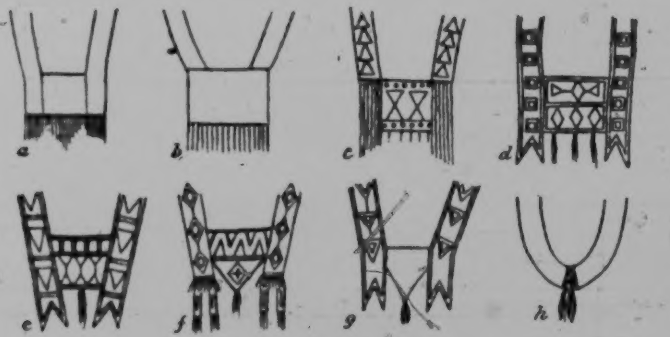

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and used by the Flathead tribes. 492 *171 Horses were often used for dragging lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover, safer and more expeditious. [415] [178] A sack to be folded and laced was in use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses.

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[8] [illegible] l, p. 23, fig. 19.

[9] See Thompson, p. 208, a, fig. 131.

[10] [illegible] instance, l, p. 22, fig. 18.

[11] [illegible] figs. 23, 24.

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes. 492 171* [415] [178]

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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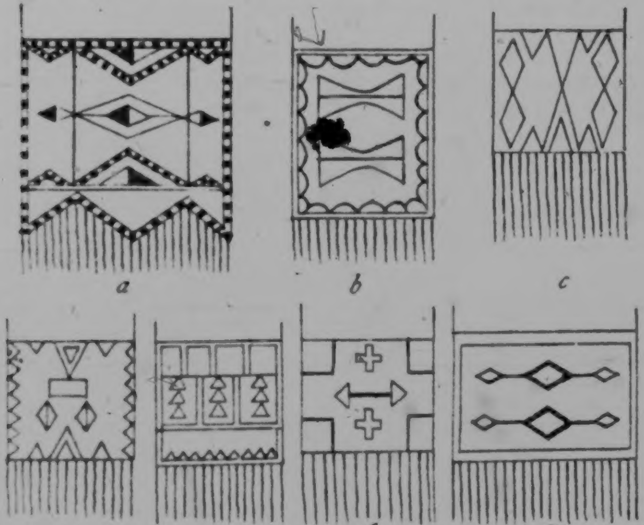

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 438 [178]

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way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington 000
Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission)
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the 487
Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned.
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725]
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

through the trunk. These were carefully watched to keep the flames from spreading: in winter snow was banked against the trunk for this purpose. As a rule only leaning trees were felled, since the weight of the tree lessened the labor by cracking it off. Several men might work together on this task in order to obtain boards by their joint labor. 313

To manufacture boards from such a straight-grained tree as a pine, its outer portion was removed from one side with wedge and maul until a flat surface of the necessary breadth was obtained. Then a board of required thickness was pried off, four wedges being inserted in line and struck one after the other in series. As this section slit off, the four were moved along the log. Individual boards might be thinned further in the same manner. 322

Wedges for wood working were made from the base of a deer horn, which was cut flat and sharpened at one end. It was said that the naturally pointed tines were also used. The maul was an unshaped cylinder of half-dried pine or birch, slightly smaller at the handle. Stone mauls could not be used since they shattered the wedges.

A stout stick was split lengthwise by first starting the split at one end with a knife. This end was forced against a convenient stone on which only one split half rested. As the stick bent, the split extended further along the stick. It was then reversed so that the other half of the split end rested against the stone, and the process repeated. This is a well-known method.

Wood was heated to bend it, not steamed as on the coast.

Dry trees desired for firewood were simply burned down. [372]

There were no carved or painted wooden images. Nor were wooden boxes made, as on the coast. One informant had heard of large lidded wooden boxes used to cache food, but these may have been trade articles. [532] ● [415]

Bone intended to be cut into implements was soaked in water until soft. 321

Dyes and Paints

Vegetable dyes for coloring fibers used in basketry decoration were made of a plant called kaI´lEqwe·istEn, "all colors." This was a plant about a foot high, sometimes with a single stalk, and bearing small flowers. It grew profusely along creek bottoms. Dark red, light red, and blue dyes were obtained from its roots by boiling them in water. Michel, who described this dye, declared that these different colors could all be obtained from the same plant. 386

Mineral paints were obtained from a place in Canada where the men and women used to go especially for it. Red, bright red, orange, black, and yellow paints were obtain-

yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint. 302

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women. 302 532

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.–Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.[169] 304 531

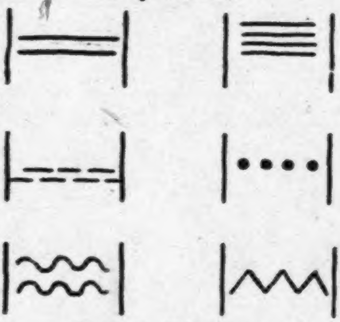

FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

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[169] See p. 169.

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one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[illegible]

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Rock Paintings.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

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Images of Guardian Spirits.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

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Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would "know" the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge.

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered "mystery," and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

Sʜᴀᴍᴀɴɪsᴍ.—Shamans were about the same in character as among the Thompson.[illegible] Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except 756

[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, *e*, p. 603; *f*, pp. 173, 191.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
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these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted. 782 881

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the 776 881

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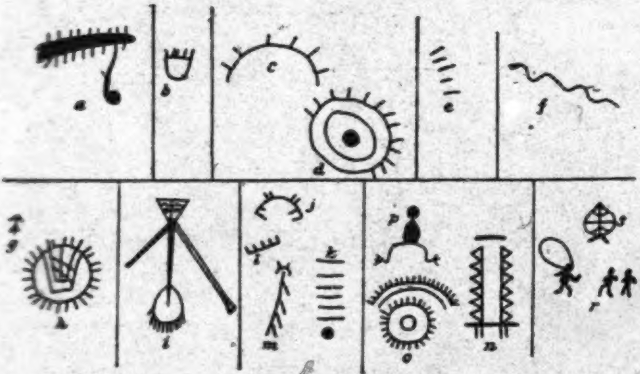

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tilla near Keremeous; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i-p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagan Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit. 776 881

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20-24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more 532 787 881

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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● 532 rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark
776
881 of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

534 Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around
881 the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for
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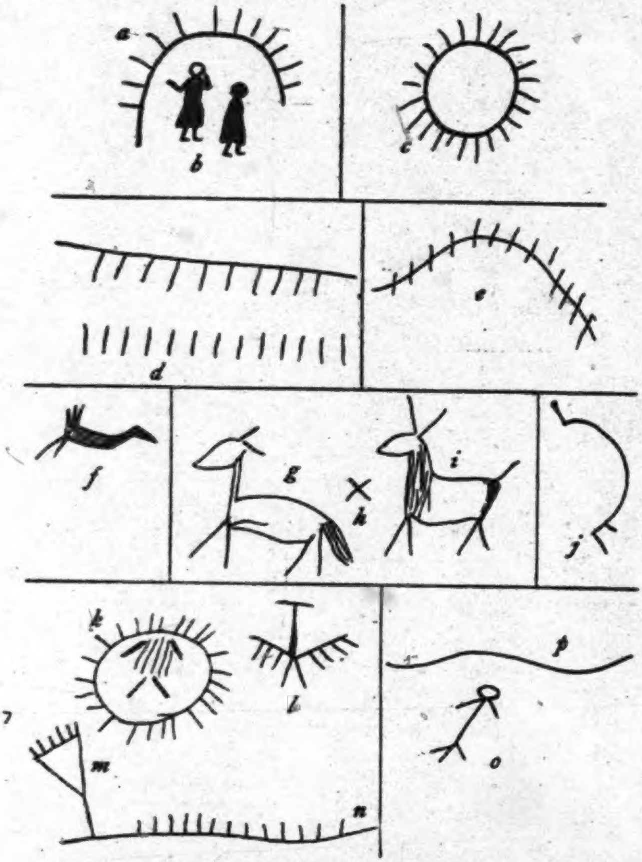

FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a–d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; a, sun on hill with trees; b, people; c, the sun; d, a count of fir needles; e, a hill with trees; f, a bird; g, a horse; h, horse trails; i, deer; j, rainbow; k, sun or earth with trees, l, m, n, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; o, p, an animal near a trail.

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881 imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

881 At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training con-

gregated to test themselves. A large, steep rock about 7 meters high rises abruptly near the trail at this place. The young men tried to run up to the top along the sloping side and then slide down. A man 881

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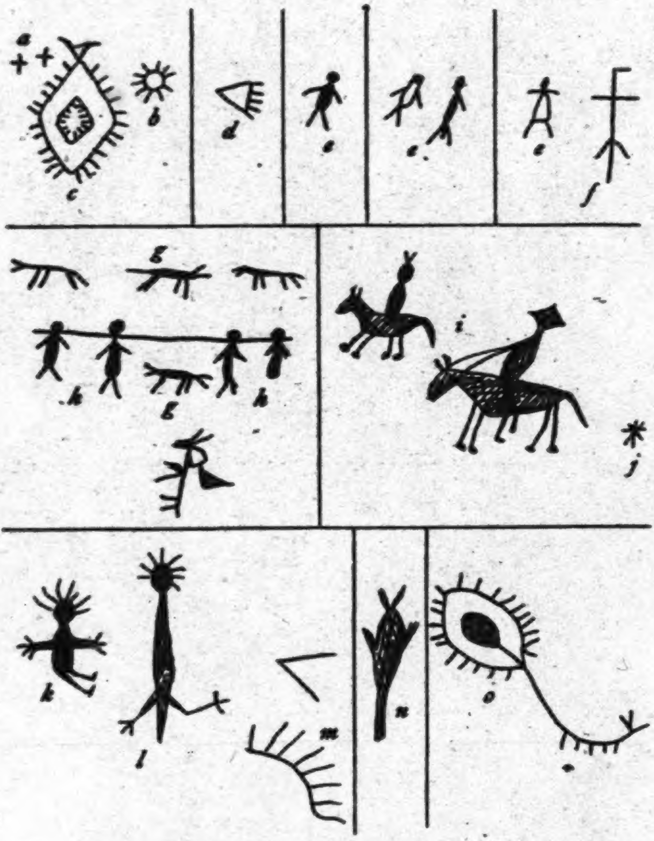

FIGURE 22.—Rock paintings on a cliff near Tcutcawī'xa, Similkameen Valley
a, Stars; b, sun; c, lake with trees, island with trees in the middle; d, grizzly bear; e, men; f, eagle; g, dogs or other animals with open mouths; h, people; i, men on horseback; j, star; k, l, men with feather headdresses; m, unfinished matting; n, a bird; o, stream running out of a lake with an island.

called *Kwzltē'sqxt* ("red cloud" or "emptying cloud") is the only one now living who has accomplished this feat. 881

Throwing, lifting, and carrying heavy stones were practiced to gain strength. Boys prayed that they might become strong. Boys

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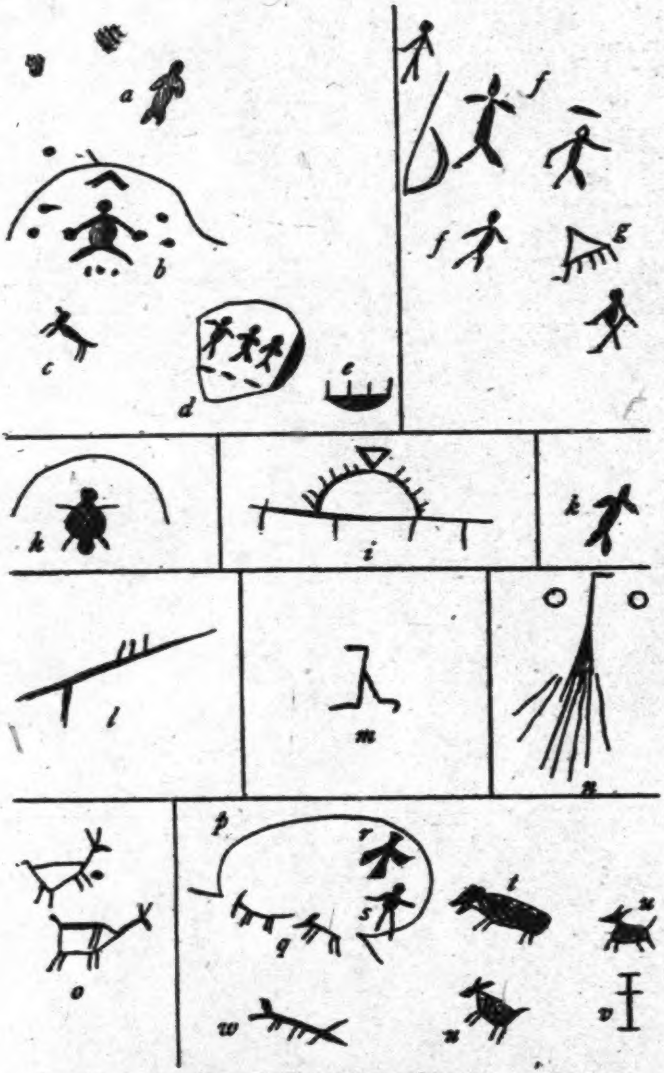

FIGURE 23.—Rock paintings near Princeton

a-e. On a cliff 19 miles below Princeton; a, man; b, doubtful; c, an animal running; d, three men walking; e, grizzly bear. f-e. On bowlders near the preceding; f-w, on a cliff near the preceding; f, men walking; g, grizzly bear; h, beaver in his house; i, rising sun and earth line; k, man; l, m, doubtful; n, probably eagle and stars; o, deer or sheep; p, probably a corral for game; q, animals at the entrance; r, bird, probably guardian spirit of the man; s, man; t, bear; u, deer; v, an animal, head and forelegs; w, doubtful.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried. 881

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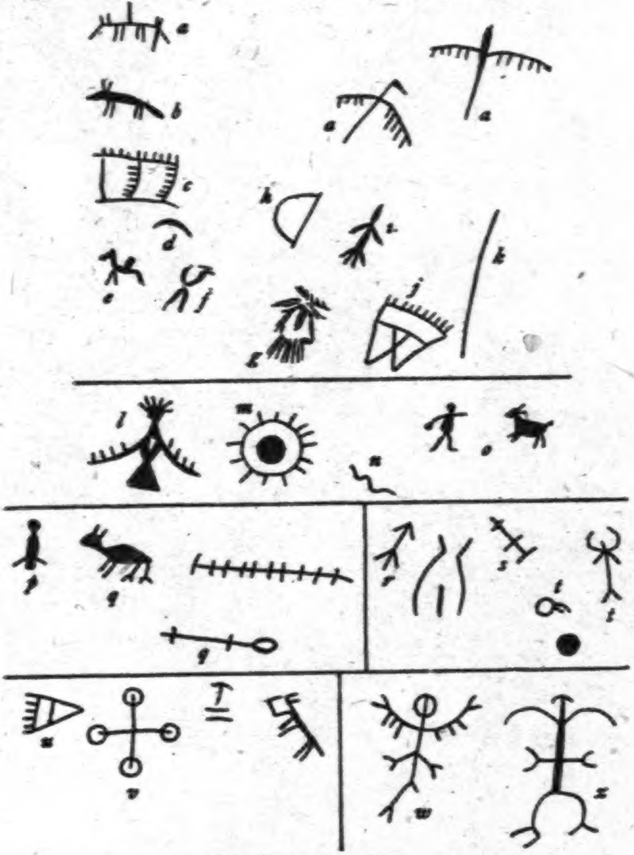

FIGURE 24.—Rock paintings

a–k. Found on bowlder 18 miles below Princeton; a eagles; b, wolf or coyote; c, bear's tracks; d, moon; e, person on horseback; f, person; g, doubtful; h, moon; i, animal; j, grizzly bear tracks; k, trail. l–o. On a bowlder about 19 miles below Princeton; l, eagle; m, sun or pond surrounded by trees; n, snake; o, man meeting a deer. p–x. On a cliff and in a cave near Tcut'awī'm, Similkameen Valley; p, man; q, animals; r, fir branch; s, animal; t, insects; u, grizzly bear; v, four quarters; w, eagle; x, an insect or a [illegible]

MARRIAGE.—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by "go-betweens," 583

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawā'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

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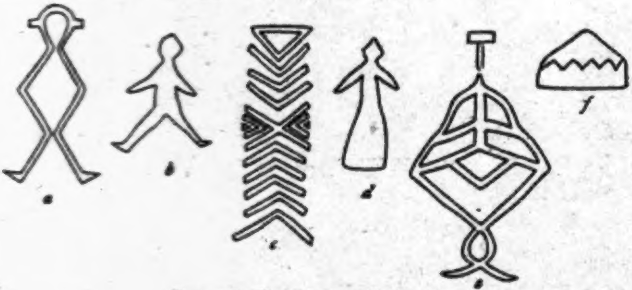

FIGURE 25.—Figures incised in bark of trees
a, Girl; b, man; c, perhaps ribs; d, woman; e, perhaps an animal; f, perhaps a woman's cap.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semi-underground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

764 DEATH AND BURIAL.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible]

[11] See p. [illegible]

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Kereme- 532
ous down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom
of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in 764
the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a
line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson
and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia
influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. 764
Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the
Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying"
ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year
after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are
then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The 765
property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeū's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

Concept of the World.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regard- 773
ing the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

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841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (əp'kanu'sastən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

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836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

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832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

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832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwınxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

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[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

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wa'i' kwunx̣ami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'xʷ wumi'xʷ
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pitxʷ i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 584 832

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lax was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

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[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 30.

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Arbitrary words were sometimes inserted, such as the following:

o·'ya'ta' ti·'s naqsá'luq
I pity my lone counter.

525 After a moment's hesitation the leader picked up the bones which had been thrown in front of him, examined them carefully, then rolled them in his hands, swung his arms from side to side in time to the music, went through various other fantastic movements, then threw the bones, one pair at a time, to two players of his selection, one at his right and one at his left. The players selected were usually at opposite extremities of the line, but not invariably so. They went through a procedure similar to that of the leader, hesitating before taking the bones, waving the arms, hiding the bones and shifting them, sometimes many times. All of the motions of the players holding the bones were intently watched by the leader on the opposite side; he did the guessing. After a few moments the players brought their arms forward and crossed them in front of their chests, often with the hands in the opposite arm pits.

The guesser then held out the left hand with the palm outstretched and made various motions as of guessing with his right hand, in order to confuse the players or to gain from them some inadvertant indication of the position of the bones. If a player believed that the guesser knew in which hand he held the plain bone he might shift them again, or go through false motions under cover. The guesser continued with his gestures. Other players on the side of the guesser also were permitted to go through the motions of guessing in order to confuse their opponents. The difference between a true and a final guess, and a false or preliminary one, was a subtle nod of the head, or a dropping of the arms to the sides. Since a player immediately surrendered the bones as the result of a correct final guess, the preliminary gestures, if carefully conducted by the guesser, were very apt to cause the player to make a minimal movement of surrender if correct or to gain an indication of security if incorrect. If such indications were made by either or both players, it was a simple matter to indicate a final decision and win the bones. Both final and tentative guesses were made by indicating the position of the bones with a conventionalized gesture of the right hand and at the same time clapping
201 the left hand on the right shoulder. The signals were as follows (M indicates the
525 marked, U the unmarked bone):

U M — M U	Thumb and index finger extended, others flexed.
M U — U M	A gesture downward and straight ahead with the right hand; index finger extended.
U M — U M	Gesture to the left with the index finger extended.
M U — M U	Gesture to the right with the index finger extended.

That is, if the guesser judged the player at his left to have the unmarked bone in his right hand and the player at the right to be holding the plain one in his left hand, he indicated his guess in the first manner above, etc.

525 If the judgment was correct, the bones were thrown to the other side. Of course, the guess may have been correct for only one player, in which case the

other continued to hold the bones, and play was resumed with only the one pair. 525
The guesser indicated his judgments by a simple gesture to the left or right when 538
only one player was hiding the bones. As soon as he had correctly guessed the hand in which the plain bone was held his side took the bones. Meanwhile he had lost one counter for every incorrect guess where one player was involved, and two counters where neither of two players was guessed aright. Conversely, he won for his side a counter for each correct guess.

When a wrong guess was made the player slowly extended his arms, palms outstretched, and displayed the bones, then often threw the bones in the air and caught them again, uttering exclamations of satisfaction. The other players on his side jeered at their opponents, in song. Throughout the play the beating on the log and the singing continued.

When the opposing side took the bones they began to beat on their log and to sing, and those who had lost them became quiescent. Thus the play proceeded with the bones passing back and forth, until one side had won all of the counters. Occasionally the game ended within an hour or two, but more often it lasted several hours or all night.

At successive periods of play the leader threw the bones to those nearer and 525
nearer him in his line, until all had had an opportunity to play. However, if one person were having particularly good luck the bones might be returned to him several times in succession; if a poor player were present he might be passed up. On the other hand, if a player were having a run of luck which he feared might not last, he was privileged to return the bones to the leader, who went through the original motions with them, then threw them back, either to the same or another player, at his discretion. Even when originally presented with the bones a player might refuse to take them if he feared ill-fortune.

The leader seldom, if ever, kept the bones himself. If all the players had had a turn, and the game still continued, the bones were usually returned again to the players at the ends of the line. The leader sometimes called upon another to guess for him, especially if he had been consistently wrong for a time.

The counters, as well as the bones, were handled in a formal manner. When the leader first received the ten splints he thrust them in the ground before him. Upon losing one he pulled it up, rolled it between his palms to remove the dirt adhering to the point, then threw it to the other side. The counters won were not touched until the bones changed hands, whereupon they were forced into the ground at an angle or laid across each other on the ground. In surrendering counters those of the original stock were all used before any subtractions were made from those which had been won. In order to win the game, it was necessary for a side to hold its own counters as well as those of the opponent, twenty in all. In other words, all those counters originally thrust in the ground had to be removed and placed with those won before the game was over.

Occasionally, in games where only a small number of players were involved, only one set of bones was used.

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Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the correct guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serumpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian spirit songs (snkwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents. 796

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night. Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act. 181
796

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly toward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew 533
796

his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu xiqwe'laux°," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa·yump', oxo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardised the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow: 533/796

539/796

na··xaxa··xaxana···' aiai··xaxanai··xaixainai··· a··xaxaxa··
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na···	u'yata'	tsiiosi'lux.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

xaxawaiyuwi··xaxawiya··xo··ai··ai··ai·· it'latcumn'qᵘ,
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'latitca'qi'n	it'likiltmentca't	i·kakikalkaxa'lux°	kilaka-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit
lia'lux	ul	s'talmsto	isnal'ki'a.[8]
	and let out		blood.

a··xaxai··xaxa··xa··xaxa··oxaiyu··axana··
(meaningless)

tisanà'nuk'sax°,	ikua'pealux	luxpala'p	tla'tckuyukami'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it
luxpala'p	latcatcosa'lux	alstuqtuqsmin·'lux°.[9]	
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).	

When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping 535/796

opposite side called for additional bets from his followers, or attempted to get others to join his side and make their bets. The new contributions to the pool might more than equal the difference; then it became necessary for the other side once more to call for stakes. 525

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[7] George Sxrimpt's song.
[8] Bear's Cricket power song.
[9] Song of Cultus Charley.

The game was played with two pairs of bones, one of each pair being marked, and the other unmarked, and twenty sticks used as counters. The bones were made usually of the tibia of the deer. They were two and a half or three inches long and an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. The marked bone had a narrow painted or incised band around the middle, or was encircled with a buckskin thong. The counters were simply pointed splints a foot long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. 321 525

The essential point of the game was to guess in which hands the players with the bones held the unmarked ones. The game proceeded as follows: The players of each side knelt or squatted in two parallel rows facing each other, a distance of about five feet separating them. Anyone who had placed a bet was privileged to play, but not required to do so. Before each row was placed a long log, elevated two or three inches from the ground on small sticks. Between the two groups were fires if the playing took place at night. During the winter when the playing was done inside the long house the rows formed on either side of the fireplaces. The leaders took their positions at the middle of their respective sides. Each player was given a stick with which he beat on the log before him. These were twelve or fifteen inches long, an inch or two in diameter; when not in use they were kept in a buckskin bag or wrapped in buckskin. Every prominent gambler owned a set of these sticks. 525

The leaders each took ten counters and one pair of bones. To determine which side was to have the first play, the leaders matched the bones after having rolled them in their hands, shifted or pretended to shift them under cover of a blanket, garment, hat, or behind the back. The arms were outstretched and the hands opened revealing the bones. The leader winning the match took both pairs of bones and won one of the opponents' counters. The players on the side gaining the bones proceeded to beat in time on the log before them at a tempo of about 240 per minute, and started singing a gambling song such as the following, which was started by its owner: 525 533

a··xa··i··axau··ana··xauiu··, etc.[1]
(Meaningless syllables; gradually fading out toward the end)

Or: oi···'xenaxawiu··o··ai··oxena'awi···
xe'nanə··o··xenə'ewiyi···'
xenə'ewiyi···, etc.[2]
(Meaningless syllables)

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[1] John Tom's song.
[2] Bear's song.

534 [463] ● [533] over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums

[314 415]

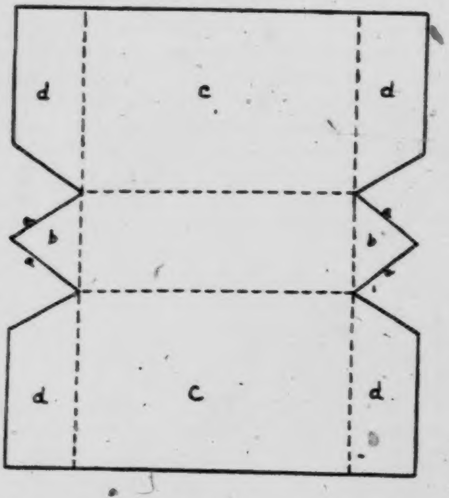

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One' seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his powe1 alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song [424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor 578 was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or ●533] her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinōx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its 554 members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily 622 have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 ● 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

796 535 and determined how many nights the dance should last. He and his power were the center of interest. Apparently two people could act as hosts on the same occasion, for Michel described a dance given by a man and a woman, at which the woman was the first to sing.

The interpreter (cöxqElpItEm or tlspItum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte.[1]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called c'Inöücöltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxöulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 • 533 535 When they had gone around the room once in this way, the host stood up, grasped the central post and danced around it, holding both feet close together and advancing slowly forward in short jumps, with knees slightly bent and feet falling flat on the ground. In doing this he shook the post rhythmically so that the rattles hanging on it were brought into play. As he danced, he sang. Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

[1] [Cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

etically, the songs of no two shamans were 796
ever alike. The dancer sang "whatever his
power told him to sing," the songs taught
him by his guardian spirits in his previous 533●
visions and dreams. He declared in more or
less veiled terms the identity of the spirit 535
and its sex if it were female, named the mountain or other locality with which it was associated, and exalted the spirit's potency He also sang short prayers for the people's health and success. He did not mumble, but spoke or sang clearly, and his interpreter repeated his words to the congregation in louder tones. When he had finished he called out, "All right. You can dance now, if you wish." Another man or woman then came forward and performed in a like manner.

Through most of the night the congrega-
tion, except for those who danced individual- 796
ly and their interpreters, stayed in their
places at the sides of the room and simply 535
kept time to the dance by jumping up and down. As long as the leading dancer was standing, they stood; when he sat down, they sat down also. People entering the house joined the congregation at once, sitting or standing as the latter did. They did not enter while a dance was actually going on, however, unless given permission to do so by the dancer, since such an intrusion might frighten away the dancer's power and cause him to faint or die, as well as endanger the intruder. By dancing in this way and singing with their leader, the people helped him to control his power. As morning drew near they danced around the room in circular formation, with the same jumping step, each holding his feet close together. Following the instructions of their guardian spirits, they moved their arms in various ways while dancing, some holding their hands to represent horns or feathers on the head, and made noises to imitate their power animals or birds. All the people "who had their song," that is, who had achieved the initial power experience, might dance around the post in the throng, even the young people who had not had the dream authorizing them to dance individually. Those who had not had even their first vision danced around further from the post.

Mary Carden knew of four possible dance-patterns, any one of which the host might choose, but she had never heard of more than one being used at the same dance in a single night. In all of the dances, the leader and his interpreter, with the master of ceremonies if it were the leader's first dance, stood together in the center. In one, they were surrounded by a half-circle of men on one side and a half-circle of women on the other. In another form, a line of men danced in one direction on one side of the central figures, while a line of women danced in the opposite direction on the other side, the two columns reversing their directions at every few steps. In a third form, the two columns progressed in the same direction and reversed at the same time. In the fourth pattern, the dancers simply jumped up and down, without leaving their places

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for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[59] Nez Percé,[60] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. It was also used for the [574]
accommodation of visitors. When not otherwise in use, it served [561]
as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. During most winter nights, [533]
singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. The long aperture in the middle [354]
of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[59] See a, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles a were placed outside of the horizontal poles c. The top horizontal pole c (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles a. The support poles b were also heavy.

[60] See b, p. 196.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcēlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were 526
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 127
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers,
bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not 201

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 702
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[300] The impor- 856
tance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until 861
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person 881
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, espe- 881
cially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the
same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed
that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond
between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[300] a, pp. 317-321, b, 247-250.

538 778 in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

775 THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

782 PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[318] The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. [533] They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[318] a, pp. 344–350.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

782 ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqᴇn*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

776/782 It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqᴇn*,[118] who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear [533] he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

796 It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

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[118] See Thompson, A'motᴇn, c, p. 345.

776 *171 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or near their sphere of influence.

787 *171 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained
• 533 *171 [787] one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

778 *171 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 *171 [756] BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

756 *171 000 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. [534]
Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only 535
about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'ləm) or rest period of equal 796
length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two.

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents 431
for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center 796
pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later.

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the 756
dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent.

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great 796
deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (skluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. 756
The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision 787
had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else 796
the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others.

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet
high. Such buckets were used for fetching
415 water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the
like were used for storing berries, etc., and
251 were kept under the storage arbors. They
were set up on sticks so that their bottoms
would not rot from the dampness. On the
other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing
meat and fish were kept on the platform of
the arbor.

171
Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.

323
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Flageolets were used principally in
● 534 courtship by men, but on other occasions
were played by women also. They were made of
[832] elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an
eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged
bird. The elderberry flageolet was about
ten inches long and had from six to ten stops.
The pith was pushed out by means of a stick.
Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal
slot into which a piece of chewed tree
gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two
strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

534 [463] [533] over this hole so as to leave a narrow opening between them. Both ends of the flageolet were open. A young man who made good flutes would be hired to make them by others. Flute tunes had no words and were freely learned and played.

Drums were not used by Southern Okanagon, but the Northern Okanagon were said to have had square as well as round drums. The latter were one and a half to two feet in diameter by six inches deep. Square drums were about the same size. The wooden frame was a pine board softened by soaking in water, bent into cylindrical shape and sewed together at the ends. On this a head of deer hide was laced. Two buckskin thongs crossing at right angles on the bottom of the drum served as a handle. The drum was always beaten while held in the hand, and always with a drumstick which had a knob of buckskin wrapping at one end.

[314 415]

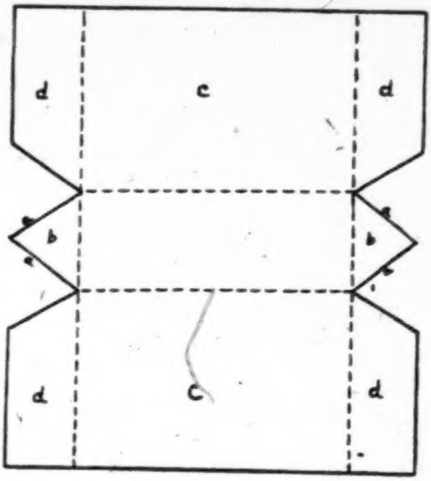

Fig. 33. Pattern of birch bark bucket.

A double-headed drum, about three feet in diameter, was made of cowhide stretched over a section of a hollow pine trunk, the two heads laced together. It is doubtful that this drum is aboriginal.

Deerhoof rattles were tied to the pole used in the winter ceremonial dance. These were made of the dew claws of the deer. The musical rasp (notched stick rattle) and a drum made by swinging a suspended horizontal pole against an upright, such as is known to the Wishram, were absent here. The only approach to drumming employed by the Southern Okanagon was the time-beating with short sticks on a long pole during the hand game.

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca´sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tûc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

431 327 leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[291] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

[535] Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[292] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[293] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[294] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide [294] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[294] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[291] a, pp. 297-299.

[292] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 a.

[293] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 b.

[294] See Nez Percé b, p. 230.

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Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[illegible] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[illegible] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

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[202]

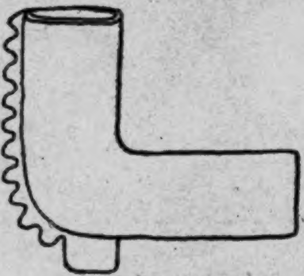

FIGURE 14.—Pipe

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Pipes.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

[439]

[illegible] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

● 534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[8] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe [9] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[8] See g, fig. 112; Field Mus. 111742.

[9] See i, figs. 107-109.

532 776 881 rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

●534 881 Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for

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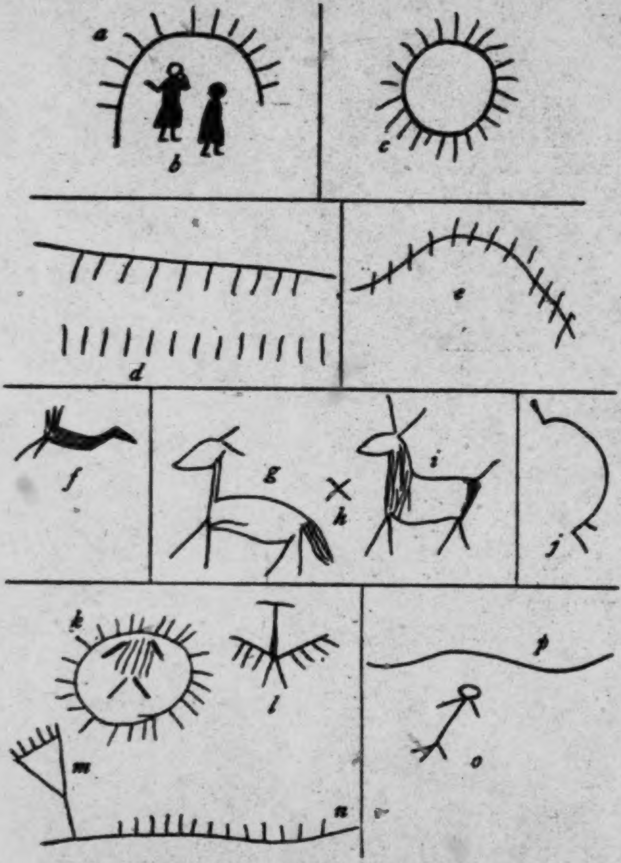

FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a–d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; a, sun on hill with trees; b, people; c, the sun; d, a count of fir needles; e, a hill with trees; f, a bird; g, a horse; h, horse trails; i, deer; j, rainbow; k, sun or earth with trees, l, m, n, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; o, p, an animal near a trail.

534 881 imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

881 At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training con-

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
*171 dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
[534] The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. [534] Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only 535 about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'ləm) or rest period of equal length intervened. 796 The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two.

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his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu·xlqwe'lamxʷ," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa··yump', axo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardized the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow:

533/796

na··xaxa··xaxana···' aiai··xaxanai··xaixainai··· a··xuaxa···
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na··	u'yata'	tənicei'lux.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

539/796

xaxawaiyawi··xaxawiya··xo··ai··ai··ai·· it'latcəma'qʷ.
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'lititca·'qi'n	it'likiltmantcu't	i·kəlkəlkawu'laxʷ	kilska-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit

ke·'lux	ul	å'takasto	imal'ki'a.[8]
	and let out		blood.

a··naxni··xana··xa··xaxa··uxuiyu··axena···
(meaningless)

tisəmå'nuk'saxʷ,	ikua'paulux	kaxpala'p	tis'tckuyukəmi'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it

kaxpala'p	latcətcəu'lux	ålstuqtuqəniu·'laxʷ.[9]
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).

When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping

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[7] George Serimpt's song.
[8] Bear's Cricket power song.
[9] Song of Cultus Charley.

224 top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground.

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

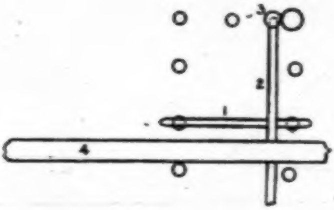

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

224 251 262 [624] The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden).

224 [585] ● 825 When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsŏmi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trad- 535●
ing, the summer drum dance (stła'lēm) has
been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, com- 171
ing from the Thompson by way of the Similka-
meen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular 796
form of dance; their only dances being
those in connection with power, which are
danced only during the winter period, and the 439
Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given
a drum dance in their own territory, but
they have participated in Northern Okanagon
territory as guests. In many respects the
Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and prob-
ably traces its origin to the Northwest
Coast potlatch.

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum 439
dance they collect many horses, blankets and
food. Then they send a messenger, carrying
tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite 431
another tribe to be guests. The messenger
always arrives at the guest camp in the even- 527
ing, presents the invitation and the tobacco
to some wealthy or prominent man who divides
the tobacco among his people. The messenger
is then lifted from his horse to a spread
blanket and is stripped naked by men and
women. If he covers his penis with his hand, [834]
the women slap his hand away. Then the women
dress him in different clothes; they give
him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing
all of his possessions. Then he is presented
with a return gift of tobacco of value equal
to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accom- 527
panied by drumming and dancing. The guests
settle themselves in camp, then they lead 439
their trade horses out all equipped and sad-
dled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the
guests and take the horses away, returning

p. 77 (B)

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca´slà. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 • 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

796 and determined how many nights the dance
should last. He and his power were the cen-
535 ter of interest. Apparently two people
could act as hosts on the same occasion, for
Michel described a dance given by a man and
a woman, at which the woman was the first to
sing.

The interpreter (cöxqElpItEm or tlspItum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte.[1]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called c'Inöücöltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxöulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 When they had gone around the room once
in this way, the host stood up, grasped the
533 central post and danced around it, holding
both feet close together and advancing slow-
535 ly forward in short jumps, with knees slight-
ly bent and feet falling flat on the ground.
In doing this he shook the post rhythmically
so that the rattles hanging on it were
brought into play. As he danced, he sang.
Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

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[1] [Cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

etically, the songs of no two shamans were 796 ever alike. The dancer sang "whatever his power told him to sing," the songs taught him by his guardian spirits in his previous 533 visions and dreams. He declared in more or less veiled terms the identity of the spirit 535 and its sex if it were female, named the mountain or other locality with which it was associated, and exalted the spirit's potency He also sang short prayers for the people's health and success. He did not mumble, but spoke or sang clearly, and his interpreter repeated his words to the congregation in louder tones. When he had finished he called out, "All right. You can dance now, if you wish." Another man or woman then came forward and performed in a like manner.

Through most of the night the congregation, except for those who danced individually 796 and their interpreters, stayed in their places at the sides of the room and simply 535 kept time to the dance by jumping up and down. As long as the leading dancer was standing, they stood; when he sat down, they sat down also. People entering the house joined the congregation at once, sitting or standing as the latter did. They did not enter while a dance was actually going on, however, unless given permission to do so by the dancer, since such an intrusion might frighten away the dancer's power and cause him to faint or die, as well as endanger the intruder. By dancing in this way and singing with their leader, the people helped him to control his power. As morning drew near they danced around the room in circular formation, with the same jumping step, each holding his feet close together. Following the instructions of their guardian spirits, they moved their arms in various ways while dancing, some holding their hands to represent horns or feathers on the head, and made noises to imitate their power animals or birds. All the people "who had their song," that is, who had achieved the initial power experience, might dance around the post in the throng, even the young people who had not had the dream authorizing them to dance individually. Those who had not had even their first vision danced around further from the post.

Mary Carden knew of four possible dance-patterns, any one of which the host might choose, but she had never heard of more than one being used at the same dance in a single night. In all of the dances, the leader and his interpreter, with the master of ceremonies if it were the leader's first dance, stood together in the center. In one, they were surrounded by a half-circle of men on one side and a half-circle of women on the other. In another form, a line of men danced in one direction on one side of the central figures, while a line of women danced in the opposite direction on the other side, the two columns reversing their directions at every few steps. In a third form, the two columns progressed in the same direction and reversed at the same time. In the fourth pattern, the dancers simply jumped up and down, without leaving their places

where they had sat, the women remaining on one side of the room and the men on the other. Mary said that there were three intermissions during the night, of about ten minutes each. During these, any guests who so desired might leave the room or go home, but they did not do so at any other time. To announce the intermission, the host told the door-keeper to call out, "Everybody can take a rest now." When the dance was to be resumed, the door-keeper cried, "The dance is going to begin." There was, Mary said, a door-keeper for every outside door. 796 535

Suszen's description of the dance was somewhat unique, mainly in including drums as an important element. He said that the people formed a circle around a central fire, or, if the house was long and narrow, formed two straight lines with the fire between them and a drum at one or at each end of the formation. The leader of the dance sometimes beat the drum while the people sang his power song. If two men were conducting the dance and there was only one drum, they took turns beating it. The congregation jumped rhythmically up and down; some remaining in one place, others dancing around the group in no particular direction.

One's actions during the ceremony depended largely on the inspiration which he received from his guardian spirit at the time. These spirits were closely present. A shaman felt his power and heard its song from within. Michel said that one saw his guardian spirit and conversed with it, though other people could not hear his voice as he did so.

When a shaman in the crowd felt his power come to him, he "went into a trance," became stiff, and was unable to dance with the others. Inspired by his power he began to talk. Anyone who wished to volunteer as interpreter came and sat beside him, repeating his words to the congregation. When the shaman who was then dancing at the center of the floor had finished, the newly inspired one arose and stood beside the post, followed by the interpreter, and continued to talk for a short while. He then sang his power song and danced around the post, accompanied by the congregation as described above, until he ceased to "hear" his power, when he suddenly stopped. Then the congregation stopped dancing and sat down until another shaman took his place at the post, when the performance was repeated. Between ten and twenty of these individual dances took place during the night. This probably means that each shaman talked, sang, and danced individually for not more than half an hour at a time. If one's power came to him and he did not stand up and dance, he was like one dead or in a trance; blood entered his mouth and choked him.

The shaman's grasping the post and shaking it brought his power to bear on the public welfare. Male shamans invariably did so, unless they used the individual dance-stick; but for female shamans this was op- 791

791 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with insufficient
power touched it, his hand "froze"
to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sInkakIūs) would
leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
shamans at the offense. The latter preferred
to leave the soul on the post to give
himself the opportunity to cure the victim
later on. If another shaman saw the soul's
predicament, he might say to the shaman who
had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take
him away from there." The victim then stood
beside the post and the shaman drew out the
soul, rubbed it once or twice between his
hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed
whole. If no one saw the soul on the
post, or if the shaman declined to take pity
the offender was doomed. When the dance had
ended, the post was taken up into the hills
and left standing against a tree. As it
dried up in summer, the person whose soul
was attached to it "dried up" also. He became
ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew
weak, and finally died. If not too far gone,
he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid
by the sick man or his family. The practitioner
came to the patient's house, placed
his hands on him, and sang his own power
song. As he sang, his power went out into
the hills, drew the soul from the drying
post and brought it to the shaman, who blew
it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-stick
instead of the central post held the
•535 stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Stony

796 Rock because a myth was associated with the
●535 place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure me; my power even swallows the sun."
776 The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

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522 One of the shamans presiding at the dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

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[271]
791 In an interval between performances, if the congregation was thirsty they made a noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

796 535 791 good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted.

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

[776] Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this.

796 431 At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (ca. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Karter (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution

p. 151 (A)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those 771
of other interior Salish tribes. Shamans were numerous, and some were 756
credited with great powers.

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were
performed. Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced 535
from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp
dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a
dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the
Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain
details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held
on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on
the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done.
The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and
scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for
show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at
intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were
exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and
all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center
around him. It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature 773
myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but
I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories
of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground.
Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish,
but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material
can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and
what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and
after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the
game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other
until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were
drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on
the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and
whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a
man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out
of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcĕlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were
out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports.
They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening
a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling
loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and
went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able
to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel
and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé
over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped
the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened
about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear,
beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and
sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent,
skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The
knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 127
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes
practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 524
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so
as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys
were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-
carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE 173

According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not 201

431 leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date
527 a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other
members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of
food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's
presents.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[291] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

[535] Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

534 Musical Instruments.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[292] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[293] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[294] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide[294] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[294] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[291] a, pp. 297–299.

[292] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 a.

[293] See Thompson, a, p. 385, fig. 315 b.

[294] See Nez Percé b, p. 230.

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[330] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[331] 784

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes. 801

DANCES AND CEREMONIES, FIRST-FRUITS CEREMONY, OR HARVEST DANCE.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqʌn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqʌn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time. 796

PRAYING DANCE.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[332] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqʌn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqʌn* or *Amū'tʌp*, and also as "chief." 535 / 796

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[330] *a*, p. 349. [331] See Thompson, *a*, p. 348; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 619, 620.
[332] *a*, pp. 351–354; *e*, pp. 603–605; *h*, pp. 283–285.

535 796 821 Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

[531] SUN DANCE AND SUN WORSHIP.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqən*, the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

535 796 HORSE DANCE, THANKSGIVING CEREMONY.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqən* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

MEDICINE DANCE.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[illegible] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

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[illegible] See Shuswap, *c*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.

535 796 bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

535 756 796 Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[234] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing.

535 721 796 War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, however, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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[234] *b*, pp. 262-264.

535 624 days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all the men danced.

721 796 When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

535 721 796 Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[325] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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[325] *a*, p. 356.

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one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

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Scalp Dance.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con-

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tinued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.[136] The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535

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[136] *b*, p. 207.

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Tsuwikt Dance.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327] 776

Tribal and Intertribal War Dances.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of [203] war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. [524] Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

Marrying Dance.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, 796 Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[327] *b*, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *c*, pp. 501, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

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FESTIVAL OR GIFT DANCE.—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the "*stle'i*" dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.[329]

WOMAN'S DANCE OR ROUND DANCE.—In late years the dance called "squaw or woman's dance," or "round dance," was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holding his arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Cree origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

WEATHER DANCES.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

GAME DANCES.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

776 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson[330] and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

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[329] a, pp. 385, 386.

[330] a, pp. 354–357.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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Colville; Lakes

put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

775 The Soul.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

776 Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

756 Shamans.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

● 535 Dances.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and food was distributed at the dances. 535

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs, in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more. 535 721

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance. 535 727

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing. 535 776

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the same as among the Thompson. 535 583

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that used on such occasions by the Thompson. 535 796

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than food plants) for medicinal and other purposes: 757

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

797 *171 died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

796 *171 Ceremonies and Dances.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

000 Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

796 • 535 *171 *Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkən* to keep them well and preserve them

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from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole.

First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tkᴇn* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song. In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

Hunting dances, buffalo dance.—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

Guardian spirit.—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tkᴇn* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

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Turkey and other animal dances.—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or dancing organizations. In later days the turkey dance was introduced, the dancers wearing feather bustles, and imitating the walking and actions of the wild turkey. The dancers stooped forward, walked stiff legged, held one hand up to the forehead and the other back at the backside. Most of the animal dances were named after the animals imitated, such as deer, bear, dog, raven, chicken. Some of the leaders of these dances wore regalia appropriate to each dance.

Marrying dance.—The marrying dance went out of use at an early time. It was nearly the same in form as that of the Coeur d'Alêne. The young women danced in one line and the young men opposite them in another line within touching distance. When the song commenced the two lines moved in opposite directions. All carried short sticks or batons. When a man chose a girl he touched her on the shoulder with a stick. If she refused him she struck the stick off with her stick.

Round dance or squaw dcnce.—The women form a circle or a three-quarter circle close together, and sometimes join hands. They move round sidewise, following the sun's course, and bringing one foot up to the other with a jerk. The drummers usually stand in the middle of the circle and move around slowly, in the same manner as the dancers do. Occasionally the drummers sit. They and the dancers sing together. In one of these dances which I witnessed four drummers stood back to back, facing the dancers, and turned as the dancers did, so that their faces were nearly always toward the same part of the circle. The women formed a wide and complete circle on the outside, except at one place, where a gap was left wide enough to allow a person to pass through easily. Many of the dancers joined hands; others put their hands on each other's shoulders or around each other's waists. As soon as the drums started all went round singing. Presently a woman among the spectators took up a man and led him through the opening in the circle to the space inside between the dancers and the drummers. Here they went round together in the same way as the other dancers. Several other women among the spectators did the same, and also some women in the original dance circle left it and took up partners. The couples in the inner circle joined hands or locked arms, and went round in pairs close together. After a time the music stopped and the dancers stood still. Presently it started again, and they continued. This pause was a notification that the next time the music stopped the dance was at an end. At the end of the dance all took their seats except the couples who had formed the inner circle. These now formed in a line. The dance chief advanced toward them and asked each woman in turn what she intended to pay her partner for dancing with her. The chief then called out in a loud voice that so and so would pay such and such an amount to her partner for dancing with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900. 535• 171* [177]

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Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

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Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The [702]

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruit-
*171 ing ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (accord-
[778] ing to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
[622] Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffaloes.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the re-
796 counting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
● 535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, 555
and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered 796
in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times,
and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left 171*
the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions 535 ●
continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced
toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times,
each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched
the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music
stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the [illegible]st,
and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now
stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still
stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated
whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the
circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the
recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the
narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause.
When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or
post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song.
The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several
parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the
dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount 555
his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared 796
wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband.
His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below 171*
the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this [292]
way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a
great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial [302]
weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It
had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade
to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This
ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had
advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the
face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear
at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of [178]
their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing 535
and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance 796
chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers
squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators 171*
around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music
starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a'!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
*171 one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other
foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears,
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
[534] The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to 796
their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This
headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of 292
the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also 301
wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach
a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of 302
hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the 171*
old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides
bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of [177]
entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, [535]●
antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

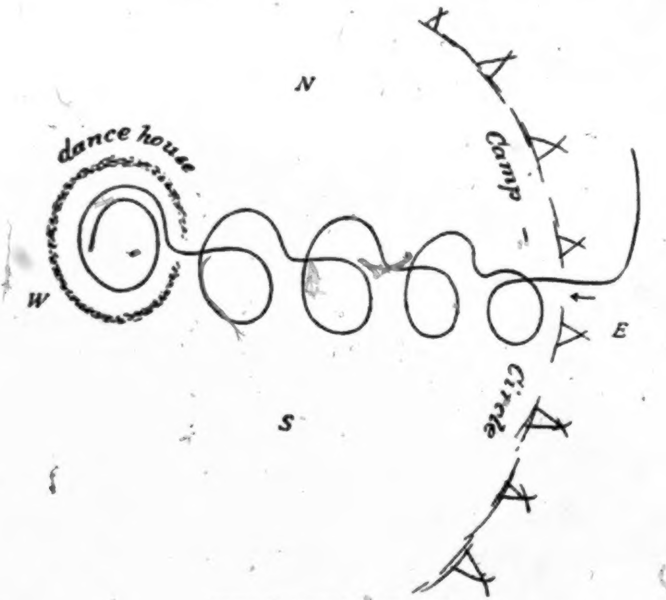

FIGURE 30.—Design illustrating dance

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, 796
was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle 171*
to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They
marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as
they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was
near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing
a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west
some distance and again describing a circle. In this way they

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men 526
played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a
party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcĕlū'sa* roots, which were 173
obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of 526
Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports. They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. 524
The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear, beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent, skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before 127
the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had 526
become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of 533
animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also 535
the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play 536
acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters 534
were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

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According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the 177
earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat 201
different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 [redacted] 621

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 481 621 [537]

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[296] 622 626 681

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

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[296] b, pp. 244, 245.

771 776 787 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[5]

538 787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutan, "time that it snows"; ktsatsalta'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[6] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (staqka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[5] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[6] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

855 sometimes slept when the village was very
crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most
of the adult games, but without the gambling.
Little girls made themselves little dolls of
of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only
a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be
polite and instantly obedient. While a
woman cared for her own children, even in a
plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was
punished by whipping, either by the parent
or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare.
Children were frightened into behaving by
saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite
you." Certainly today most of the children
are very well-behaved, and one little girl,
whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her
considerably, was considered an exception by
all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which
came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and
evening by an old man of the family. These
contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They
were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
and did not provide the same sort of pleas-
[538] ure as did listening to the ordinary tales,
which were never directed to pedagogical
ends.'

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 [538] Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lüx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

● [538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

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16 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the people
even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this
purpose she would die. When the girl was 796
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538] ●
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called süksümix.
The word for the power quest was tsüntsüt or
tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 ●538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell _you_ to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling, but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

[1] [For footnote content, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

[1] See also Individual Life Cycle. [1]

538 562 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However, Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening.
861 During the day, children would gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as directions
[868] for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all implicit
[814] in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sunshine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlêncôltên, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (χôîxEntsχal or xIkê´kIkê´nsplÂk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI´klÂh (?), myth; insIm'a´pElûka, "French" fairy tale; kûmaIxI´ta, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

773 821 those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

776 DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'xmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming [538] themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'xmqestcī'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'xmqestcī'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found. 776

Giants.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alêne country.

Land and Water Mysteries.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.[317] The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards. 778

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at a place called *Golzë'ɛstem*(?)[a], a long way up the St. Joe River. Among them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top 538/778

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[317] a, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; e, pp. 598, 599; k, p. 276.

[a] One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alêne folklore.—G. Reichard.

538/778

called *Tuxt'stəm*(?).[4] Shortly after the drowning of the sisters some people were up on this mountain and discovered the hair of the sisters on the shores of this lake. They reported this to the parents of the girls, who went there and took the hair away. After this people knew that there was a water passage between the river and the lake on the top of the mountain.

Near the head of St. Joe River is a lake called *Hinqa'mənən* ("swallowing"). When people look at it sticks jump out of the water. The Indians are afraid of this lake and never go near it. Once two brothers were traveling on a ridge above this lake. The elder brother said to the younger, "Go and bring me some water from the lake, I am very thirsty." The younger brother said, "I am afraid. No one ever goes near this lake." The elder answered, "You must go, for I shall die of thirst. You must bring me some water." The lad hurried to the lake, drew a little water quickly, and then ran back up the hill. The water followed him uphill. He hurried to his brother, put down the water bucket beside him, and then ran down the opposite side of the hill. The elder brother watched the water rise to the top of the hill, then it stopped a moment, and disappeared down the hill, catching his brother halfway down. Then it rose to the top of the hill again, and receded to the lake. When all was quiet he went over and found his brother dead. He had evidently been drowned by the water when it caught up with him.

In Coeur d'Alêne Lake there is a "mystery" in the shape of a water buffalo. Once a man was traveling in a canoe along the edge of the lake. At one place a bush grew alone near the water. As he was passing this place in the dark, all at once his canoe stood still, and, paddle as he might, he could not make it move. He could see nothing in the dark and began to feel along the sides of the canoe. He felt a horn holding the canoe on each side and then knew it was the water buffalo. He gave it a present and begged it not to harm him. Then the canoe was allowed to proceed. After this, people, when passing this place in canoes, always propitiated the "mystery" by praying to it not to harm them and not to make the lake windy. At the same time they deposited offerings, which they put down near the bush.

There were also "mysteries" at other parts of Coeur d'Alêne Lake to which the Indians made payments and asked for good weather on the lake and good luck in fishing.

It seems that people did not paint their faces specially when they passed by mystery lakes in the mountains, as the Thompson often did. At some of the high summits where trails pass and in passes

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[4] Now Grizzly Elk.—G. Reichard.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeùr d'Alène

in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, 538 778 each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. 775 My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[318] 782 The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. They had a rain song. [533] The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[318] a, pp. 344-350.

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Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[16] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amazement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[16] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger than I have ever seen." 226 539

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be dreaming." 773 796

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said, "You had better come down and see."

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the program set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time. 226 624 796

plentiful. Occasionally late frosts killed all of the berries in the mountains, in which case many bears congregated along the upper course of the Columbia. 224

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

Another method of taking bears was to smoke them out of their places of hibernation. The locations of dens customarily used by these animals during the winter were well known to hunters. Other places of hibernation were identified by the characteristic pile of pine needles used to cover the openings of the dens. The hunter built a fire of rotten pine wood at the opening of the hole, then waited with his bow and arrow ready for the bear to come out.

Grizzly bears were seldom hunted by the average man. In fact the grizzly bear was so greatly feared that it was much more common for a hunter to run than to attack one of the animals. On the other hand, those hunters who had for their guardian spirits the grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel or gopher, (these latter were "friends" of the grizzly), were able to successfully seek this formidable creature. Although not immune from injury, hunters with such spirits were certain to recover, no matter how seriously hurt. 224 825

The following tale, told by Bob Covington, illustrates the beliefs surrounding the grizzly bear: 224 825 539

An old man spent nearly all his time hunting grizzly bears. In those days there were lots of grizzlies in the mountains. He had become a big grizzly bear hunter.

One day he said to his wife, "Now, wife, some day I may get killed when I am out hunting. But whatever happens don't go to look for me. No matter how badly I am hurt, I have a good chance to get well. So you just stay away, at least until two days have passed."

Later on they were camping on the Sanpoil river near Keller. It was late in the afternoon, but the old man told his wife that he was going up in the hills for a while. He said he would be back before long.

Night came but he did not return. His wife wondered what had happened but she didn't go out. During the night she heard many noises in the hills. All kinds of animals seemed to be there. She heard coyotes and wolves and crows and all the rest of the birds and animals. Then she was sure she knew what had happened.

When morning came she started out. She could still hear the cries of the animals and she followed them. They became louder and soon she was nearly there. She crossed a little hill and then looked down into a small meadow below. All the noises had disappeared but she saw her husband sitting there in the center of the clearing. She rushed up to him but he didn't turn around. She went around in front of him but he turned so that his back was again toward her. Then he said, "Why didn't you stay at home as I told you? I'm hurt, but I'm all right just the same. Now you go on away."

His wife went away but she didn't go home. She stayed just on the other side of the hill. As soon as she was out of sight of her husband she heard the cries of the animals again. She stood it as long as she could then rushed back. When she reached the open place again the noises were gone once more and her husband was still sitting in the same place.

He was angry this time, and didn't turn his face away from her. "It's funny you couldn't stay away a little bit longer," he said. She saw that he had two deep gashes cut in his face as if he had been clawed by a grizzly bear. He went home with her this time.

After reaching home his wife saw that he had scars all over his body which looked like the claw marks of a grizzly. But they were all healed. Only the cuts on his face were still open.

His wife asked what the meaning of it all was. He said, "I told you once. I was in a fight with a grizzly bear." Then she told him that she wanted to know about all the animals she had heard.

Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 539 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawäyi··· xawa··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi··· 224
(meaningless) 539

sqəpəntcu'əmstʷ ɛsnuqłtsaxe'ł ni'xulqwa· 825
You cause the other animals to do as you have done.

â·nui' ki'qwəłtuqumətsut' itsəpəntcu'təmstxʷ
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuqumətsu'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwəłtuqumətsut,
You have given up to me;

sqəpəntcu'təmstxʷ i·'s winu·'mtxʷ i·'t kəłami'luxʷ msətstuqumən tsu'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224 825

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

wa'i' kwuuqami'nk' ali·' 533 832
I love you because

ksui'nomt'x" wumi'x"
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pltx" i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 544 832

> A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pata'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lix was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

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[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 30.

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While passing a certain grave a horseman heard someone calling. The call was repeated several times. Then the man heard someone coming behind him. His horse became frightened and started to run. The noise sounded as if something were rattling in a basket. The man fell off his horse. He ran and hid in the brush. The ghost came and passed but the man did not see it. He determined to see what it looked like. He left his hiding place, picked up a large rock, and stood squarely in the trail. Soon the ghost returned. It looked like an erect shadow. It approached the man as if he were not seen. The man crashed the rock on its head. It sounded as though something had cracked. The man then ran away. The next morning he returned and found a broken bone under the rock. (Burke)

An old man was searching for horses in the plains south of the Columbia river. He found them and started home. On the way he took a trail which was strange to him. At dusk, just as he emerged from a canyon, he heard noises which he interpreted as ghosts. Beyond a grove of trees nearby he thought he saw a fire. Then he assumed that someone was camping there. He approached with his horses and discovered a huge fire burning. But he saw no camps or horses or signs of habitation. Suddenly on the opposite side of the fire he observed a woman with long, unbraided hair, wearing no clothes. The horses reared and bounded away in the direction from which they had come. They did not stop until they were two or three miles away.

The ghost was that of an old woman who had lost her mind during the earthquake.[8] The place the old man had seen her ghost was an old deserted camp of the Spokane Indians. (Bob Covington)

A dying woman was jealous of her husband. Her husband assured her that he would not marry again after her death. The woman died. Contrary to his word, her husband married again immediately. Some time later while the new wife was sitting in her lodge someone called through the door to her. "Get ready tomorrow morning before daylight to go berry picking with me," the voice commanded. It was the voice of the dead woman's ghost. "All right," the wife answered although she did not know who it was. The following morning she prepared to leave. The ghost came and spoke through the door as previously. "Are you ready?" it asked. The woman answered that she was ready, and opened the door. The ghost was wrapped in a huge robe covering her head and tied under her chin. It led the way and travelled so fast that the woman could not overtake it. Upon reaching the berry grounds both started to pick. The ghost kept its face away from the woman, who soon became suspicious. She suddenly ran around the ghost and saw its face. What she saw was a skull. In great fright she started running back toward camp. The ghost followed in pursuit. As they approached camp the ghost called out, "It's all right; you won't live now." The woman died of fright. (Burke)

Burke was staying in a log house with several other persons. One night as soon as the light was extinguished he heard moccasined footsteps descending the trail back of the house. The footsteps continued around the house. The front door opened, then the kitchen door. The ghost banged pans and utensils in the kitchen. As soon as any member of the household made a noise the sound stopped, but only for a short time. In the silence the ghost was heard breathing heavily just outside the door. The disturbance continued all night, but no one investigated. Burke left early the next morning. (Burke)

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[8] See page 108.

539/775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a 825 spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed [823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had [821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case 776 its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

761/776 entity with which occasional communion was held and which at other times led a separate existence. Rather it was an intimately associated part of one's ego which could not be lost without disastrous results and which, though seldom seen, was ever present. It is thus understandable that the fate of one's spirit after the death of the body was as great a concern as the fate of the soul. The belief was that the soul and spirit departed simultaneously from the fleshy body as soon as death came. The spirit became a ghost in form very similar to the ghost of the soul, but in character very different. It is interesting that the after-death form of the spirit was anthropomorphic whereas it was derived from an animal or inanimate object. It is true, of course, that spirits often assumed human form, but they always retained, as spirits, their true natures. The spirit-ghost, on the other hand, was almost completely void of its original characteristics (except for its powers) and used not its original generic name but referred to itself by the term for spirit-ghost or a relationship term applied to the dead person who had possessed it.[4]

776 Spirit-ghosts and soul ghosts were not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There was undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote was a soul ghost or spirit-ghost. A spirit-ghost was easily killed; an arrow shot at one never missed. At the spot where one had been killed there was always found a human scapula.[5] Indeed, the native term for spirit-ghost, pápa'iut, meant scapula. The following tale accounts for the name:

539 Three men were going along the Sanpoil river near the Columbia one time. They were on a narrow trail between a cliff and the river. The trail led to an open meadow a little farther along. Just at this place, whenever a traveller came along, ghosts of spirits would chase him. It was about sunset and the men were half way from the cliff to the flat. They began to hear footsteps behind them. They got louder and louder. The second man looked back but could see nothing. The noise got louder and they could hear the hard breathing of the ghost. They began to run and soon were away from the place.

But the third man said that he was going to go back and shoot the thing. He picked out his poorest arrow, and went back, just at dusk. When he reached the place he heard the footsteps again. This time he didn't run. He looked around and saw a shadow coming toward him. He stood still and waited until it was right up to him. Then he drew his bow and shot. He heard it hit something with a thud. Then he turned and went back to camp and told them that he had killed the ghost down by the river.

The next morning the men from camp went down to the place where he had shot. On the ground they found a piece of a man's shoulder blade with the arrow straight through it. They took the bone, broke it in two and buried the pieces and the arrow on the hill.

Since that time ghosts of spirits have been called "scapula." (Bob Covington)

776 The spirit-ghost functioned as a secondary power or guardian in the same manner as an ordinary spirit. But its acquisition was a very different and dangerous procedure. Such power was never voluntarily sought and was available

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[4] See page 169.

[5] But cf. the anecdote on page 171.

431 753 776 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterized as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 778 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 778 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a·'tləmxʷ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wandered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognized none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment. 776 778

Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (snəqaie'tkʷ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself." 539 773

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6] This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7] Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

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Beings in mythological times resembled the spirits of the subsequent period in that they had the physical and psychological characteristics of animals, but for the most part existed in the form of men. Mythological beings did not seek spirit power; they had it inherently. They could change from their man-like forms to their animal forms as freely as spirits themselves. Indeed, "when people came on earth" the mythological beings *became* the spirits.

Like other Plateau peoples, the central figure in Sanpoil mythology was Coyote, the trickster-transformer. Bob Covington explained in narrative style the place and characteristics of Coyote in the mythology:

> In the beginning, a long time ago, Coyote was a man. He went about helping the people. He was interested in their fortunes and he did a great deal to make life better on earth. It is hard to tell what a miserable place the world would be now if Coyote hadn't changed things as he did.
>
> Fox was Coyote's friend and adviser. Whenever Coyote was in trouble he called on Fox to help him, and usually he did. Coyote nearly always took the credit though. He would say, "Oh, yes, I knew that all the time."
>
> Coyote was sometimes tricky and sometimes foolish. Most of what he did was for the best, though. He made several trips up the Columbia river, usually starting from Astoria. Many things happened on these trips and there are lots of stories about them. On the last trip, when he reached Kettle Falls, he was just an ordinary animal coyote.

Raven, the trickster-transformer of the Northwest Coast appeared in a few myths. But he retained only a faint suggestion of the character that enshrouded him on the coast. He was a great chief and shaman but not a culture-hero.

Certain mythological beings consistently possessed shamanistic powers. The principal ones so endowed were: Badger, Skunk, Ground Hog, Otter, Bull Frog, Sucker, Grizzly Bear, Wolf, Wildcat, Lynx, Raven, Eagle, Owl and Chicken Hawk. It will be noted that this group coincides at many points with that of the most powerful spirits.

Many of the geographical and geological features of the country were determined in mythological times. Coyote was usually responsible. He made Kettle Falls, the rapids throughout the length of the river, and changed the course of the river from the Grand Coulee to its present channel. Two beings fighting over a girl turned to mountains, Mt. Chopaka and the adjoining one.

The presence of death without possible reanimation in the world of human beings was the outcome of a struggle between a great chief and Raven. Each wanted his own children to come to life again after dying, but neither would give in to the other.

After a council among the mythological beings it was decided that a sun and moon should be made. Many beings offered to serve, but none was satisfactory until two boys, one made of a stone chip and the other of roots, were tried. They were selected.

Grizzly Bear, Ice, Blizzard and Steelhead Trout (female) were dangerous beings in mythological times. Coyote subdued each one by trickery and changed their characteristics to those they now possess.

DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[8] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstən, and as grandfather, topi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

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xananana' n··ana, etc.
(meaningless)

topi'a sxe'ləms kwi'lstan mətsaləq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xa'n i·'mát.	yaya't i·'s stsəki'nx*	isətxəno'mtx* ka'm'
I am your grandson.	Everyone who is ill,	who may be injured or

i'səts kei'lt	ulxwimi''stemens	u'l	xali'txtəms	i't	ixtsxa'sts
sick,	they go to you	and	ask you	for	relief

u'l	xwi't'sglt*	ixtsli'mtc.
and	you give	happiness.

yaya't	istí'm	ku'ləntəm	ɛ'l	təmxu·'lá	u'lku·'lənst
Everything	was	created	in	this world	and created

á·nui'	u'l	u'mənst	ákskwi'st	kwi'lstən	ku'kiən
you (were)	and	called	named	Sweat Lodge,	to

xastá'ns	iske'lux	xa·'ltamxulau'
help	people	in this world.

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782 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

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782 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

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[8] See the origin myth, page 177.

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his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu·xiqwe'lamx°," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa·yump', axo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardized the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow:

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na··xaxa··xaxana···' aiai··xaxanai··xaixainai··· a··xuaxa··
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na···	u'yata'	tsnicsi'lux.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

xaxawaiyawi··xaxawiya··xo··ai··ai··ai·· it'latcumu'q°.
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'lititca·'qi'n	it'likiltmantcu't	i·kalskalkswa'lux°	kilska-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit

ke·'lux	ul	s'tsknsto	imal'ki'a.[8]
	and let out		blood.

a·naxai··xaxa··xa··xaxa··xaxiyu··axana··
(meaningless)

tixenA'nuk'sax°,	ilxus'paulux	kxpala'p	tla'tcku·yukxani'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it

kxpala'p	latcitcusu'lux	sistuqtuqeniu·'lax°.[9]
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).

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When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping

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[7] George Serimpt's song.
[8] Bear's Cricket power song.
[9] Song of Cultus Charley.

756 be taken as the rule, however. The average shaman attempted to gain as great a return for his services as possible.[13] Moreover, very small offers probably were never made to a shaman with the prestige of John Tom.

Upon the arrival of the shaman and the messenger the former made ready for practice while the latter whispered to the patient the attitude that had been taken by the shaman. If he had been hesitant about coming the patient usually made him further offers to assure that he would use his full powers. If the messenger came back alone he was never returned nor a second messenger sent. In such a rare case a new shaman was sought. Close relatives of a doctor often dispensed with the offer of presents but something was given, nevertheless, if a cure was effected.

Neighbors always gathered at a patient's house when a shaman arrived to practice. Children were permitted to remain but were not allowed to talk or annoy the doctor or walk behind his back. This was simply an extension of the solemnity required of elders. The shaman never punished an annoysome child by making him ill.

The invariable first act of the shaman in the curing procedure was to sit down and smoke for a few moments. Every shaman possessed a pipe but he did not necessarily use his own. If one were borrowed the owner lit it and took the first few puffs. John Tom explained his reason for smoking: "It builds me up strong for my hard work to come." From among those present the shaman chose a spokesman through whom he gave orders and spoke to the audience for the remainder of the procedure. In addition he selected one or more assistants. The spokesman might be anyone present but the assistants were necessarily strong bodied men familiar with the duties. Covington assisted John Tom whenever he was present. Some shamans removed all of their garments except moccasins and breechcloths while practicing. No particular dress was worn to the patient's home but the shaman always brought with him his spirit objects (feathers, claws, power stick, etc.). Face painting at this time was a trait of some doctors.

The shaman seated himself beside his patient and asked his assistant to bring a basket of water. When this was received he washed his hands and the water was thrown out. The basket was taken away, rinsed, refilled and returned to the shaman's side. The shaman placed either one or both hands on various parts of the patient's body, holding them at each spot for a moment or two. This was the manner or diagnosis. At the same time he sang his doctoring songs. The audience joined in the singing and beat time on the floor or a plank with sticks held vertically. In addition, seated persons sometimes beat on a log with short sticks. Examples of the songs follow: 539/756

uyu··xa···'uyu··xa···enuinxa'uyu··xa···ɛ···'ɛ···
(meaningless)

tɛn'umu's	kəntxu'tumsk	e'lux;	nu''kənlu'təm
I'll just try	to go towards	(the) sickness;	if I fail

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[13] Cf. page 208.

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uhnutcu'lman	wa'i'lut	ulkunamu'tat
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)	and sit down
uhnoqalske'lux	tǝkana'ks	tlà·kwi'lux.[19]
and you can call	another	doctor.

x··xa'i'inki'lux,	sxuxu'xup,	xali·xi·"
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why

qâtsku'lamstan	inki'lux	kamlâtspu'xam	xa'xana···'waiexa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the 753
spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure 756
it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction.

The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling 755
with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued.

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

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[19] One of John Tom's songs.

3: Cline

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NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

/For a collection of Sinkaietk myths and folktales, see pp. 197-260, category 116./

682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murder of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

● 539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a handful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

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628 had shot him. He leaped up the bluff, with the arrow in his back. Quinmusq shot five more arrows into him and killed him.

His sister came straight for him with the knife. He told her to stop; that he would shoot her if she did not. She said, "Shoot me if you want to," and kept coming. He shot her through the heart and shot five more arrows into her body. There he left her and ran back to camp. The baby was there on the cradle board. He took it up and smashed its head against a tree.

Then he went back to Colville. His people asked, "Where are your sister and her husband?" He told them that he had got tired of staying with them and left them; that they would be back in the fall sometime; that there were lots of camas to dig there.

Just a week later, the sister's dog came back to Cusick. The Cusick people recognized it. The dog's face was all greasy. They thought he had been eating bear. Then the dog made motions as if he were going to throw up. He did and a long black braid of hair came up. The people went to see what it was, and some of the brother-in-law's relatives knew the braid was his. They thought some enemy tribe had met the four on the way home and killed them. They did not suspect Quinmusq.

Finally about fifty good fighters started out. They came to the flat where the four had camped. Pretty soon they found the baby with its head smashed by the tree. They saw the woman's body and then the man's down by the river. Now Quinmusq's big toe was crooked and turned back on his other toes. Everywhere were Quinmusq's tracks, but no enemy tracks. So they knew that he had killed the three. They followed his tracks.

The Spokan went back and told their chief. He said, "All you warriors, go and kill that fellow. He killed his own sister as well as one of our people." They knew where Quinmusq hunted every year in the fall. So the chief sent them to kill Quinmusq and all his people. He told them to wait for Quinmusq where he would go to hunt.

The Spokan started. Early in the morning they arrived and asked the people for Quinmusq. The people told them that Quinmusq with his three brothers was down by the river sweating. The leader of the warriors said, "We just want Quinmusq's people. We won't hurt anybody else. He killed his brother and sister in the summer." So they killed the mother and father of Quinmusq.

Quinmusq was way in the back of the sweat house. He was so fierce that he always had his big knife in the sweat house just inside the door. The Spokan called to them. Finally the first brother jumped out and was killed with spears and bows and arrows. The second went out and was killed. The third sang his power song. Then he went out. When they shot at him they missed. He

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fell down and jumped up. They chased him but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think he could jump over it. He could not. He jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back.

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Kalispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

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No payment is ever accepted as compensation for adultery. If a man is sufficient-

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most 857 of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to obey all their elders. Bad behavior was 861 punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

p. 108 (A)

that in mythical times Coyote had control of the girls at puberty or on the quest, and made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote was transformed and banished to the ocean, the girls have not had to do so when hunting for power. 776 787 857

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child built a fire at night to make his presence known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this attitude, though not a normal form of quest, and though the hero forcing the animals to give their power may perhaps be a farcical treatment of this serious subject. Cecile tells the story. 776 787 539

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor [illegible] and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peeks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

776 787 539

"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up through a little canyon and shot. He went up there and found a big buck lying dead. He cut it up and packed it back to his wife and child. From then on he could kill a deer anywhere. His people wondered if he and his wife and child were still alive, and came to look for them. They found that they had all kinds of meat. So he called all his relatives and stayed there and became an important man.

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The power quest had a moral value for the child's future, as well as a religious and practical one. A lazy child, or one indifferent to the aim, might fail to receive power because the animals knew his character and did not like him. Suszen said that if the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school."

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 773 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

●539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.'[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right!" Then I came back.'[1]

789 796 [184] The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElsIü´ŧ (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqölI´tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

Sinkaietk

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‡2 Some say that Fox was Coyote's partner when he danced, others say that Porcupine was. This is the first time that Johnnie Louie [the interpreter] has heard that Porcupine was Coyote's partner. Margaret [Sersepkin ?] says that Fox was always Coyote's partner.

‡3 This is the conventional ending of a tale. – L.S.

‡4 Compare skalsi´ulk, the name given the Upper Kutenai by the Okanagon groups according to Teit, Salishan Tribes, 202. – L.S.

‡[For context of these footnotes, see p. 152 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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their guardian spirits. The mother, who had deer power pulled her dress over her head and ran away naked like a deer; while her daughter, whose power was the eagle, took some eagle feathers from the inside of her dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 726 787 789

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy. 773

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding instances, the following seems more dramatic as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys and their mother were camping on a ridge between Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mosquitoes. One of the boys had been sick and paralyzed for a long time, so that he could hardly move. During the night, when the old woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy. 726 778 789 539

p. 161 (B)

Sinkaietk
Colville

776 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the 778 great hero cûˀktaskû'sûm had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of qûinmûsq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special power of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spo-
778 kane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known as the Red Shirt People. The former had
●539 with them as allies some Nez Percé braves from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for
776 the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people,
791 and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwaI'a) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an es-
sential place in Indian life, a tradition 773
justified in actual practice. Constructing
a sweat house or using it had spiritual val-
ue and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when
they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa'ksEn qwânēnmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlāūtiksq'ūàl
Let me live to be old,
kūwá'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167(A)

nōkēnspálsq'ō´lxwa
So I can kill deer, 515
Iati´sak'latsI´nEm
Deer. 788
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. 515 783 Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences.

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. 776 177 Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.[1]

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI´p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qōlūncō´tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qōlūncō´tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 177 The Dream dance complex, at least so far as it incorporates elements derived in recent decades indirectly from Christianity, seems to have taken a less consistent form than that of the indigenous cult.

769 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

769 539 787 The following account of such an experience dates from the days of Suszen's great-grandfather. Suszen, who related this and couched it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

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[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. [1]

769 These things are at the side of the road. A little way beyond some dead people there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I never heeded them, just followed the road. A
787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn child in the woman's belly. These two can never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840[1] a substance resembling "dry
796 snow" (m·qwaw xlöqûlahû, "snow dirt") fell from the sky so heavily that it covered the ground to a depth of several inches. Deposits of this may still be seen in the
821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much. There is a question whether this led to the performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy Joe said, "The people just danced and danced until they had nothing stored away for the winter." This was the only summer dance of which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to him, prophesied the coming of the white men. He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as the later prophets did. Shortly before he died, God promised him that he would receive him. This seems to be our earliest hint of the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

782 sticks might have been cast away to avert
796 the end of the world.

The Dream dance prophecies functioned
796 in a special way during the smallpox epidemic. A certain man who, it was specifically stated, had no power, dreamed that he
751 saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog" over the villages, killing people as it passed. Then he sang, though he did not dance, and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to prayers (sk'aũm; compare the word for the "prayer dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said people prayed to Qōlūncōtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these prayers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qōlūncōtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

The Southern Okanagon believed that the
773 universe had been created by the supreme god qōlūncō´tn. This idea, however, may have
539 come to them from Christianity. They had no story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale, assumes the existence of qōlūncō´tn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story, these beings received from qōlūncō´tn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qōlūncō´tn) first finished the world and had made everything in it, nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth. Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid

173 531 that he was bound to sleep. So he thought that he would take little sticks and prop his eyes open. He did this. As soon as he had put these sticks on his eyes he went to sleep with his eyes open. As soon as it was getting daylight, Fox came along and saw him sitting there. Fox was a great friend of his and thought he would wake him up, but decided not to do this, for it is dangerous to awaken people. So Fox went to God, and God told him, "You can go through the world and fix anything you want." He was the first thing that got a name: xwaë´lôx, the fox. The second one that got there and got a name was the grizzly, kelaûna. All the other animals then came and got names. [The narrator enumerated them one by one.] When Coyote got there, there were only two names left. He asked to be chief, but the Great Man said, "You can't be chief because it's already been given out. There are only these two names left, 'Coyote' and 'Sweat house'." Coyote said, "No, I won't have either name." The Great Man said, "Coyote would be a good name for you. If you take the name Coyote, I'll give you power to be a powerful man, to be smart in every way. I'll give you power in your faeces. Now I'll show you how and you can try it for yourself." After Coyote had let it out [defecated], the Great Man said, "Now turn around and talk to it." And just as soon as he spoke to them, the faeces asked him, "What do you want?" There was a mountain there, and Coyote told them, "I don't want that mountain to be where it is: I want it to be over there." His faeces answered, "Look at that mountain and make a motion with your hand to move." And just as soon as Coyote looked at the mountain, the mountain moved with the motion of his face [hand?]. Just as soon as he had done that he thought that he was greater than this Great Man. As soon as Coyote thought that, the Great Man told him, "No, don't think that. I'm just giving you this power so that you'd have more power than anything else." Then Coyote said, "All right, I'll take the name Coyote." Fox was a long way ahead of him [more important]: he was supposed to be chief. But Fox did everything that wasn't fit to do. He was killing people and doing things that were not right — the chief! Fox was going along and making man-eaters: that is what Fox was doing as he was going along. There was only one name left, so old Coyote started out on his journey. Great Man told Sweat House, "You're going to be liked by all people, and be in one place. Wherever there are Indians; you'll be there. That'll be your name, 'Sweat House.'" That is the reason that there are sweat houses all over the world among the Indians. [The conclusion of the story relates the banishment of Fox and Coyote, and the end of mythical times. I give it below.]

Thereafter came the mythical era, the "story times" (tsepEtl´qx̣, lit., "stories"), in which the animals lived as Indians and did the things recorded in the folk tales. In this alcheringa (to borrow a familiar Australian term) at least one kind of every ani-

p. 176 (B)

mal existed, though there are not stories about them all. There were many deer, who lived together in a long house; five wolves, four brothers and a sister; five grizzlies, a mother and four cubs; one eagle; and one coyote (sInkElI'p). Coyote had a gopher (pötlüa^{xü}) to wife whose personal name was pElIahalks and had four sons, called in descending order of age kełtEt!a'łal^{qü}, sEngagaIe'ł^{xü}tEn, patskłqwa'üst^{łE}n, ts!atsI'nix̣En. They held power dances, each animal with its own kind or family, used sweat houses, hunted, and lived in other ways just as Indians. They were visualized in no stereotyped forms. More often they were thought of as human in shape, especially when performing human activities, but some incidents require them to assume their animal guise. 773 539

How the creatures of the myths were thought of is indicated by the following statements of Suszen. They looked like animals when the story speaks of them as such, but when making laws for the people-to-be, they looked like humans. In the tale of Coyote bringing salmon, wherein his face was stretched by Wolf and Fox, he had not been a man before that, but something like a coyote-like animal with a somewhat human face. But when he transformed himself into a little boy, he was a boy. The two bird-sisters who dug camas by the first salmon trap were human like women today, but were thought of as birds. They were birds: they had power no Indian woman would have. 773

Chilowhist Jim said that qölüncö'tn put the creatures and man on earth at the same time, and Suszen brought Adam and Eve, Christ, and other humans into the mythology; but the aboriginal versions, with few exceptions, admitted only animals and other non-human characters, all of whom, however, are generally referred to as "people" in the stories. The story of the origin of camas from the east, though ascribed to mythical times, apparently belongs in a different category from the rest of the tales, for the principal characters are a woman and the mountains who do not occur in the other myths. Another exception was given by Cecile, who believed that during mythical times, "when Coyote was alive," some people turned into rocks which can still be seen.

Some are east of Nespelem, Michel said. People were trapping fish there when two women began fighting. "Something happened to the world" and they with their people were transformed into rocks. Again, between Tonasket and Riverside, are two rocks which were a man and woman lying together: these are called kitliqölötpē'cxIm, "lying by a rock."

Coyote was the most prominent figure in the mythology. As we have seen, he played a comical part in the naming myth, and occurred in other tales as a trickster and buffoon, whose wiles and audacity often led him into absurd situations. Sometimes the Okanagon claimed him as their ancestor (nxa'tsIn), just as they said that the Cannibal-woman (spaŕa) was ancestress of the Wenatchi and Dog the ancestor of the Nez Percé. Coyote's old house-pit can still be seen near Penticton. 773

At the end of mythical times and the begining of the present epoch, "the world turned over;" the animals assumed their present forms and multiplied and from them human beings were somehow generated. Andrew's account of the end of the mythical period, told as the conclusion of the naming myth, proceeds as follows: 773 539

Coyote and Fox got together and went all over the world. The Great Man told them, "Well, you've come back. Did you fix everything that you wanted to fix?" He put Fox on a log or a boat or something, took him towards the north and put him right in the middle of the ocean. Then he took Coyote and set him on another boat, took him south and put him in the middle of the ocean. He told the Sweat House that he, Sweat House, would be with the people all the time until he himself, the Great Man, came back to this world that he was leaving. So this Great Man before he left turned the world inside out and the things that he had named turned into animals. He told Coyote and Fox and Sweat House to stay where they were until he came back, when he would give them all power.

According to Lucy Joe, Coyote had been chief of all the animals and had travelled all over the country. When "the one before him" (probably qōlūncō´tn) saw that Coyote was powerful enough to move mountains, he deprived him of the chieftainship, reduced his power, and banished him to a place in the ocean for all eternity. Then the "new people" came in. The discrepancies between the two versions are obvious, but we did not obtain enough folklore to determine whether they are cultural or only personal.

Suszen's account of the history of the world was so unique that it may best be presented in his own words, or as nearly as is possible from the notes.

God created the world. There were no oceans then; just rivers, lands, and little lakes. After Adam and Eve did wrong, God took away one land from the top and put it to one side for the Indians-to-be. God took the laws with the Indian land and left the other land without laws. Then God built an ocean to separate these lands: one land was for the Indians, another for the white people. Indians did not need books because they knew things in their minds that they learned from the creatures. About the time of Christ, God made the creatures. This was before Christ was born, so that Christ could preach about the other land. Then Coyote and two birds made a mistake just like Adam and Eve. After the world was burned with fire, the people were made. When the first baby was born, the creatures had to teach it. When the white people came to the Indians here, the priest told the Indians what they had forgotten. Christ was the baby that was

773 539 born to teach the world. The Indians have been searching all this time for the baby, but did not know it was Christ until the priest told them. That is why we believe the priest because he knew about this baby which was in the story and whom we have been looking for all this time. The Indians thought the baby might have been born in their land. In the story the baby is white. That is why when the white people came we thought that maybe they were people from the baby. That is why we first called all the white people qwŭlĕncŏltĕn, because we thought they were from God.

The law-making activities of the animals during the mythical period was one of the leading traits of Suszen's mythology. God had given Coyote three chances to make the right law, and Coyote had "missed the law" twice. God then banished him to a house in the clouds in the north, informing him that he, God, would return to the world once again to superintend the making of new laws, and that this would be Coyote's last chance. If Coyote "misses the law" the third time, the world and humanity will disappear; but if he conforms to God's will, the world will be as it was when first created, before Coyote had "missed the law": that is, there will be no more work or hardship, and one will be able to achieve anything by merely thinking about it.

772 The Okanagon believed that the earth was flat and surrounded by a body of water called cŏłq or cĕŭlxkw. Of this water, the Pacific Ocean (cqĔlpĭtlĔmătqŭ) formed only a part. The world itself, said Michel, had four corners and four legs "like a table." Michel had no ideas about the sky or the subterranean regions. Suszen claimed that the Coyote of the myths was left in his new house up in the sky, which he reached by going out into the ocean; that if Coyote should fall off the "sidewalk" which surrounded his house he would drop away into nothing, without touching land, water, or clouds.

The word xĕatlnŭx meant either sun or moon; to distinguish between the two, the substantive "day" or "night" was prefixed. The sun and the moon were originally two sons of the mythical Coyote. Michel told the following tale about their transformation.

773 539 Long ago, before there was any sun or moon, it was dark all the time. The Indians all gathered and said, "We're going to make a sun and a moon." They chose the sun for the daytime and said, "We'll get Crane for the sun." So they made Crane the sun. When this sun was coming up, his beak came over first. When his beak had come up, it would be noon before his feet came over. A little after noon his beak was out of sight and his feet were still in the middle of the sky. It took a long time to get dark; the sun was

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1/∧ [For footnote, see p. 178 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

16 This is the formal ending of a tale. — L.C. 1/∧

773 539 too long. There were long days and short nights. Newly married people did not like this: they wanted to go to bed, but the sun was still up. So they took Crane down and put Coyote in his place. Coyote was an awfully good sun: he did not make a very hot day and he did not make a very cold day. He was just right. But just as soon as he had come over the hill, he started to tell everything about the people that he saw on earth. There was nothing hidden from Coyote nor from the people on earth: anything that went wrong, he told it. They got tired of that. Coyote also made a long day because he had a long nose, long ears, and a long tail. So the people decided they would take Coyote down and put somebody else in his place, because he made a long day and told too many scandals. They took him down and put Woodpecker up there. He was the sun. Just as soon as he came over the hill, it would be so hot the people could hardly stand the heat. They would go to the river to bathe, but the river would be so hot from the sun that they could hardly stand the river. So they took Woodpecker down. He was too hot: the people could not stand it.

Coyote had two nice looking sons. They were strangers there, and did not know to what tipi to go. A big female Frog saw them. She thought she would make it rain [to force them to come into her tipi]. It rained awfully hard, and everybody else's tipi was leaking just as if it was outdoors. These two fellows went to every tipi, but it was just like outdoors. They tried every tent they could see, but there were none dry enough for them to stay in. Finally they saw a little tipi quite a way from the others. They thought they would go into it. When they looked in, they found it nice and dry inside, so they went in. It was Frog's tipi. As soon as they entered, Frog told the younger to sit across on the other side, and told the elder to come and sit beside her. He did not want to sit by her; he wanted to sit by his brother. But she would not let him. She leaped up and bit him on the cheek and hung there. He tried to get loose from her, but he could not do it. After it had stopped raining, the Indians tried to cut her off with a knife, but they could not cut her loose. They finally decided to make the moon out of him. They made the younger brother the sun throughout the day. The people were then satisified with the sun and the moon. The sun was not very hot through the day and the moon was not very bright at night. Michel and I [Johnnie, the interpreter] expected to be the sun and moon ourselves, but we could not, so we came back.[1] [Johnnie later said that the incidents of this story took place at Brewster Flat. One can still see the Frog hanging on the moon's cheek.]

821 An eclipse of the sun or moon indicated that the weather would turn cold. Weather

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 178(A), Category 116.--Analyst]

Sinkaietk

TALES

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[p. 196 is blank]

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548• 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

p. 119 (B)

COLVILLE VILLAGES

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25. ntcali·"am ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia at this point), home of the sntcali"xᵘ. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.
26. nqua'si'am ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'xᵘ. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.
27. qaqala'pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqaqala'piaxᵘ. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.
28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'naxᵘ. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qaqala'pia (27).
29. ntcumu'tastum, home of the sntcumu'tastᵘ, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami'n (28), near Kettle Falls.
30. qduma"axᵘ ("level land"), home of the sqduma"axᵘ. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu'tastum (29).
31. snxtcunu'lau, home of the snxtcunu'lauxᵘ, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

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From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the residents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying [551] prefix and suffix. Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came.

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui·'luxᵘ and proceeds northward up the river.

1. snhuxu'la'xᵘ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi'kast ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. áqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'kast (2).
4. snxlos'pate·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

562 622 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tkᵘ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkən, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

622 681 692 695 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

693 The lasher (suɫlt'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 681 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agreement that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 682 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by 55/776
guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use.

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim't'i'kən, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, səyau'xnukən, in memory of his brother and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that 721
any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the [778]
scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved.

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the 181/
assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 721

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[13] See pages 192-94.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 128.

181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane
Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend,
Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[551] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These
721 were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on
personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[18]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation
might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from
the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that
might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and snəká'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages
at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil
frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls
(Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snəqaie'tkʷ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[18] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The 302 clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped 765 off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide) buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not removed until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some 765 time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was 587 customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time 765 had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling resulted.

For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. 551 Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," tamtamani'. A woman whose husband has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as slu·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

764 768 The body was then buried in the earth among stones and was mourned for some time. When the relatives were once more pure, the property was divided among relatives and friends, and, except for perpetuation of the name in a new individual, the place and soon the memory of the individual was gone from the community.

STATUS TERMS

551 561 601 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms to distinguish the place of the individual in the developmental sequence. They were not the ordinary terms of address. Personal names and relationship terms were more commonly used as vocatives, and status terms were used, even as terms of reference, only when there was some reason for stressing the status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do they represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	öxtI′lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xI′xötEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqöcqöcē′
crawling	qElkētc′xI′nux
unweaned	wai′q′łxap
running about	xöxwēłuc
little child	qwüqwē′ö′ma
big child	tētExa′p
run about outdoors	qyłcqē′tcilix
big enough for chores	q′ötcqytsqwē′lix
boy	t′tüIt
girl	xI′xötEm
oldest child of a family	cxiI′tx
second oldest child	q!ē′öc
youngest child	ctEē′öt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEē′ltc
several sons of one father	łckōcē
just before puberty	xēlqē′lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxö′mxax

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took 553
courage, got up and took a blanket. Then 574
she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtĪō′cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it.

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power 553
that a man took a new name. A man picked
some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might 778
tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians.

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames 553
were frequently derogatory in character, and 522
alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions.

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother thŪtsaa′c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cIlhwapawckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of 551
their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu.

A name given in childhood was called ckwĪct; a power name, cinōmuxckwĪct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

● 551 by two individuals at the same time. This was a situation favorable to the development of family ownership of particular names. Among the more northern groups David says that parents would sometimes have to pay other equally interested relatives for the privilege of giving a particular name to their child. Ross's statement that names could be given and thrown away also indicates a feeling for names as property, though we could not corroborate it exactly.' [1] However, there was no fixed system of names belonging to each family, for a child might be given names assumed as supplementary names by his ancestors, particularly power names.

FORMAL ASPECT OF NAMES

There was no difference in the form of names thus variously acquired. Not all names had meaning.

551 562 The only formal difference was between the names for men and those for women. Women were never named after animals or birds (or plants?), and the majority of their names end in the suffix -alks or -ĕlks, meaning "dress" or "robe," or in -atq^{ŭ}, "water." Michel stated that all women's names referring to dress or blanket were power names. Some examples of the names for women are:

clēma´tq^{ŭ}	whirlpool
sĬntq^{ŭ}	perfumed waters
wōq!pĕ´tqŭ	toward water
cilxĕ´mtqŭ	toward rough water
tsŭ´xtsilt^{qŭ}	telling the waters
q!ŏ´nankt^{qŭ}	twisting waters (as a meandering stream)
sEmElEmtĬ´t^{qŭ}	slow waters (?)
qwĬ'qwa·ĕ´t^{qŭ}	black waters (?)
sEmEx̣a´lEqs or sŭn·ha´lks	war-dance dress
qwalx̣ŭ´nmElqs	something went dry about her dress
qwal'kĬa´lks	red dress
tslō·ta´lks	—— dress (?)
sĬnEmta´lks	perfumed dress
ts!ŭm·ta´lks or tsŭtsŭa´lks	fringed dress (?)
x̣!sum·ta´lks	nice dress [same as preceding?]
sElElla´lks	lost dress
skwa·Ĭe´lks	blue dress
taEmExEna´lks	snow dress
cłqō´tE´lkc	yellowjacket dress
chwictĬmnE´lkc	walking dress
cqĕtE´lpc	walk on the dress
cklōtElkc	sat on her dress
sōkEpEx̣ne´lks	—— dress (?)
kwalxEnma´lks	dusty dress (as by kicking up the dust)
slEbEpa´lks	horizontal strips around the bottom of a dress(?
aluxumta´lks	——

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 106 (c), category 116.--Analyst]

551 A few of the otner names end in -pitsa, "blanket:"

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cIpI´tsa'	shouting blanket(?)
qölpI´tsa'	red blanket
hüctamI´tsa	walking blanket
cIkomEnI´tsa	part of the blanket is floating
amtEpI´tsa	——

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals, or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged from the form they would have as non- human names. They never have plant names, "because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -a´xn, -ö´xn, -Exn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snkalI´p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'lEpstsI´nEx̣n	coyote's ankle
spEpEẑI´na	rabbit (a men's name, though the mythical creature is female)
skm'x̣st	bear
IntimtamilŌ´pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqölaünI´tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwax̣waqE´n	fox head
cqlêkin	deer fat
sn.kstI´a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yIx̣öI'x̣ö´txn	badger
spük'mI´x	swan
asü´x̣l	loon
n·laqö´kn	a bird picking its back (?)
sqEma´ütkEn	(swan's ?) long neck
kutclixcqölExEn	running crane
pükhpE´lExqEn	white horse
tciq!ulpa´öc	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

sinlö´lp	lower intestine
qêmtI´kEn	rotten on the mountain (?)
cIltI´qEn	lost on the mountain
inmachwi´ct	keeps walking

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 106(A), Category 116. — Analyst]

p. 106(c)

1 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325. Teit remarked upon very much the same situation among the Thompson. "Each family had certain names, and no one but members of the family were permitted to use them.... They do not seem, however, to have been the property of families for a long time, new names being often invented" (Thompson Indians, 290).

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nölömE´ic	iron head
tExwista´skEt	walking in the sky (?)
slö´qExEn	moccasins no good (?)
ma'Eqö´n	big eddy
paxümtI´tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunmItsa	something went dry around his blanket
xElEka´xn	twisting his arm(?)
hüntöxsEnI´lhü	tipi door
tcIxa´xElix	they've been driven
hicha´ca	don't know how
ntsEcpEckwa´ct	no name
xIlkka´xEn	round wing
nIrqö´ctsIn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstilIa´öt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstIlIöt)
cpaqEö´l^a	two smokes
nxö´tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chElxa´lt	daylight
cöqö´m	moonlight
sinöö´c	sunrise

"Burning back" (nölö´qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcümp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl'qüIp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta´xn, s'aI´EaI´, öIa´pEkEn, kInEmI´lx, qalawI´ƛa, k!lö´pakn, kwa·alExnI´tsa, ckI´öc.

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The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4]

CHILDHOOD

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For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash-

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[2] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
[4] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
[5] See also Childbirth below.
[6] See Adult Life below.

p.107(A)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived 167
from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this 131
place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made 101
their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and [72] killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls.[illegible] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three 551
descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among 167
the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are 131
preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior 101
Salish, ~~the same and~~ similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmē'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[illegible] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas. 114

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928

Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tɛxaidek or Tɛxai'nɛk (chief)	Toxei'.nɛk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsɛlɛxkai'nɛm	Tsɛlē.xkai'nɛm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cɛlɛkqai'n	Sɛlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sɛmkɛn	Zu'sɛmkɛn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sɛmkɛn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolɛk	Zā'xɛlɛk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nɛmkɛn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nɛmkɛn or Zanɛmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mɛxkɛni'tsa (the youngest)	Mex.kaini'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wɛtskɛla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwi'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekɛtɛmē'ux; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake. 167 131 177

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

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[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -I'nɛk, -qai'n, -kɛn, and -itsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tsɛl, sɛl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601 that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565 of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622 because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses- 554 Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented 198 or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854 some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856 Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551 of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kwee'tca

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

(Blue-Robe), used also by Okanagon and Thompson. According to the Indians, persons having the same name are of a common descent, and the name must have been inherited through one line or another from the same ancestor. On p. 109 is given a list of a few names, probably Wenatchi, with translations. 551 611

BURIAL

The Columbia interred their dead in the earth and in rock-slides. Earth burials were in knolls, low mounds, edges of sandy terraces, and generally wherever digging was easy. Graves were lined with mats, pieces of bark, and slabs of stone, where these were convenient. Nearly all earth burials were covered with a heap of stones or encircled with a ring of stones, and further marked by a small pole. It seems that tents were not erected over graves, except occasionally among the most southern bands along Columbia River. Canoes were hauled up on the top of the graves by some people, but this does not seem to have been general. 764

Rock-slide burials were common. A place was cleared at the bottom of the slide for the body, a pole was stuck up at the head of the corpse, and the latter covered to a depth of three or four feet by pulling down the slide-rock on it. Sometimes a place was cleared of rock, or a shallow hole made in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the slide, the body placed in the cleared space, and covered to a considerable depth by pulling the rocks from the slide over it. This formed a little rocky mound at the foot of the rock-slide. Poles or sticks were erected at all graves. In small bluffs near the larger camps, burials were sometimes made in the slide-rock in tiers from bottom to top of the slide. Graves were made at irregular distances in a row at the base of the slide. When all the available room had been used up there, rocks were pulled down and levelled off over the old graves, and a new row made above; and so on as far up the bluff as required or as was possible. Thus the rows of graves formed narrow irregular terraces on the side of the bluff. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting, and usually buried on the side. The method of interment depended on the environment. If slide-rock was at hand, it was used, and if not, burial was made in the earth. Some articles were placed with the dead, chiefly necklaces, pipes, and the like. Some things were buried in the graves, while others were suspended from the grave-pole. The Indians say that the piling of rocks above a grave was to keep animals from digging up the corpse, which in some places was buried rather shallow.

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kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. [115] One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[218] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

[551] The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutᴇna'lq*^{w}, who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na*

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[218] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[a] A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

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and *Citεmu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutεna'lqʷ* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alêne at Coeur d'Alêne City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alêne, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alêne City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I can not make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alêne encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutεna'lqʷ* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutεna'lqʷ* looked up when he heard the twang of the bowstring, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alêne fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcine'na* was killed. Chief *Citεmu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alêne divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve. 173 728

Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hinwa'xɛne* (full name *Hinwaxɛnir'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ*[f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxɛne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxɛne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret,*[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxɛne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ*" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxɛne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxɛne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxɛne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[illegible] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stëla''am*, with headquarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *Xwistceni''tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Cilciltcö'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stëla''am* died, André *Sëltis* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stëla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[illegible] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyt'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[illegible] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[illegible] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

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Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqᴇt*, "rolling on the clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'ent'enemᴇ'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastᴇmᴇlpo'* (?) (full name *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *x̣wᴇltspo'sᴇmᴇn* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 Councils.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important treaties with strangers and enemies.
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All chiefs used criers, who were generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
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Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173
They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails.
The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They 567
reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177
After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves
and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567
value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not
easily be kept captive.

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551
among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of
males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams. These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776]
guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551
were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from
incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551
not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwoxane'*

Waxᴇne' for *Htnwaxᴇnī'lst* (p. 129), and names of chiefs (pp. 153, 154), where *-posᴇmᴇn* is shortened to *-po.* and *-a'sqᴇt* to *-a*. It seems that among the Coeur d'Alêne there occur some Spokan forms of names acquired through intermarriage.

I noticed the following suffixes in old hereditary names which are the same as those used by the Thompson.[illegible]

1. *-itsa* ("robe," "blanket," "skin"), in both men's and women's names, as among the Thompson, most common among men. (Thompson forms, *-itsa*, *-itxa*.)
2. *-qain* ("head," "top," "eminence"), in men's names. (Thompson forms, *-qain*, *-qᴇn*.)
3. *-alst*, *-ilst*, *-äst* ("stone"), in men's names (often shortened to *-t*). (Thompson forms, *-ī'llst*, *-äst*.)
4. *-a'sqᴇt*, *-sqᴇt* ("cloud," "sky," "day"), in men's names (often shortened to *-a*). (Thompson forms, *-ī'skᴇt*, *-a'sqᴇt*.)
5. *-kwa* ("water"), in women's names. (Thompson forms, *-koᴇ*, *-kō*, *-a'tko*.)

I did not find the suffix *-īnᴇk* ("bow," "belly," "rounded"), common in women's names of the Thompson, but it may occur. Of the nine chiefs' names mentioned on pages 153 and 154, one has the suffix *-ī'tsa* and two the suffix *-a'sqᴇt*. The name *Xwīstcᴇni'tsa* (translated "walking robe") occurs in slightly different forms among the Okanagon and Thompson. A name similar to *Cilcilcō'sqᴇt* also occurs in all these tribes. The names *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn* and *Xwᴇltspo'sᴇmᴇn* are used by the Okanagon and Spokan as well as the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems quite possible that certain names may have originated independently in these different Salish tribes; but most Indians think that each hereditary name, especially those with the name suffixes, is of but one origin, having originated in one tribe or another, and been introduced into other tribes by intermarriage. Therefore they say that persons who bear the same name in two tribes have inherited it from a common ancestor, and that they must be related, however remotely. There was hardly any stealing of names, and only rarely were names exchanged, bestowed, or sold; and when they were, they were usually lately adopted dream names or nicknames belonging to the individual, and not names which had already become hereditary and belonged to families.

Some other Coeur d'Alêne men's names are *Sīkwa*, *Tᴇmltcā*(*lc*). ("no hand"), *Tcdele'melstcᴇn* ("runs on a horn"), *Tsu'lᴇmkwᴇtsut* ("buffalo-bull mountain"; this name occurs among the Thompson, and has probably been derived from the south), *Łoq'ᴇ'tāstc'ᴇso* ("lying in the brush"), *Tpoqe'wᴇs* ("painted stomach"), *Tisēlēle'tsa* ("pierced [with arrows] robe [or skin]"; slight variations of this name are found among the Okanagon and Thompson), *Ntce'ē-tqe'in*(*äst*) ("first shot" or "first daylight"; a name similar to this occurs among the Thompson).

[illegible] e, p. 291.

Some women's names are *Sai''mōed, Yaromi', Siyō''ɛ, Xwa'mɛnma'*, *X̣aqae'tcɛn* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwōlɛmcɛna', Wūlɛwōlɛma', Siyaxta', Si''pal, Tcīɛmtä'l, Xwɛotsti', Tc'ä'äne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dowwal al 'da'renc* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and 551
children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took 611
Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were [552]
named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames.

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal 421
and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took 861
precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his 421
people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's 587
effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the 591
absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. [431]
Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men [562]
had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

567 SLAVES.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

● 551 NAMES.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

421 PROPERTY.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.
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431

527 FESTIVALS.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntcixa'nk* or *ntsehā'nk* or *toxto'xEm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'Em*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents
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[5] For instance, *A'tsmaxs* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 268 to 273. The names *Shel'a*, *Wai'pkEn*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point. 624 619

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ēsqᴇt* ("cloud"), *-ēllᴇt* ("stone"), *-qᴇn*, *-qain* ("head"), *-ɫ'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names: 551 171* [787] 551 787 171* 551 171* [428]

Tona'sqᴇt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Soχsaχpsqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stakesstci' (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Elemi'um spzkani' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoiepzkani'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsε'ℓ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwε'lisεme'pelsεmxa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulenī'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titlslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tsεsεmxεℓ' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iōlelεmi' or *Yōlelεmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 SLAVERY.—S[illegible]ry was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. [439] Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. 276 788 *171 In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. 276 *171 A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as food, most men having enough general power; but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help. 224 [777]

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa´p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or pack animals. 224 [784] [492]

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alI´p, "coyote"; sinikstI´a, "skunk"; ckámxI´ct, "bear"; kIlaŭna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and arrow would be made. Children were supposed to be able to converse with dogs. 231 552 562 789 231 [825]

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsă, Yaromi', Siyō''ɛ, Xwa'm-* 551
cɛmma', X̣aẓae'tcɛn (a similar name occurs among the Thompson),
Stɛwă̈smcɛna', Wĭlɛwĭlɛma', Siyaẓta', Si''pal, Tclɛmtă'l, Xwɛotsti',
Tc'ă'ăne (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap),
Dɛɛwal al ŭa'renc ("moon fell"), *Qaẓpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or
blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also
occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder
to translate than men's.

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which
they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and 551
children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took 611
Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names
became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were [552]
named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their
names were nicknames.

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal 421
and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took 861
precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male
elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express
their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked.
The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys;
and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father,
grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and
lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics
and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to
persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They
also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so
that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or
shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and
thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his 421
people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's 587
effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the 591
absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband [431]
and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children.
Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding,
lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property,
and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often
family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to
the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men [562]
had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making
of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[*]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 861 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[*] See pages 113-14.

428 the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

428 553 If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

428 778 787 Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

626 685 There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

525 626 At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or women.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

626 This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206-207.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their requests,
but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging
and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely excluded
[881] until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned,
the adolescent spent his time learning
techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some differences
in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position,
less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

561 adolescent	staqumë´x^{ū}
man	squtEmë´x^{ū}
woman	t'EkłtEmë´lx^{ū}
pregnant woman	tqwë´ltEm
newly married boy	taūxłna´x̣Enux̣
newly married girl	wë´xux
married couple	nax̣Enūx̣wë´ōs̱
spinster	sEmamtū´lūx^{ū}
bachelor	swIEnō´mpta; ka´ltūmxūmI´ct
father of many children	twaxō´ëlt
old man	tlux̣EtłExa´p
woman at menopause	kIaq^{ū}x̣a´n ("ceases menstruating")
old woman [after menopause]	pōptūwI´naūx^{ū}
old couple	sEnōqōłExłEx̣a´pc
grandfather	tluxuxpōë´lux̣
dead person	tElâ´l; wa´ik'lal

For most of these terms all the informants were in agreement, except Billy Joe who gave several terms quite different from those listed here. Many of them were transparent compounds such as wa´ItlaI Iska´ltEmër^{ū}, widow, "one whose man is dead," and wa´ItklaInâ´xūnáx, "widower." Such terms may have been perfectly acceptable, but could not be so considered without further check. We were unable to discover whether the compounding was a fixed or a free process.

Unfortunately a great number of the terms were obtained from informants from the northern groups. They have not all been checked for the Sinkaietk proper. Where there was duplication there was no particular difference to be noted. Johnny sometimes gave variants, presumably Colville. The alternatives for bachelor and dead person here listed are his.

NAMING AND CHANGING NAMES

•553 The infant made his debut when he was but a few days old, at the end of the period of enforced seclusion for his mother. A feast took place, to which only a small number of relatives and friends were invited. According to Chilowhist Jim this was an occasion for merriment and rejoicing, with a special name, cqwIkwaI´malt. Cecile said that the affair was so informal that there did not even need to be a feast, but the others agreed that though it had no specific name it was called, descriptively, " we are going to eat."

The child was passed about among the assembled company, and each person present held it, greeting it with some such common formula as waIktskI´ts, "You are here," and wishing it luck. There might also be a temporary name given it at this time for use until the regular naming feast.

Billy Joe and Mary Carden contended that this ceremony was held for the first-born of a couple only.

553 [853] 574 The naming feast took place about a year later (when the baby ate solid food for the first time). It was at this time that the full introduction of the infant into society took place. The ceremony was more elaborate and on a larger scale than was the blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ——. That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of camas, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

sons. He might do it in honor of a newly deceased relative, at the suggestion of his power, or merely for variety or amusement. Sometimes a man's parents would wish him to change his name, taking that of a relative recently dead. The parents would give a feast like that described above, then either the parents or the man himself would announce the new name. It was said that if someone wanted to give a man a new (ancestral) name, they gave him presents; but if he wished to take a new name, he made the presents (as described below). 553

It was claimed that men often changed their names, but women, and men of great repute, did this less frequently. Only when the new name was in its turn that of a deceased relative did it come into regular use and supersede the former one. Others were regarded as supplementary and less formal names, more in the nature of nicknames. However, it was said that some people never changed their names, e.g., great warriors. Sqts'sx̣ō′sūm and sūx̣sūx̣pk!ĕ′n, both Moses-Columbia (?), were cited as examples.

Among the Sinkaietk the assumption of a new name seems to have been accomplished very simply, by asking a friend to use the new name at a gathering: thus it came into use among a few friends. The friend might be paid for this service. Among the more northern groups it was a more formal affair.

The following is Andrew's account of the ceremony among the Northern Okanagon as it took place when a brother of his changed his name. In this a pattern for the use of wealth is evident, which does not seem to have been present at all in the Sinkaietk form. 553 574

Andrew's brother was given the name nplūxtcI′n by his mother when he was about fifteen. There was a little feast and then everybody knew him by that name. Then his mother died and he was sad. He wept and said, "I take pity on my name. My mother gave it to me and she is dead. I want to change my name, because she is dead and can no longer call me by it. My older brother had a name and I am going to take the name he had." Andrew told him to do as he thought best. [593]

Then all the Indians, the Sinkaietk and the Penticion [Northern Okanagon], and those from the Kettle River and the Similkameen, gathered at his invitation. He bought a lot of provisions and killed two steers. To all the Indians that came he said, "I want you to stay with me for three days." He hired two men and two women as cooks. The next morning after breakfast he said, "I want you to know what I have in my mind." He wrapped himself in a blanket and a shawl, and took ten dollars in silver in each hand. He stood up and said, "There are four of you different tribes, and I want one of each of you to take one of these things."

For an hour they tried to get one an-

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtłō′cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it. 553 574

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians. 553 778

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions. 553 522

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother thūtsaa′c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cilhwepewckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu. 551

A name given in childhood was called ckwIct; a power name, cinōmuxckwIct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

nōlōmE´lc	iron head	551
tExwista´skEt	walking in the sky (?)	
slō´qExEn	moccasins no good (?)	562
ma'Eqē´n	big eddy	
paxūmtI´tsa	shining blanket	
qwalxunmItsa	something went dry around his blanket	
xElEka´xn	twisting his arm(?)	
hūntōxsEnI´lhū	tipi door	
tcIxa´xElix	they've been driven	
hicha´ca	don't know how	
ntsEcpEckwa´ct	no name	
xIlkka´xEn	round wing	
nIrqō´ctsIn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)	
kstillIa´ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstIlIāōt)	
cpaqEō´l^a	two smokes	
nxē´tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)	
chElxa´lt	daylight	
cōqē´m	moonlight	
sinōē´c	sunrise	

"Burning back" (nōlē´qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl'qūIp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta´xn, s'aI´EaI´, ōIa´pEkEn, kInEmI´lx, qalawI´ta, k!lō´pakn, kwa·alExnI´tsa, ckI´ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4] 553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash- 854

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2 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 325.
3 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 75.
4 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 277.
5 See also, Childbirth below.
6 See Adult Life below.

776 even if you are shot through the body." A
tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of
wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at
787 my riches scattered around. If you do as I
tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Ani-
857 mal, character from the myths: "I am the ani-
mal they tell about in the story." Story
Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy every-
thing. I am above all animals and birds."
Any animal: "When you get old and have a
streak of white hair, you sing my song. When
anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am
from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses
Mountain. When you grow up and sing your
song, name this as your place." This did
not necessarily mean that the individual had
been there to get his power, but simply that
his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Suszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radicalism, 554
faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided.
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home 829
elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
929 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
927 zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
929 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
578 great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
929 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month
called skənı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly
to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which
time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time
the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the
warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were
eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted.
At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by
one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctłtə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping
or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing
season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lá'luk°; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were invited 431 to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was 796 left only with a breechclout.

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed 756 in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power. Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. 554 Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was 622 a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves 756 to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had 756 certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power 756 was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. 776 Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

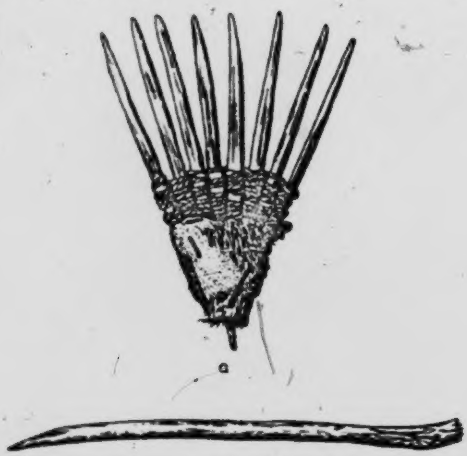

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which
might reach even to the ground. The lower
end of each quill was cut down to a strip,
which was passed through the fabric or skin
of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were
often decorated with tassels of horse hair
or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
211 ing significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
● 554 flat on the head. One feather indicated a
single matter of business, two feathers in-
622 dicated two matters of business. Scouts wore
one or two feathers upright, depending on
the prestige and standing of the individual.
Three feathers indicated a chief. Such
standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

Mittens were worn, but the type described
291 does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and suspended in front of the shoulders. The front hair was cut off at about the level of the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women parted their hair in the middle and had two braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the braids were tied together at the ends and drawn forward over each shoulder so that the joined ends of the braids rested against the back of the neck. When riding, women tied the braids together in front to keep them
[881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits of fur into their braids; not necessarily the fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills were used in these knots of hair behind the ears in some unascertained fashion. At the winter Power dance both men and women wore their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair by women, less frequently by men. It was mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green color. Face and body were less often treat-
[145] ed. The grease was collected from the tops of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

48. carI´pa.
49. lū´plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnI´kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lōxwist.
52. ǝnlāxūlāxswa´tkū, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lā·x.
54. snxEncI´naᵗˣ.

VILLAGE LIFE

181 571 565 There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.

186 619 571 641 An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage.

166 361 571 Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives.

554 622 778 The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime.

361 621 At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,'
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
●554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
[579] A man who does not have this type
of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 ●554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47] [1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48] [1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94 (B)

622 554 the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says that a son of a chief is chosen as his successor because he knows how to be chief, having heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits.

The members of a chief's family are not known by a distinctive term. Terms of a purely descriptive nature, such as, wife of the chief (pōĭ′lmixūm), or child of the chief (nkaẍelmĭ′xūm) are used during the life of the chief. Even the eldest son, who is recognized as the one who will most certainly succeed to his father's position, is not designated by any distinctive term.

622 581 In selecting a wife, the chief need not choose a girl from a wealthy family; it is more important that she be a chaste and industrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste.

622 554 The wife of a chief works just as does any other woman, but her suggestions are received by the other women with respect and are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band.

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

622 555 Power was not a necessary attribute for holding the office of chief. Reputation as a warrior was not considered essential. The ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says, "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense."

622 Informants from the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 95(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 293.[1]
50 Spier and Sapir, *Wishram*, 212.[1]

622 people were free to follow either. Amity
might be advised but could not be enforced.
562 Sussen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skü´mält are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation‡with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women."[52]

562 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of
the equality of women is not unexpected.
184 Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth
century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

> "The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

> "There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o´mʌ'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o´mʌ'lt and the Sinkaietk skü´mält. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 In the old days, among the Konkonelp
and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a
554 chief could wear an eagle feather headdress
clear around the head. A "mean" man, that
622 is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition,
might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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‡ [For footnote, see p.96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

[52] Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

[53] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

[54] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings.
Such men were not criticized by the people.
554 In later days, anyone can wear such a head-
dress, but the chief's is always the most
622 ornate. The woman skü'mält has no special
dress, but she is better dressed than any
other woman of the band, and always wears a
[304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of
wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"[1] bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty.""[1]

292 The Kartar chief, on special occasions,
wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the
622 seams and carries a fan made of the wing of
a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a fringed shirt also, painted and worn for power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt at any time without objections from the chief.

276 The new chief of the Kartar band is
always given the tribal pipe which belonged
622 to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one made of stone. The chief passes it around in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe in a special fringed buckskin bag, sewed with hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine quills. This stone pipe is called sinal'östn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem tribe also has a stone pipe called sinal'ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at special gatherings is characteristic of the Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before death, he may appoint his oldest son to take his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he appoints the new chief and retires. Sometimes a chief may be displeased with his children, considering them disobedient, and name instead one of his own brothers or a near male relative to take the office. When the old people's council meets, they announce
[165] the chief's wish to everyone. These forms
of appointment seldom occur since most men
die a violent death.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 96 (B)

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating opprobation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[7]

171
●554
556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

[7] [For footnote, see p. 98(A), Category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 98 (B)

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 852 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names. [553]

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 861 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty. [881]

883 885 [591] [843] After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 761 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

p. 103 (A)

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 [538] Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

572 431 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinûqōxhwItstûé´h, "giving-partner" (-tûé´h, reciprocal). A partner is stôq!ûé; a gift chwItsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like [527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people had a chance to meet. [584] Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 ● 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities. 885 554

It was known that women sometimes died at menopause. 886

Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow. 158

Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes." 762

DEATH AND BURIAL

As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids 764

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45 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. [424 578 533] This song might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sInkwatsInöx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 554 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601
that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565
of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility. 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622
because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-
Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing 554
enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup,
and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had
struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies
or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was
made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number
was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader
of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to
all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented 198
or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into
common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being
traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854
some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young
infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856
Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a
skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551
of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A
number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kwee'tca

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463 hunting, war, or defense. 484 The men in each group were generally those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle- [728] aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to [554] some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177] symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202 signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any 484 important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or 622
by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers.

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both 554
male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry 622
and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained.

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might 623
call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had 203
important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance.

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, 622
except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line.

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief 173
Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only 622
the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pᴇlkamū'lōx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation.

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lōx* (*Pīlᴇkᴇmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sᴇnxomi'nux* or *sᴇnxomē'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says 622
that a son of a chief is chosen as his suc-
cessor because he knows how to be chief, hav- 554
ing heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits.

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more important that she be a chaste and in- 581
dustrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste.

The wife of a chief works just as does 622
any other woman, but her suggestions are re-
ceived by the other women with respect and 554
are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band.

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

Power was not a necessary attribute for 622
holding the office of chief. Reputation as
a warrior was not considered essential. The 555
ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says, "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense."

Informants from the Konkonelp and Tu- 622
koratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the

1 [For content of these footnotes, see p. 95(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 293. 1

50 Spier and Sapir, *Wishram*, 212. 1

p. 95(A)

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tü'c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering.
●[555 787] The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skölstI'ckūm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwItIatIacūmI'ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa'm) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo, 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cöxqölöqwe'Ilt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

[For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[58] Compare the house leaders.

[59] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.

622 of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x̣* blood [1]); *Sax̣kokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x̣* and half Thompson); and Martinus [2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawt'esqᴇn* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeü's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

555 There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might 622 become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

624 All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among 756 the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were perma- 622 nent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.9).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur-traders.

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They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout- 171*
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555] •
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people [624]
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage re-
garding positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven 361
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231
171*

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruit-
*171 ing ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (accord-
[778] ing to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the re-
796 counting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

555 • 796 171* 535

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then, took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

555 796 171* [292] [302]

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

[178]

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains.

535 796 171*

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 554
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retalia-
tion. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But
can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people?
It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such
action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were de-
livered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These
efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive
or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the
principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this
ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest
infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows.
The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated
as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see
that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished
by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good
example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided.
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home 829
elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when
he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference
to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology
this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organiza-
755 tion. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'la'lukʷ; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating opprobation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[1/A]

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554
556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 98(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501
and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, 481
like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians,* Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231
Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177
1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579
much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231
other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

177
It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556
appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

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on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between fami- 727
lies were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they [648]
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, [628]
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flat- 171*
head (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook 191
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 375
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

764 768 The body was then buried in the earth among stones and was mourned for some time. When the relatives were once more pure, the property was divided among relatives and friends, and, except for perpetuation of the name in a new individual, the place and soon the memory of the individual was gone from the community.

STATUS TERMS

551 ●561 601 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms to distinguish the place of the individual in the developmental sequence. They were not the ordinary terms of address. Personal names and relationship terms were more commonly used as vocatives, and status terms were used, even as terms of reference, only when there was some reason for stressing the status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do they represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	ōxtI'lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xI'xōtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqōcqōcë'
crawling	qElkëtc'x̣I'nux
unweaned	wai'q'łxap
running about	xōx̣wëłuc
little child	qwūqwë'ō'ma
big child	tëtExpa'p
run about outdoors	qụłcqë'tcilix
big enough for chores	q'ōtcqụtsqwë'lix̣
boy	t'ṭūIt
girl	xI'xōtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiI'tx
second oldest child	q!ë'ōc
youngest child	ctEë'ōt
several daughters of one father	sṭumṭumqEë'ltc
several sons of one father	łckōcë
just before puberty	xëlqë'lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxō'mxax

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561

adolescent	staqumŏ'x^{u}
man	squtEmŏ'x^{u}
woman	t'EkłtEmŏ'lx^{u}
pregnant woman	tqwŏ'ltEm
newly married boy	taŭxłna'x̣Enux̣
newly married girl	wŏ'xux
married couple	naxEnŭx̣wŏ'ŏg
spinster	sEmamtŭ'lŭx^{u}
bachelor	swIEnŏ'mpta; ka'ltŭmxŭmI'ct
father of many children	twaxŏ'ŏlt
old man	tlux̣EtłExa'p
woman at menopause	kIaq^{u}x̣a'n ("ceases menstruating")
old woman [after menopause]	pöptŭwI'naŭx^{u}
old couple	sEnöqöłEx̣łEx̣a'pc
grandfather	tluxuxpöŏ'lux̣
dead person	tElâ'l; wa'ik'lal

For most of these terms all the informants were in agreement, except Billy Joe who gave several terms quite different from those listed here. Many of them were transparent compounds such as wa'ItlaI Iska'ltEmŏx^{u}, widow, "one whose man is dead," and wa'ItklaInâ'xŭnáx, "widower." Such terms may have been perfectly acceptable, but could not be so considered without further check. We were unable to discover whether the compounding was a fixed or a free process.

Unfortunately a great number of the terms were obtained from informants from the northern groups. They have not all been checked for the Sinkaietk proper. Where there was duplication there was no particular difference to be noted. Johnny sometimes gave variants, presumably Colville. The alternatives for bachelor and dead person here listed are his.

NAMING AND CHANGING NAMES

553 The infant made his debut when he was but a few days old, at the end of the period of enforced seclusion for his mother. A feast took place, to which only a small number of relatives and friends were invited. According to Chilowhist Jim this was an occasion for merriment and rejoicing, with a special name, cqwIkwaI'malt. Cecile said that the affair was so informal that there did not even need to be a feast, but the others agreed that though it had no specific name it was called, descriptively, " we are going to eat."

The child was passed about among the assembled company, and each person present held it, greeting it with some such common formula as waIktskI'ts, "You are here," and wishing it luck. There might also be a temporary name given it at this time for use until the regular naming feast.

Billy Joe and Mary Carden contended that this ceremony was held for the firstborn of a couple only.

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587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might
264 share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

● 561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with
831 the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmamtô´lū^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

* See also Social Organization.

for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to 000 and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken 344 down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[89] Nez Percé,[90] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. [574] It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. [561] When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. [533] During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. [354] The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[89] See a, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles a were placed outside of the horizontal poles c. The top horizontal pole c (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles a. The support poles b were also heavy.

[90] See b, p. 196.

562/625 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tkᵘ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565/622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622/626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622/692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkən, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622/624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on 776
similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative.
No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in 787
this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young
man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary.
Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain
a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on
the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory [562]
life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however,
thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited
opportunities for achievement.

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most 787
often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the
time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary 861
to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even 787
in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance
was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power 224
was needed for securing fur animals as for
food, most men having enough general power; [177]
but if a man had poor luck he would dance,
sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck
would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa'p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224
the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today*, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was [784]
allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492]
pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, 231
but with short legs. Their colors were
black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They 552
were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain,
Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alī'p, "coyote"; sinikstī'a, "skunk"; ckámxī'ct, "bear"; kīlaūna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistl-
ing or making a kissing sound. If a female 562 ●
dog was lost, in chasing game or what not,
the owner would make a little digging stick 789
and say, "Come back: think about your dig-
ging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231
arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825]
to be able to converse with dogs.

p. 33 (A)

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe. 276 [562]

Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?). 276 316 439

To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold. 276 324 [531] [462]

There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs. 276 623

Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then 314 [137] 276

726 duce of the hunts or fishing which they are forced to miss.

Cecile Brooks, an informant who probably
712 knows more about the Konkonelp and Kartar
bands than about the others, says that
722 in the past when at attack was made on the
Sinkaietk the men got ready to fight, and
the women and children retired to a pit behind a rock barricade. One was built at every village, she affirms, and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

The village where Okanogan, Washington, now stands, is said to have been fortified by piles of rocks behind which trenches were dug; that is, on the camp side. The women stayed hidden in the trenches during battle. Barricades of logs were never built. This refuge was described by Suszen as on the tableland overlooking the present town. Here were trenches for defense and food stored in underground cellars. They would flee up this hill, passing up the steep sides by ladders which were pulled up after them.

562 The women do not pray and sing at this
time, but they think of their power. If the
722 enemy comes close, a woman with much power
may take a bow and arrows from the dead of
either side and fight with the men. She shouts while fighting, but does not sing, and comes back to the pit at intervals to rest. In desperate situations even menstruating women help in battle. After the fray, a woman may keep the bow and arrows obtained on the battlefield for her own use, but this is the only way in which a woman can obtain weapons.

726 Mary Carden, now an old woman so crippled with rheumatism that there are days when she can scarcely walk, gave a vivid description of the tactics of the Tukoratum warriors. She stood erect, and with gesticulation and posture enacted each phrase of her description. "In battle some would run down along the river under the bluff and jump out at the enemy. Others would hide behind bushes at a distance with their bows and arrows. The fast runners jumped right into the fray in hand to hand combat. As they fought they would whoop and jump up and down and wave their war clubs. They sang their power songs, and made lots of noise to frighten the enemy."

173 The historical stories of battle obtained
are of occurrences in a past so distant
that the accounts have a mythological
726 flavor. Versions of the following episode
were received from two different informants.

A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the Kc-konelp and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and

man and woman chiefs, divided between them. They use what they need and keep the surplus on reserve for the people until time of want 622

Chilowhist Jim, a Methow informant, says of chiefs, "They do little work, just stay in the house all day and talk and smoke. But they care for their people well, keep track of everyone, where each person is, what he is doing and how successful he is in everything. A man, before making a trap or taking a trip of even one day, talks it over with the chief." The Kartar agree with the Northern Okanagon tribe in saying that their chiefs work just the same as ordinary people.

Suszen Timentwa insists that there may be two or three chiefs at one time in a band, each with equal authority, and that they take turns in directing tribal affairs.

"Each nation or principal tribe has generally two chiefs; one for the village, and another called the war-chief. The former is the head of the tribe; and, as already observed, holds his office by lineal descent: the latter is elective, and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people."** ± 622 624

All other informants deny that the Sinkaietk bands have more than one chief at a time. The war chief referred to here by Alexander Ross is probably only the war leader, described as an individual possessing great power and respect but having no permanent official position. Each band has one chief, who, in accordance with the loose social organization of the group, functions as a tribal manager rather than as a despot controlling life and death, as did the chiefs of the tribes to the south on the Columbia River."*±Even though he prove selfish and inefficient, and meet with serious disapproval on the part of some, the group will continue to respect him as chief.

According to Mary Carden, all four of the Sinkaietk bands as well as the Methow and Chelan tribes have chieftainesses (skū´mált, woman of great authority) as well, who serve in an advisory capacity. 622 562

The chieftainess is officially elected. She receives formal appointment at a council meeting just as the chief does. Apparently this office is hereditary through the male line; these women are always related to the chief, and at death, the office passes to another female relative, and in no recorded case from mother to daughter.

There are apparently differences in the status of such women in the several bands. In the Tukoratum band, whereas the chief served as the group manager, the woman skū´mált was a consulting adviser only in cases of murder, revenge or emergencies. If her decision differed from that of the chief, the

± [For footnotes, see p. 95 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

622 people were free to follow either. Amity might be advised but could not be enforced. ● 562 Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skū´mält are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation"½with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women."[52]

This recognition among the Sinkaietk of 562 the equality of women is not unexpected. 184 Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

"The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

"There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o´mä'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o´mä'lt and the Sinkaietk skū´mält. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 In the old days, among the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a 554 chief could wear an eagle feather headdress clear around the head. A "mean" man, that 622 is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition, might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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½ [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

[52] Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

[53] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

[54] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

p. 96 (A)

551 by two individuals at the same time. This was a situation favorable to the development of family ownership of particular names. Among the more northern groups David says that parents would sometimes have to pay other equally interested relatives for the privilege of giving a particular name to their child. Ross's statement that names could be given and thrown away also indicates a feeling for names as property, though we could not corroborate it exactly.' [1] However, there was no fixed system of names belonging to each family, for a child might be given names assumed as supplementary names by his ancestors, particularly power names.

FORMAL ASPECT OF NAMES

There was no difference in the form of names thus variously acquired. Not all names had meaning.

551 ● 562 The only formal difference was between the names for men and those for women. Women were never named after animals or birds (or plants?), and the majority of their names end in the suffix -alks or -ẽlks, meaning "dress" or "robe," or in -atqᵘ, "water." Michel stated that all women's names referring to dress or blanket were power names. Some examples of the names for women are:

clēma´tqᵘ	whirlpool
sĪhtqᵘ	perfumed waters
wōq!pē´tqū	toward water
cilxē´mtqū	toward rough water
tsū´xtsiltqᵘ	telling the waters
q!ō´nanktqᵘ	twisting waters (as a meandering stream)
aEmElEmtI´tqᵘ	slow waters (?)
qwI'qwa·ē´tqᵘ	black waters (?)
aEmExa´lEqs or sūn·ha´lks	war-dance dress
qwalxū´nmElqs	something went dry about her dress
qwal'kIa´lks	red dress
tslō·ta´lks	—— dress (?)
sInEmta´lks	perfumed dress
ts!ūm·ta´lks or tsūtsūa´lks	fringed dress (?)
x!sum·ta´lks	nice dress [same as preceding?]
aElElla´lks	lost dress
skwa·Īe´lks	blue dress
taEmExEna´lks	snow dress
cĩqō´tE´lkc	yellowjacket dress
chwictImnE´lkc	walking dress
cqētE´lpc	walk on the dress
cklōtElkc	sat on her dress
sōkEpExne´lks	—— dress (?)
kwalxEnma´lks	dusty dress (as by kicking up the dust)
slEbEpa´lks	horizontal strips around the bottom of a dress(?
aluxumta´lks	——

[1] [For footnote, see p. 106 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

551 A few of the other names end in -pitsa, "blanket:"

•562

cIpI´tsa'	shouting blanket(?)
qōlpI´tsa'	red blanket
hūctamI´tsa	walking blanket
cIkomEnI´tsa	part of the blanket is floating
amtEpI´tsa	———

Others were "long loose hair," "unbraided hair," and "sit-down skirt."

Men's names are much more varied. A large number of them are names of animals, or parts or attributes of animals, unchanged from the form they would have as non- human names. They never have plant names, "because plants don't give power." When not the unchanged animal name, they frequently end in -a´xn, -ō´xn, -Exn, which appears indicative of an attribute. Several of the men's names have the feminine ending "blanket."

snkalI´p	coyote (the myth name for Coyote)
q'lEpstsI´nExn	coyote's ankle
spEpEXI´na	rabbit (a man's name, though the mythical creature is female)
skm'xst	bear
IntimtamilŌ´pc	grizzly bear's anus
sqōlaūnI´tsa	grizzly hide blanket
xwaxwaqE´n	fox head
cqlē̆kin	deer fat
sn.kstI´a [?]	skunk (in no sense a derogatory name)
yIxōI'xō´txn	badger
spūk'mI´x	swan
asū´xl	loon
n·laqō´kn	a bird picking its back (?)
sqEma´ūtkEn	(swan's ?) long neck
kutclixcqōlExEn	running crane
pūkhpE´lExqEn	white horse
tciq!ulpa´ōc	fir back

The last was the only name known to Johnnie referring to a tree, and the reference here was rather to the tree as fuel.

In others the meaning is less obvious. Some are descriptive. All are sharply marked off from the women's names, but themselves exhibit many differences not easily classifiable.

sinlō´lp	lower intestine
qēmtI´kEn	rotten on the mountain (?)
cIltI´qEn	lost on the mountain
inmachwi´ct	keeps walking

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nōlōmE′lc	iron head
tExwista′skEt	walking in the sky (?)
slō′qExEn	moccasins no good (?)
ma·Eqē′n	big eddy
paxūmtI′tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunmItsa	something went dry around his blanket
xElEka′xn	twisting his arm(?)
hūntōxaEnI′lhū	tipi door
tcIxa′xElix	they've been driven
hicha′ca	don't know how
ntsEcpEckwa′ct	no name
xIlkxa′xEn	round wing
nIrqō′ctsIn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstilla′ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstIlIēōt)
cpaqEō′l^a	two smokes
nxē′tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chElxa′lt	daylight
cōqē′m	moonlight
sinōē′c	sunrise

"Burning back" (nōlē′qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl′qūIp) was a self-elected name,chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless:xwEsta′xn, s·aI′EaI′, ōIa′pEkEn, kInEmI′lx, qalawI′fa, k!lō′pakn, kwa·alExnI′tsa, ckI′ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4] 553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash- 854

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[2] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
[4] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
[5] See also Childbirth below.
[6] See Adult Life below.

p.107(A)

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the peo-
ple even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this
purpose she would die. When the girl was 796
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as reli- [838]
gious worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562 ●
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians ad-
mired, feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called süksümix. The word for the power quest was tsüntsüt or tsöntīöt. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer

Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance. 789 791

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power." 342 791 825

A shaman with special power for hunting deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sèsIō´s kəláspI´χEm. Women did not customarily hunt deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair 224 791 562

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening. 224 791 562

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwĕlhŭmĕst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō's, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill. 224 791 789

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot. 224 778

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It 224 776 778

P. 159 (B)

224 did not resist him when he walked up to it
and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death.
776 Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power
when hunting a bear which had been worrying
778 the women. He painted his face with a design representing the clews of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 Power was often brought into play at
the fisheries. Michel's father told the peo-
778 ple during a winter dance that he intended
to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Mort of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwist's grandmother, Sikŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stârēs) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sikŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sikŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sikŭntalŭqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 Though women should not come within
784] half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

538 562 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However, Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 861 Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as directions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. [868] Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all implicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.'[1] [814]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sun, shine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlēncōltēn, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (x̣ōĭxEntsx̣aI or xIkē′kIkē′nsplâk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI′klâh (?), myth; insIm'a′pElûka, "French" fairy tale; kûmaIxI′ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqɛt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'ent'enemı'łstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastɛmɛłpo'* (?) (full name *Tɛmpłpo'sɛmɛn*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *xwɛłtepo'sɛmɛn* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'łt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
203 treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
624 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

the Salish-*Tunā'χe* and Flathead had them, the Kutenai had none, and the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* few or none. About this time the bands of Shoshoni living in the country north and east of the Salish-*Tunā'χe* were attacked. Blackfoot parties in great force appeared persistently, and drove the Shoshoni out of the country, killing numbers of them. Finally all the Shoshoni disappeared south of the Missouri, and no Shoshoni came near the Missouri again for many years. The people of some bands were nearly all killed off, while others fled to the south. Some of them migrated a long distance, in order to be out of reach of the Blackfoot, and it is not known where they settled. None of them, except perhaps a few stragglers, went west into the mountains, and none stayed east of the mountains anywhere north of the Yellowstone. They went to a distant country and disappeared. Some of them may have been killed by the Crow.[43] At about the same time, when the Shoshoni were first attacked, the Blackfoot may also have driven out the more northern bands of Kutenai (the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*) that lived east of the mountains. Information obtained from the Kutenai agrees with this. The attacks of the Blackfoot on the Salish-*Tunā'χe* continued, and for a number of years there existed a constant warfare between these tribes. The Salish-*Tunā'χe* were a strong, wealthy, warlike tribe, and noted for courage. They resisted the Blackfoot stoutly, but at last were reduced to a remnant that lived at one place on Sun River. Here they held out for some time, but finally they were overwhelmed and completely scattered. Some were made slaves by the Blackfoot and others were adopted as members of the tribe. Some escaped and took refuge among western tribes. Most of them crossed the Rockies and settled among the Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. A number settled among the Flathead and a few among the Kalispel and even the Colville. Some strayed farther away and settled among the Nez Percé and mountain Shoshoni. A very few took refuge among the Crow, but none among the Coeur d'Alêne. Shortly before the final breaking up of the tribe, a band of them migrated east and nothing further was heard of them. Another band went somewhere south of the Missouri, where after a time they were attacked by either Blackfoot or Crow and most of them were killed. The remnants settled among the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock. Some *Tunā'χe* died of a disease of some kind. 000 \563 ● 000

(At a later time Mr. Teit writes, basing his statement on information obtained from the Kutenai): The tribe had no horses and no guns. At some time, long ago, one of the bands living near Browning was visited by an epidemic, perhaps smallpox, and all died except

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[43] In answer to queries, I gained no information from the Flathead regarding the Comanche and Kiowa having lived in the north on the confines of the Flathead country. If they ever lived there they may have been considered Shoshoni, perhaps included among the Shoshonean bands who migrated south at the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot. Neither did I get any information as to the Bannock having lived east of the mountains. Some of them occasionally wintered there, but their headquarters were around Fort Hall.

000 nine, who became well through the ministrations of a young woman (called the younger sister). This girl had an elder sister married to a man of the other band, and lived among them. The nine survivors went to take up their abode with their friends of the other band, but the latter would not let them near for they were afraid of contagion. [563] At last they allowed the girl to join her sister. The other eight[A] then left the country, crossed the mountains to the west and settled among the Pend d'Oreilles. Some years afterwards the remaining large band disappeared, and it is not known whether they were exterminated by the Blackfoot or some other tribe, died of smallpox, or migrated. It is generally believed that they went off in a body to some distant country where their descendants are now living.

After the disruption of the Salish-*Tunā'χe*, Blackfoot parties began to enter the Flathead country and to attack the Flathead who wintered in the northern and eastern parts of the tribal territory. Many were killed. The rest forsook their former homes and retired farther south and west. The Blackfoot raids continued until all the Flathead concentrated for protection and moved west into the mountains.

All the tribes who had formerly inhabited the plains along the eastern side of the Rockies in this region had now disappeared, while the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock, who had for some time been in the habit of going east for buffalo hunting, were now, like the Flathead, obliged to remain west in the mountains and hunt buffalo at short range. The whole country along the eastern foot of the Rockies, north of the Yellowstone, was in possession of the Blackfoot and had become very dangerous ground. The entire Flathead tribe now wintered in the Bitterroot Valley, generally in a single large camp near Stevensville. Here they constantly coralled and guarded the large number of horses they possessed.

About this time the Crow were first heard of as advancing from the east and fighting the Shoshoni, whom they drove out of the Yellowstone River country into the mountains and around the headwaters of the river to the west and south. It seems that the Crow occupied part of the Shoshoni country and stayed there. In the same way the Blackfoot now occupied all the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* country and part of the northern Shoshoni country, but they did not winter or make any permanent camps in the old Salish-*Tunā'χe* country. Their camps were all north of Sun River and the Missouri. Probably they would have gradually occupied permanently most of the country their war parties had overrun had they not been checked by the alliance of all the western tribes. This may also have checked the further advancement of the Crow westward. Having overrun nearly all the eastern country, the Blackfoot now extended their war expeditions west of the divide, and sometimes appeared at Stevensville, where they attempted several times to run off the Flathead horses, but never

[A] [i.e., eight Kutenai---Analyst]

501 [177] [563] long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it would seem to be the older type of the two. 501 *171 The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sᴇmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. [178] [177] → In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

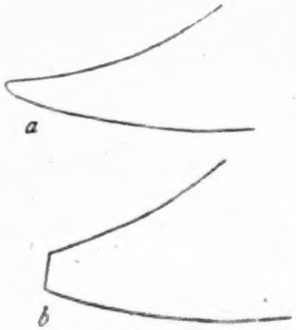

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow. a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171 → DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau and neighboring plains. [262] [237] The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

000 HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped 000 to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral 171* during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they 648 give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the 721 whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the [628] Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide.. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other [563] tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

562 622 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkən, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*

[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*

[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

48. carI'pa.
49. lū'plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnI'kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōx̣wist.
52. ənlàx̣ūlàx̣swa'tk^{u}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'là'x.
54. snx̣EncI'na$^{\hat{u}x}$.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601
that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565
of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622
because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-
Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing 554
enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup,
and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had
struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies
or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was
made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number
was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader
of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to
all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented 198
or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into
common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being
traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient
in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854
some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young
infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children
who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and
conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856
Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a
skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not
intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551
of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A
number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweĕ'tca

262 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters
224 themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons
were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower
accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a
signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long
as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line
stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person
saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not
shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to
look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and
owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur
d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained
among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class
with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not
611 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands
621 in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a
band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several
small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger
than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band.
Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division
consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined,
and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by
natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance,
the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute
separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories
were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous
166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser
594 number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of
people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time.
621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might
temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore
had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed
as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the
band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in
the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the
territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some
people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or
three different bands, because they were descended from people of
all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's
village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[281] e, pp. 289-302.

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete. 526

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. 201 Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Organization.—The social organization of the tribes was practi- 565
cally the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern 575
Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;* and there were no
clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that 621
long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

Chiefs.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor 622 villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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[*] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way. 175 726

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them. 173

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different. 201 198

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 565 ● 575

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 554
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating opprobation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."" 1/A

171
554
556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

● 567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

1/A [For footnote, see p. 98(A), Category 116.-- Analyst]

In war, enemy men are killed and their women 617 ●
taken as wives (sqwƏ'nExEn, "wife who is cap-
tured"). There is no word in the Sinkaietk 727
vocabulary for slave.

Mary Carden says that the chief some- 622
times cares for wounded enemies until they
are well. Then such men work with the chief's 727
family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is
a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask 582
the chief to let him marry their daughter.
At these marriages, the chief acts as the
captive's father. It is hard to believe that
captive enemies would prove so amenable, unless they had been taken very young.

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60 See the Dream dance. $\frac{1}{A}$

$\frac{1}{A}$[For context of this footnote, see p. 99 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99 (A)

The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost 366
anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern 439
Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the 487
Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles 567
long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes 439
dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

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[49] Renais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there. 101

buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also occasionally obtained from the Paloos. 439

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

177 439 567

Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Alêne hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them.

177 439

Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé.

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Alêne did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173
They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. 567
The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They
reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177
After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves
and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567
value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not
easily be kept captive.

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551
among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of
males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained
directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age
in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams.
These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776]
guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their
guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551
were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from
incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551
not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time
they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for
several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking
names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-
sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some
of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of
the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency
to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common
to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more
eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwcaxanc'*

202 784 men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

567 SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered [302] members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

173 567 There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

● 567 Slaves.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

551 Names.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

421 Property.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.
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527 [431] Festivals.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntciẋa'nk* or *ntsehā'nk* or *toẋto'ẋᴇm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'ᴇm*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the wintertime among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents

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[5] For instance, *λ'temᴇn* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. [illegible] to [illegible]. The names *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Sᴇmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'χe*, Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'χe* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, *Tunā'χe*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣ăpa'aqxt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'ukᴇn*, a *Stlaxai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

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000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'ɛ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'patsxmza'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulent'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Tiłtslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tesxmɛxt' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Ídleixmi' or *Yóleixmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 Slavery.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 Smoking.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red [439] and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was 276 788 *171 common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool 276 *171 on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

842 423 561 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 285 484 The temporary mat hut (sʌpɪ'a'ʔilᵉ) was utilized during the summer while moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 342 361 571 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat houses, (sɪntcauqwɪ'ʔltən, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures. These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

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48. carI'pa.
49. lŭ'plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI'kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōxwist.
52. ənlâxŭlâxswa'tk$^{\breve{u}}$, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lâ'x.
54. snxEncI'na$^{\breve{u}x}$.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571● 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

264 and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?": a woman would get up and fetch it without a word.

574 If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty.

858 There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other.

522 571 There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculiarities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa´st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n·kwEskwEstsI´n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TEx̣aI´lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TEx̣a'pI´ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'."

574 If the guest remained for any length of time he was given food, and if he stayed overnight at a strange camp he was given a good place to sleep. He was fed during the length of his stay, however protracted, and even a whole family was so treated if it came visiting. The women might help with the cooking, and other womanly occupations. Families might eat together in this case, but at all other times except feasts they ate separately.

● 572 431 Men and women alike had particular friends whom they called "partner" (sEla'x̣t) and whom they visited frequently. Lucy Joe, in describing this relationship, said, "Sometimes I just think suddenly 'I'll go see —.' Then I get a basket of cherries or something and take them to her. Then she is very glad." This partner was almost always of the same sex and served also as a confidant. To Chilowhist Jim it seemed that women did not have such partners as frequently as men; further that the relationship between any pair lasted only a few years.

To David, a Penticton, this seemed an absurdly simple pattern. Though in the north there was this exchange of gifts informally between friends, there was the feeling that anyone in the group might have anything he needed from the others. Begging was disgraceful, but gifts of food or even such things as moccasins were given to a man leaving after a visit should he need them. The recipient would probably feel obligated to make some sort of return, but the gifts were not given with this in mind. However, to David, the institution of the gift-exchanging friendship had reference primarily to men of the various neighboring tribes. They would help each other, particularly if one of the pair should become bankrupt through gambling while on a trading trip.

574 431 David's statement is as follows: People visiting friends do not bring food. Hosts always give them food to carry to their children or parents. Friends seldom buy from each other while visiting. If a host sees that his guest is in need of moccasins, clothes, etc., he would try to find some to present when the latter leaves. Begging was considered contemptible, however. A guest presented with moccasins, for example, would feel that he owed his host a present in return, but the donor would not think so.

572 431 Suppose a Wenatchi was visiting and had bad luck in gambling. Some man would give him clothes and the like so that he could get home. Later, when this generous person was in the Wenatchi country, he would be invited to stay with the man he had befriended. The latter would treat him well and give him gifts when he was leaving. He would say, "We'll be friends all the time. When you come to my country you will always stay with

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p.126(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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23 On trading friends see Social Structure.[1]

24 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250.[1]

572 431 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinüqöxhwItstüö´h, "giving-partner" (-tüö´h, reciprocal). A partner is stöq!üö; a gift chwItsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like [527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people [584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

885 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

726 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting
ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
796 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
[555] and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according
to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
[778] the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

796 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
● 572 meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

201 When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
572 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
796 one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

727 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting
of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
796 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 ● 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. [521] Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listener: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū′ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai′wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai´wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai´wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalū´ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [775] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources. 161

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[4] [1]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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2 Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
3 Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

5 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in
common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In
fact, most Salish-speaking people in the
574 Plateau are treated as friends. At food
gathering seasons, members of different
bands meet in one place, but camp separately.
Each chief or headman keeps order in his own
camp. After fishing all day, the men gather
socially in the evening for gambling, trad-
ing, wrestling and foot racing. There is
much smoking, chiefs and old men passing
their pipes around so that everyone present
may have a turn. There is also extensive in-
tertribal visiting during the season of win-
ter dances. Instances of marriages of Sin-
582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes
are not unusual, but in the records of
619 specific marriages obtained,[1] it is noted
that the majority of known cases for each
band are marriages within the band. Out-
marriages seem to be determined by geograph-
ical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has es-
tablished friendly relations with the Chelan,
Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the
Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively
with the Nespelem, while the more northerly
Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with
the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes.
Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima,
Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and
Thompson. These friendly affiliations may
also be cited regarding trade relations.
Lucy Joe says that it is only since the sev-
eral tribes have all been placed on the same
reservation that the Sinkaietk have married
other than Okanagon-speaking people. This
is doubtful, since genealogical records[1] give
information to the contrary.

The Inkami´p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers
prior to the coming of the horse.[1] The
Sinkaietk went south as far as Walluła and
487 north into Thompson country to trade, their
routes closely following the rivers, whether
they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascadès to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[1] who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse, 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the 226
home territory, any band is welcome to fish
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and ankama'pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent.
In early days, however, they travelled all 439
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking and to catch salmon which they dried there for food. Trading took place at the mouth of the npEsqwē'Gx creek which enters the Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wenatchi territory had to be with a certain man, a trading friend (sō'xqūi)." If an individual's trading friend was not present, that person would have to return without making any trade. This seldom happened, since the trips would be made at times when many Indians gathered from everywhere, and all who were interested in trading would be certain to be present. If a man's trading friend died, friends would assist him in

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10 For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he has given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsīū′Ū^{x}) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEml′^{xū}) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (Stuwī′x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [939] SŪqwEtI′kEm, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[1] [For content of footnote, see p. 78(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

11 Ray, Middle Columbia Salish, 96f.

12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.

13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum. [1]

14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket. [1]

15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar. [1]

For any specific acti- 361
vity like hunting, all group projects have a 621
recognized head whose authorization is from
his spirit power. 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single 342
row along a creek or river (sometimes there
is more than one row), their long axes run- 361
ning parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

All working together, they build first 342
the chief's house, which is the largest, and
then the others. There is some question as 476
to whether others than those who are to
occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. 622
Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

In each house live a number of people 342
who are not necessarily related but who are
congenial. The house group is not formed 592
casually, but by special invitation. Actu-
ally, the winter house is composed predomin-
ately of the same group from year to year, 621
stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

When all the houses are finished, and 342
then only, individuals move into their pri- 374●
vate dwellings and store their provisions.
The following day the chief's wife selects 796
women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
342 a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here, near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
mutual consent without any discussion. Three
592 women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

553 [853] ● 574 The naming feast took place about a year later (when the baby ate solid food for the first time). It was at this time that the full introduction of the infant into society took place. The ceremony was more elaborate and on a larger scale than was the blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ———. That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of camas, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

sons. He might do it in honor of a newly deceased relative, at the suggestion of his power, or merely for variety or amusement. Sometimes a man's parents would wish him to change his name, taking that of a relative recently dead. The parents would give a feast like that described above, then either the parents or the man himself would announce the new name. It was said that if someone wanted to give a man a new (ancestral) name, they gave him presents; but if he wished to take a new name, he made the presents (as described below). 553

It was claimed that men often changed their names, but women, and men of great repute, did this less frequently. Only when the new name was in its turn that of a deceased relative did it come into regular use and supersede the former one. Others were regarded as supplementary and less formal names, more in the nature of nicknames. However, it was said that some people never changed their names, e.g., great warriors. Sqts'sx̣ō´sŭm and sŭx̣sŭx̣pk!ĕ´n, both Moses-Columbia (?), were cited as examples.

Among the Sinkaietk the assumption of a new name seems to have been accomplished very simply, by asking a friend to use the new name at a gathering: thus it came into use among a few friends. The friend might be paid for this service. Among the more northern groups it was a more formal affair.

The following is Andrew's account of the ceremony among the Northern Okanagon as it took place when a brother of his changed his name. In this a pattern for the use of wealth is evident, =hich does not seem to have been present at all in the Sinkaietk form. 553 574

Andrew's brother was given the name npĭŭxtcĭ´n by his mother when he was about fifteen. There was a little feast and then everybody knew him by that name. Then his mother died and he was sad. He wept and said, "I take pity on my name. My mother gave it to me and she is dead. I want to change my name, because she is dead and can no longer call me by it. My older brother had a name and I am going to take the name he had." Andrew told him to do as he thought best. [593]

Then all the Indians, the Sinkaietk and the Penticion [Northern Okanagon], and those from the Kettle River and the Similkameen, gathered at his invitation. He bought a lot of provisions and killed two steers. To all the Indians that came he said, "I want you to stay with me for three days." He hired two men and two women as cooks. The next morning after breakfast he said, "I want you to know what I have in my mind." He wrapped himself in a blanket and a shawl, and took ten dollars in silver in each hand. He stood up and said, "There are four of you different tribes, and I want one of each of you to take one of these things."

For an hour they tried to get one an-

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtīō´cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it. 553 574 ●

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians. 553 778

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions. 553 522

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother thūtsaa´c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cIlhwapewckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu. 551

A name given in childhood was called ckwIct; a power name, cinōmuxckwIct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nine-
teen or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately re-
ceived a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would inter-
fere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live to-
gether. There was no feast, for the Okana- [574] ●
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visit- 591
ed back and forth until they had accumulated
enough to build their own home; the necessi-
ties might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instruct-
ed the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be wel-
comed back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforc-
ed without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern in-
formants, particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took 583
place occasionally with all the surrounding [621]
peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon 582
speaking people was not classed in the same way. This occured very commonly. David Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1]

[1] [For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's 583
parents. Returning with the girl, he carried presents from her parents. 585
Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern.

Information from the Inkamip band of 171
Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a 585
man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders.

Commonly the group was notified of the 171
marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents
of either bride or groom. The girl's father 585
announced to the guests that his daughter 574
was married. There were no ceremonies, no gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[17] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting.

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[17] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

Then there was a feast; according to Ross a rather formal affair. 171

585
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"When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. On arranging the purchase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" (David Isaac).

There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Suszen, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and Nez Percé. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkaietk only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi. 171 585

The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maɫdcɫ'nüm and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?" 584 585

At the meeting the people sit in a big 585

p. 115 (B)

and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?": a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculiarities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa´st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n·kwEskwEstsI´n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TEx̣aI´lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TEx̣a'pI´ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522
571

There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: nƫlupqō´pe, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; kciltEmI´lt, "bastard"; kEkōwa´p, "dog"; kcqwē´chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa´rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud." 578

Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waI ẋI'wI´ɫ, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waI (waI is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waI ktstsEkI´ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waI. 576

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waI ktskI´ts, "Well, I am here." This the other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waI qEnqɫhō´Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waI qōqɫhū´Ia, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waI. 574 576 [203]

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa´I kŭskI´tsEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa´I kEnskI´ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The women of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden). 585 431

574 If the guest remained for any length of time he was given food, and if he stayed overnight at a strange camp he was given a good place to sleep. He was fed during the length of his stay, however protracted, and even a whole family was so treated if it came visiting. The women might help with the cooking, and other womanly occupations. Families might eat together in this case, but at all other times except feasts they ate separately.

572 431 Men and women alike had particular friends whom they called "partner" (sEla'x̣t) and whom they visited frequently. Lucy Joe, in describing this relationship, said, "Sometimes I just think suddenly 'I'll go see —.' Then I get a basket of cherries or something and take them to her. Then she is very glad." This partner was almost always of the same sex and served also as a confidant. To Chilowhist Jim it seemed that women did not have such partners as frequently as men; further that the relationship between any pair lasted only a few years.

To David, a Penticton, this seemed an absurdly simple pattern. Though in the north there was this exchange of gifts informally between friends, there was the feeling that anyone in the group might have anything he needed from the others. Begging was disgraceful, but gifts of food or even such things as moccasins were given to a man leaving after a visit should he need them. The recipient would probably feel obligated to make some sort of return, but the gifts were not given with this in mind. However, to David, the institution of the gift-exchanging friendship had reference primarily to men of the various neighboring tribes. They would help each other, particularly if one of the pair should become bankrupt through gambling while on a trading trip.

574 431 David's statement is as follows: People visiting friends do not bring food. Hosts always give them food to carry to their children or parents. Friends seldom buy from each other while visiting. If a host sees that his guest is in need of moccasins, clothes, etc., he would try to find some to present when the latter leaves. Begging was considered contemptible, however. A guest presented with moccasins, for example, would feel that he owed his host a present in return, but the donor would not think so.

572 431 Suppose a Wenatchi was visiting and had bad luck in gambling. Some man would give him clothes and the like so that he could get home. Later, when this generous person was in the Wenatchi country, he would be invited to stay with the man he had befriended. The latter would treat him well and give him gifts when he was leaving. He would say, "We'll be friends all the time. When you come to my country you will always stay with

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p.126(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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23 On trading friends see Social Structure.[2]
24 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 250.[1]

animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting. 776 784 262

If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit. 784 776

The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him. 776 784 753

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1/A] the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance. 796 776 787 431

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might 776 787 574

[1/A] [(Cf. 142(B), cat. [illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

join if they wished. An old man or woman 776
then asked him about his dream experience.
He replied, "I want more people to come and 787
sing my song in two or three days." He felt
somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing 574
the song at intervals for a number of days.
His relatives invited friends to come to the house for his first winter dance. People were glad to attend, to learn about the new power and to accompany its master in his song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed them, sang, and gave them various gifts in return for saving his life by helping him to control the power.

Mary Carden's account of one's first 796
winter dance emphasized his critical health,
the preliminary singing, and the importance
of the master of ceremonies as a leader of 776
ritual and as the neophyte's religious guardian and physician. 787

The account proceeds thus. When the power acquired in childhood returned to the young adult, it told him that it was lonesome and ordered him to sing, to give a dance, and to distribute property among the people. This "brought luck" to him, for in a short time he would receive even more property back. At this time he fell ill. Apparently a shaman was called in to diagnose the case, for we are now informed that a shaman told the individual, "Your power has come and wants you to give a dance." If this happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll have to wait till winter." The shaman's power told that of the patient to wait till
winter. When winter came, the neophyte had 796
a power dream, from which he awoke singing. His family then sent news of this to their neighbors in the valley, and sang his power song with him, while the shaman, as master of ceremonies, came and planned the dance and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to the central post. The guests arrived in the evening. For as long as the dance would last, they would be provided with food by the young man's family. The neophyte had been singing "every night," probably every night since his recent dream, and the shaman sang to guard the neophyte's power from theft. Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay down or sat while the shaman, with closed eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After dark they both began to dance and sing in the center of the room. Having danced for a while, the neophyte called for his stick, which was handed by a member of his family to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied it to the stick and silently handed both back to him. The song and dance were then resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped the center pole with both hands, the neophyte grasping similarly above him, and both slid their hands down singing xwŪŪ xwŪ′yŪŪ. "When people call this sound, they are bringing power from the mountains. Power is with a person all the time, but the spirit can go far away." Any guests arriving after the dance had begun were stopped by the doorkeeper, who announced them to the company.

796 The neophyte or the master of ceremonies waved his stick in the air, struck it on the ground, sang for a moment, and then said, "Let them in. Tell them to walk two or three times around the room." Men were placed on one side, women on the other. The master of ceremonies stood with the dancer and his interpreter in the center of the dance formation and prompted the neophyte in singing. When the latter had finished his dance, the master of ceremonies announced through his interpreter that anyone else who wanted to take the floor might do so. The neophyte told the master of ceremonies what he wanted the audience to do and the latter told the audience. Mary believed that the master of ceremonies acted as a kind of intermediary between the dancer and the guardian spirits. In general, the company followed the song and dance of the young neophyte or whoever was dancing individually at the time.

THE WINTER DANCE IN GENERAL

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796 The dance in which people displayed their power was called sEnqEnI'm strq'a'm, "sing-dance" in the local English, the "winter dance," the "medicine dance," and, in its later seasonal phase, the "Chinook dance." At the beginning of the dancing season the people said waI köksEqūnI'xa, "We're going to sing." The dance had several different functions. On this occasion the host, who was also the chief dancer, discharged an obligation imposed on him by his guardian spirit in a dream. He displayed his power by singing its song, by painting or dressing himself in a special way, by dancing, and by performing various feats. He enjoyed the cooperation and support of the community in their reverent attendance and in their united singing of his power song. He enhanced his social position by feeding and entertaining a large number of guests. The other dancers shared these advantages. Those who possessed power gave vent to their own, as well as rallying to that of their host and helping him to "tame" it. As a reward for their aid they received blankets, skins, food and other gifts at the end of the dance. They undoubtedly vied with each other in fervor and religious claims, but they did not often attack each other's power on this occasion, and the guardian spirits which a man scarcely dared to mention at other times he could now reveal with propriety and some degree of safety. The spectators not only enjoyed a social good time and the excitement of the power show, but participated in the dancing and singing as a kind of outer circle, thus uniting themselves for the moment with the most influential members of their society. To the possessors of great power they made their most vital wishes known, and from them they received some hope of aid, if not the promise of fulfillment. It was the one time at which the religious resources of the group and its friendly neighbors were pooled for the common good.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p.146 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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1 Compare the midwinter sacred period and ritual of the coastal tribes. — L.S. 1

796 The dance was organized and led by a single person, usually a man, whose guardian spirit had instructed him in a dream to do so. If he failed to comply with this command, as with other commands of the spirit, his health was endangered. The spirit might order him to give several dances in the course of his life. The dance seemed to imply considerable power on the part of the leader; at least, a person with very weak power — that is, with a guardian spirit in which he felt little confidence — would hardly attempt an exhibition of this kind. At whatever time of the year the dream came, the dance was always held in the winter, usually in January or February, when the people had already passed two or three months in winter quarters. If he received the dream in the summer, the individual announced that he would give a dance "when the snow comes." This limitation applied only to the formal dances, not to the singing of power songs, nor to power dreams, shamanistic curing, or other manifestations of the guardian spirits, which might occur at any time. Though the Okanagon did not believe that guardian spirits went away in the summer, to return in the winter, they had a vague feeling that power was stronger or more closely present in the winter, and that sickness, against which the dance was largely directed, was more dangerous at that season. The real reason may lie in the greater concentration of the community in the large winter houses than when fishing, hunting and food-gathering in the warmer months.'[1]

[788] In the early spring a power dance was held to make the rain come and the Chinook (south) wind blow and melt away the snow. The local whites call this the Chinook dance. This was essentially the same as the ceremonies held during the winter, but was always led by a man with power from some kind of bird, which had told him to sing for rain and wind.

796 574 The winter dance was usually held in the largest house in the village, or in the house of the dance leader if that were large enough. In aboriginal days this would have been a mat-covered long-house, or a semi-subterranean earth-covered lodge(?). Occasionally the village headman lent his more commodious dwelling for this purpose, though someone else were giving the dance. One always gave his first winter dance in his own house. The leader provided most of the food and members of his family did most of the cooking, but others might contribute and assist. Chilowhist Jim said that the food for the guests was cooked by three men and three women, who were all young and strong, and that this was one of the few occasions on which men did culinary work. These cooks, he explained, were appointed by the chief. Each family coming to the dance contributed some food to the common supply and also loaned some utensils, marked so that they could later be reclaimed by their owners.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 146(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn. 796 574

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

Among the properties used in the dance,[1] the central and most conspicuous was the post called nIl'pōs or tēkIkstēn or yalpostn. Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was removed to the woods and placed upright against a tree, where it was abandoned. 796, 778

Mary Carden said that among her people the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient 796 778 177

[1] [i.e, the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

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for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[59] Nez Percé,[60] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. [574] It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. [561] When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. [533] During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. [354] The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters

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[59] See *a*, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles *a* were placed outside of the horizontal poles *c*. The top horizontal pole *c* (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles *a*. The support poles *b* were also heavy.

[60] See *b*, p. 196.

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruit-
*171 ing ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup, and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (accord-
[778] ing to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the re-
796 counting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601
that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565
of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622
because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses- 554
Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented 198
or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854
some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and [illegible] male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856
Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551
of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete. 526

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia. 201

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it. 565 575 621

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

CHIEFS.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs 622

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead,
Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families 727
were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they [648]
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children,
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. [628]
A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni
captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the
Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms
and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead 171*
(or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez
Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was
held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the
Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo
robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to
see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected
that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook 191
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville.
However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook
was not used a great deal, the principal language being French.
Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also
employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the
Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by
the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly
different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 375
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: nɫlupqō'po, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; kciltEmI'lt, "bastard"; kĔkōwa'p, "dog"; kcqwĕ'chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa'rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud." 578

Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waI xI'wI'ɫ, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waI (waI is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waI ktstsEkI'ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waI. 576•

A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waI ktskI'ts, "Well, I am here." This the other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waI qEnqɫhō'Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waI qōqɫhū'Ia, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waI. 574 576 [203]

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa'I kūskI'taEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa'I kEnskI'ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The women of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden). 585 431

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5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeûr d'Alene

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 201 802

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. 201 576 Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. 202 224 Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[279] *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women. 201 576 861

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers, the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes, specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters. Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense. These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by membership in age societies.

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A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick. This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

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When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met, one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he had seen buffaloes.

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The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47] [1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

● [577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48] [1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

623 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94 (B)

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the peo-
ple even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her af-
fectionate father or uncle helped her by cut-
ting a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as reli- [838]
gious worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with im-
punity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one in-
stance where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in ques-
tion, whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-
weir, an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, 776
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians ad-
mired, feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called süksümix.
The word for the power quest was tsüntsüt or
tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated at-
tempts for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox
twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and
164 again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps
were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States
Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as
494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91
Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with
the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez
Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom inter-
married with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was
with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first
intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe
began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo
hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles,
and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later
times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and
Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse,
Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes.
The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish
tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their
reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan.
Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods
among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long
ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from
the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been
introduced from this source.

141 Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
157 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few
577 being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily
built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large
heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious
and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much
attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early
times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sand-
stone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals.
Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite
as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally.
On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful
guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having
greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people.
Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang
their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their
guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them.
It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on
masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans
occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be
applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them
to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain
colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these
paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple
application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according
to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans
prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans
in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of
[754] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in
this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing
this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few
of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were
no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts[330] and ideas of beauty ap-
577 pear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters.
778 Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small
smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they
789 showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or
artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the
neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered
very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation.
Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots
and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain
wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as
charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or
bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes
carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for
locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like
those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would
cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[330] a. pp. 366, 367.

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
681 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization
for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sɪtsmt'ukui'ltxᵘ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival. 843

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come. 152 861 843

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish. 262 578 843

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to 784 843 an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman. 756 776

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was t'əpɛ·'lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[12]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests sometimes arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited. 578 756 776

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of function. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth. 756

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing procedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[13] A shaman was called to administer in an 753 757

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[12] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[13] See pages 215 f.

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here, near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not ob-
ligatory. A man who does not have this type
● [579] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no auth-
ority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
mutual consent without any discussion. Three
592 women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snčI′mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ūlakī′m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

> Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]
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> 578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.
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> 264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.
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> There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

There were no insulting gestures. The 578 ●
following verbal insults were recorded:
nŧlupqō´po, "dirty anus (or buttocks)";
kciltEmī´lt, "bastard"; kĔkōwa´p, "dog";
kcqwĕ´chin, "you have semen on your penis";
kcpa´rĔk, "your foreskin is drawn back";
"your anus is filled with blue mud."

Some phrases of greeting were secured.
When a man meets a friend on the trail, he 576
says, waĪ xĪ'wĪ´ł, "Good! We meet." The
other replies, waĪ (waĪ is a generalized af-
firmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a
caller entering a house, or to a person join-
ing a group, one of those present would say,
waĪ ktstaEkĪ´ts, "Good! You have come," to
which the newcomer responds, waĪ.

A great deal of time was spent in visit- 574
ing. This was very informal. One entered
the tipi of another with some such greeting
as waĪ ktskĪ´ts, "Well, I am here." This the 576
other echoed, and then hands were shaken all
around. After this the visitor was asked to
sit down, often at the best place, that be-
longing to the head of the house, back of
the fireplace. He was expected immediately [203]
and without further formality to deliver any
news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim
stated that one was expected to enter and
sit without invitation, for if he hesitated
he might be taken for an enemy. In entering
the semi-underground house there was some-
what more formality demanded of a visitor.
Possibly even members of the household were
required to announce their presence at the
top of the ladder, so that those within
would avoid the foot of it. There was a par-
ticular rule of etiquette demanding that no
one look up while a woman was descending.
When one person was leaving, he or she said,
waĪ qEnqłhō´Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the
plural, waĪ qōqłhū´Ia, "Well, we are going,"
to which the response was waĪ.

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa´Ī kūskĪ´tsEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa´Ī kEnskĪ´ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The woman of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

A married woman might go to visit her 585
parents without her husband, but his per- 431
mission was required. She carried gifts
(Mary Carden).

p.125(B)

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song [424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor 578 was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or 533] her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sInkwatsInōx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its 554 members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily 622 have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

p. 136 (A)

778 622 [791] remembered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 598 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The same may be said for the circle tattooed on each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake skin which men with snake power glued to their bows. The most simple point in costume or adornment which the guardian spirit might prescribe for its protégé was the prohibition against cutting his hair.

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Smoking had formerly been much more closely associated with power than it was in recent times. Apparently it had been confined to shamans, but became secularized. A shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he cherished his power emblem, a little pipe for specially religious use. This pipe was called sinlaōta´kc. However numerous his guardian spirits, only one of them told him to have this. The animals which usually issued this command were strong creatures such as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle. Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer did not tell their protégés to make the power pipe. On the pipe was incised or painted a picture of the animal in question. A young boy or girl might secretly have one if the guardian spirit had requested it; but many people were thirty or thirty-five years old before they had their power pipes. In the early days, women did not smoke before middle age, though young women might own pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother if he had no father, to have one made for him, and a girl preferably told her mother. The pipe was always fashioned by an expert worker in stone, who received a price for it. One smoked his power pipe whenever he was severely ill, injured, or curing his own children, but otherwise he did not do so except in case of severe danger to himself or his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could light it from the sun in about three puffs. One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for that was dangerous, though he might inhale freely from ordinary pipes.

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Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit were never portrayed on houses or house posts, because "if they did that, some Indian doctor would think they were acting too smart and take their power away."

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Only people with strong power painted pictures on rock. One did not do this until he had sung his power song at his first winter dance. When he painted these pictures, he had with him a friend who knew their meaning and who could later call on him for aid from the pictures. The painter said to his friend, "I'm painting these here so that if you ever have any illness or get hurt you can call on me to help you." The painter's companion told other members of the tribe that so-and-so had painted the pictures, which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

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hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's 754
sister's people were very sorry about this.
They felt responsible for Suzanne's death,
because they had called in the Yakima man to
doctor Nancy.

Shaman's contests often took a milder 789
form. Michel's father and another man were
playing the stick game. Both had strong 791
power. The other man took the bones. When
he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of
the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the [578]●
shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

The guardian spirits conferred on their 776
wards many special faculties, such as clair-
voyance, superhuman endurance and strength, 778
immunity to certain dangers, control of the
weather, the ability to transform oneself in- 791
to the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again. 726

Wars with the whites.—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokan and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Tcelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

578 FEUDS.—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon:

578 173 Chief Nicolas,[10] who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇt*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,[11] who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *Kᴇsaskai'*-

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[10] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267 (4.9).

[11] According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇt*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇt*.

578 173 *lɛx* killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kɛsaskai'lɛx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] 526 Cat's cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 256.

[2] a, pp. 272, 273.

[3] a, p. 274.

[4] a, pp. 274, 275.

[5] a, pp. 277, 278.

[6] See p. 123.

dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the 226
Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distri- 366
bution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal
share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur 439
d'Alene, Spokane, snakā'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snaqaie'tkʷ, Methow, 476
Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snaqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots.

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene 366
of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay 439
post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return.

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip,
from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima [525]
and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries.

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too 366
far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals, 439
fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the
group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect im- 484
portance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps.

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the 127
trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse, 224
and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was addi- 484
tional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal pro- 579
cedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke.

579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

175 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of
177 the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was
439 still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too,
horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with
484 peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps
1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about
1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

177 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains
492 type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of
luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

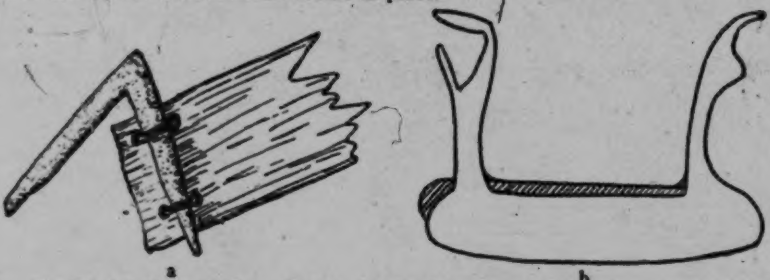

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, 501 and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained.

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling 481 like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used.

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and 231 Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 177 1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent 579 much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from 231 other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves.

177

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there 556 appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people.

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
854 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

●58 Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

606 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
602 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles. There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achievement to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desirable marriage possible for a son or daughter. 581 This meant that moral character, ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration. 584 However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage complex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 835 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention 587
to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast.

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. 585 The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[16]

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his 583
father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives. He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended.

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and 581
unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical
appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed 595
by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time.

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in sepa- 595
rate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognised as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry

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[16] See page 196.

the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says that a son of a chief is chosen as his successor because he knows how to be chief, having heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits. 622 554

The members of a chief's family are not known by a distinctive term. Terms of a purely descriptive nature, such as, wife of the chief (pōī´lmīxūm), or child of the chief (nkaɬelmī´xūm) are used during the life of the chief. Even the eldest son, who is recognized as the one who will most certainly succeed to his father's position, is not designated by any distinctive term.

In selecting a wife, the chief need not choose a girl from a wealthy family; it is more important that she be a chaste and industrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste. 622 581

The wife of a chief works just as does any other woman, but her suggestions are received by the other women with respect and are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band. 622 554

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

Power was not a necessary attribute for holding the office of chief. Reputation as a warrior was not considered essential. The ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says, "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense." 622 555

Informants from the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the 622

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 95(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.[1]

50 Spier and Sapir, Wishram, 212.[1]

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 606 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 264 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.[17]

561 778 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 831 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmamtô´la^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

[17] See also Social Organization.

834 tremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed.

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[13] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. 582 Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon.

[584] Infant betrothals (sntu'xsantcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons holding places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable.

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more desirable than marriage at home. Unions between persons speaking unintelligible dialects seldom occurred for very few persons were bi-lingual. John Tom estimated that in seven out of ten marriages both parties were Sanpoil, whereas in the remaining thirty per cent either the man or the woman might be foreign. He suggested that the bulk of the intermarriage was with the Columbia. Examination of specific information incidentally obtained for a few cases reveals a slight tendency in the opposite direction. Intermarriage occurred in eleven out of the twenty-one cases. These data, however, are for relatively recent times when intercourse had been artificially stimulated by the presence of whites, and includes two marriages of Sanpoil women to whites. For pre-white times Tom's estimate is probably fairly accurate. Of the twenty-one cases recorded three of the unions were between Sanpoil and Columbia but no other outside native group appears more than once. This despite the fact that the Columbia dialect was more unlike Sanpoil than any of the other adjoining dialects. If these cases are representative, Sanpoil men marry foreign women more often than the reverse. In two instances only, Sanpoil women married natives of the other groups. The data follow:

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[13] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

	SANPOIL MALES	MARRIED TO	
1.	William Burke, ťuqwənmənstá'skət, (son of 20) (first marriage)	qwepi·'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
2.	do (second marriage)	si'qampi·,	(Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel)
3.	Jim James, wuləni·'tsa, (son of 4)	ski·ya'lks,	(Sanpoil)
4.	q̓wılxalq̓a'ya	qaxpi·'tsa,	(snəq̓aie'tkʷ)
5.	Cultus Charley, kalxwe'tckın	(?)	(Wenatchi)
6.	wəlskuma'utckən, (son of 5)	kwısťəpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
7.	Bob Covington, kwıl'a'x̣ən	ki'kaimi'tsa,	(Columbia)
8.	Bear, skınxi·'st, (first marriage)	su'kutá'lks,	(Sanpoil)
9.	do (second marriage)	qwıkwimá'lks,	(Columbia and Nespelem)
10.	do (third marriage)	Nancy,	(Sanpoil)
11.	tau·tau·ku'sum	swimťi'tkʷ,	(Sanpoil)
12.	kwikwita'skat	qwınxa'tsa,	(Columbia)
13.	John Tom, xwi'wi'lx[13] (2nd marriage)	spukula'lks,	(Sanpoil)
14.	do (3rd marriage)	(?)	(Columbia)
15.	ax̣'ntaku'səm, (son of 13)	wıləme·'tkʷ,	(Sanpoil)
16.	Joe Monahan	qwənłpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
17.	wəlwəlstu'lxʷ, (son of 18)	q̓a·smá'lks,	(Sanpoil)

	SANPOIL FEMALES	MARRIED TO	
18.	sq̓aımt·a·'lqs	su·γi'mpť,	(Similkameen)
19.	qwənxupi'tsa	kwılt'ni'nak,	(Columbia)
20.	Mary Susan, taxli·'t'	Burke,	(white)
21.	si'nəmťkʷ	?	(white)

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[13] Other names of John Tom are given on page 114.

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In fact, most Salish-speaking people in the 574 Plateau are treated as friends. At food gathering seasons, members of different bands meet in one place, but camp separately. Each chief or headman keeps order in his own camp. After fishing all day, the men gather socially in the evening for gambling, trading, wrestling and foot racing. There is much smoking, chiefs and old men passing their pipes around so that everyone present may have a turn. There is also extensive intertribal visiting during the season of winter dances. Instances of marriages of Sin- 582 kaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes are not unusual, but in the records of 619 specific marriages obtained,*[1] it is noted that the majority of known cases for each band are marriages within the band. Out-marriages seem to be determined by geographical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has established friendly relations with the Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively with the Nespelem, while the more northerly Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes. Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and Thompson. These friendly affiliations may also be cited regarding trade relations. Lucy Joe says that it is only since the several tribes have all been placed on the same reservation that the Sinkaietk have married other than Okanagon-speaking people. This is doubtful, since genealogical records'[1] give information to the contrary.

The Inkami'p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers prior to the coming of the horse.*[1] The Sinkaietk went south as far as Wallula and 487 north into Thompson country to trade, their routes closely following the rivers, whether they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[1] who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

In war, enemy men are killed and their women 567
taken as wives (sqwē'nExEn, "wife who is cap-
tured"). There is no word in the Sinkaietk 727
vocabulary for slave.

Mary Carden says that the chief some- 622
times cares for wounded enemies until they
are well. Then such men work with the chief's 727
family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is
a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask 582
the chief to let him marry their daughter.
At these marriages, the chief acts as the
captive's father. It is hard to believe that
captive enemies would prove so amenable, unless they had been taken very young.

60 See the Dream dance. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 99 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

881 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as bas-
883 ketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group
836 affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 No marriage to a blood relative was al-
835 lowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 Incest was exceedingly rare, according
835 to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens
[538] often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 The technical ban on marriage referred
835 to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 It was preferred to marry within the
554 tribe, but marriages outside of it took
778 place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

583 The sororate, separate households for
587 non-related wives, childhood betrothal, and
595 the subsequent gift exchange are mentioned or suggested in the literature."[1]

Ceremony

585 The information with regard to the ceremony of marriage is in rather a confused state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist, a completely informal affair. "It was not marriage; it was just taking each other." This seems rather to be a voicing of the contrast between its formlessness and simplicity and the ceremoniousness of more modern forms of marriage.

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Payment by the groom, to be repaid later, but not so ceremoniously, and not in full. Mary Carden's husband gave four horses for her, and about a year later her family returned two to him. Half of the marriage price was given to her mother's brother. This was not a unique case, but was a rare one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or unattractive man, particularly with a girl having a reputation for chastity. Cecile told of a chief who had paid eight horses for a girl, and when her sister came of age, desiring to marry her as well, he paid another ten. This was, however, a modern case. There may have been return payments of which she had no knowledge. She said that an old man told her that such purchases would never have been made in the old days, but this may have been a reflection on the size rather than on the fact of the payment.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

583 [621] 582 chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took place occasionally with all the surrounding peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon speaking people was not classed in the same way. This occured very commonly. David Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1]

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583 585 If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's parents. Returning with the girl, he carried presents from her parents. Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern.

171 585 Information from the Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders.

171 585 574 Commonly the group was notified of the marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents of either bride or groom. The girl's father announced to the guests that his daughter was married. There were no ceremonies, no gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[17] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting.

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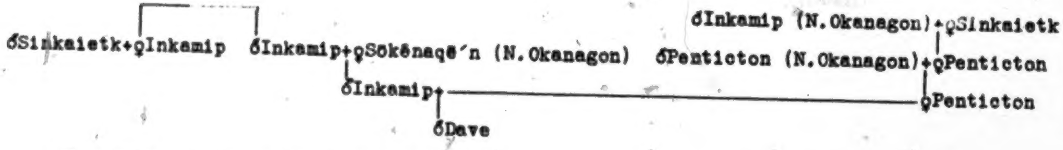
[17] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

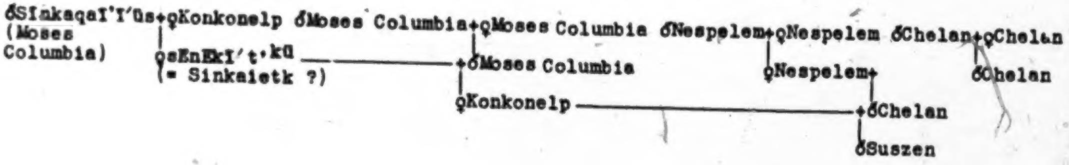
0582

[David Isaac's genealogy]

p. 115(c)


δSinkaietk+♀Inkamip
δInkamip+♀Sökënaqë´n (N. Okanagon)
δInkamip (N. Okanagon)+♀Sinkaietk
δPenticton (N. Okanagon)+♀Penticton
δInkamip+
♀Penticton
δDave

Suszen's genealogy is also instructive from this point of view:


δSInkaqaI'I´ūs+♀Konkonelp
(Moses Columbia)
δMoses Columbia+♀Moses Columbia
δNespelem+♀Nespelem
δChelan+♀Chelan
♀sEnEkI´t·kū
(= Sinkaietk ?)
+δMoses Columbia
♀Nespelem+
δChelan
♀Konkonelp
+δChelan
δSuszen

344 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts,
88 painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in
[illegible] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

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583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[300] a, pp. 321-325.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

166 174 167 rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that [487] there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

177 582 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sxmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'xe*. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sxmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the 382
Upper Kutenai and *Sɛmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and
Plains tribes was rare. [178]
After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages
were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little 567
extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and 727
captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed.
After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven 177
for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use, Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣āpa'sqɛt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'ulkɛn*, a *Stlax̣ai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast. 587

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[18] 585

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended. 583

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time. 581 595

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in separate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognized as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry 595 ries, those of the boy fish and meat, symbolic of the pursuits of each sex. 584 These were not necessarily gifts of such great value as horses. They represented merely the feeling of mutual helpfulness between the two families, and the sort of support the offspring of each was going to bring to the other. When the children came of age it was expected that they would marry.

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[18] See page 198.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584 by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that their children should marry when they were 585 fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen or twenty.) When the agreement was reached, the father who had suggested it took a present of horses to the other, in the old days a gift of hides, and immediately received a gift of equal value in exchange. The children were considered married then. When the news got about, no one would interfere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881] first menstruation the couple would live together. There was no feast, for the Okanagon never had feasts "of any kind" until [574] forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584 consisted in the boy's parents taking seven to ten horses to the girl's parents and bringing her back. A year later the girl's parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585 first with the groom's parents. They visited 591 back and forth until they had accumulated enough to build their own home; the necessities might be given them by their parents. Women always returned home to their mothers for the birth of a child. After the first [844] baby was born, the young couple established their own home. After marriage both the mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed the girl how to treat a husband, and the duties of a wife in general. This training continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583 breaking of such a betrothal, though one of the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions this as a possibility. It was said to have occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a young couple did elope, they would be welcomed back after a short time, for "What could the parents do?" Occasionally separation 586 might be urged, but could not be enforced without the consent of at least one of the parties. Some of the more southern informants, particularly Old Harry, stated that the chief could force a separation. This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern, and must be considered doubtful, though it may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house. 7

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

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16 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

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[30] a, pp. 321-325.

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites. 585 583 177

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires. [832]

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. 584. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property. 428 587

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] *a*, p. 324.

[306] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried. 881 532

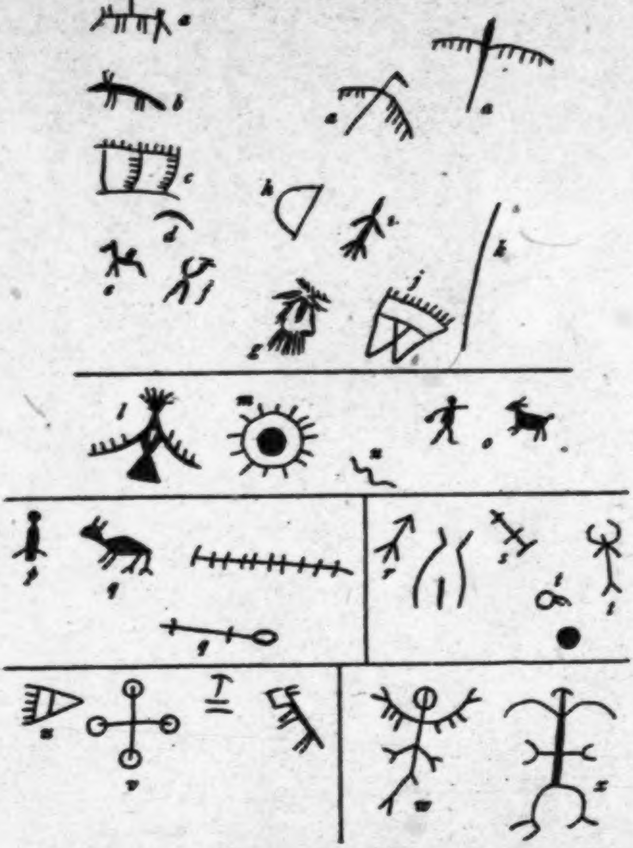

FIGURE 26.—Rock paintings

a–k. Found on bowlder 18 miles below Princeton; a eagles; b, wolf or coyote; c, bear's tracks; d, moon; e, person on horseback; f, person; g, doubtful; h, moon; i, animal; j, grizzly bear tracks; k, trail. l–o. On a bowlder about 19 miles below Princeton; l, eagle; m, sun or pond surrounded by trees; n, snake; o, man meeting a deer. p–x. On a cliff and in a cave near Tsu'su'l'ia, Similkameen Valley; p, man; q, animals; r, fir branch; s, animal; t, insects; u, grizzly bear; v, four quarters; w, eagle; x, an insect or a vision.

MARRIAGE.—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by "go-betweens," 583

● 583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawd'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

532

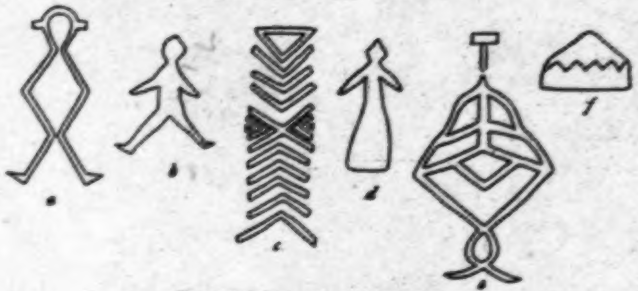

FIGURE 2[illegible].—*Figures incised in bark of trees*
a, Girl; b, man; c, perhaps ribs; d, woman; e, perhaps an animal; f, perhaps a woman's cap.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semiunderground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

764 DEATH AND BURIAL.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, c, p. [illegible]. [11] See p. [illegible].

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and 535
food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes 535
parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs,
in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them 721
before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the
Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men
desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young
men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a
chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these
parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a 535
dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted
their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them 727
on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the
most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like
warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had 535
received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated 776
his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held 535
in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the 583 ●
same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being 535
held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women,
during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that 796
used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than 757
food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

533
832

wa'i' kwɑnɑami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'xʷ wumi'xʷ
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pitxʷ i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 584 832

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lx was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an extremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed. 834

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[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 30.

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[11] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon. 582

Infant betrothals (sntu'x̣səntcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons holding places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable. [584]

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more

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[11] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of
other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles.
There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achieve-
ment to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of
formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desir-
581 able marriage possible for a son or daughter. This meant that moral character,
ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration.
584 However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage com-
plex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly
different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an
idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not
permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the
835 parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the
chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the
goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term anri'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

the Methow River, ascended the south bank a 439
short distance and then took a course due
west to the coast. Since acquiring the horse 487
the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the
Rockies in search of buffalo. [177]

In proximity to the Sinkaietk, there are
three large trading points; Big Bend on the 439
Columbia River, the mouth of the Okanogan
River, and Kettle Falls. During the salmon 574
seasons, tribes from great distances con-
gregate at these places for fishing, trading 441
and gambling.

If few salmon are being caught in the
home territory, any band is welcome to fish 226
in friendly territory. Young men, in any
case, are apt to fish in friendly territory 574
in order to see the girls of other places. 584●
Many marriages take place at salmon fishing
time.

Trading is a complement of food gather- 462
ing. Trade in food is carried on entirely
by the women, since the stored food belongs 441
to them. (Husbands, if questioned concern-
ing the food supply, answer, "I don't know.
That is not my business.")

Sinkaietk people travel quite some dis- 484
tance from their own territory to hunt, fish
and trade, as is evidenced in the following 439
accounts.

Mary Carden, when sixteen (approximately 1870), went with Tukoratum people to trade in Ellensburg. The group started from the mouth of the Okanogan River, crossed the Columbia there and went across country. They crossed the Columbia again below Wenatchee and went over the mountains to Ellensburg. They had money and horses then, and went to purchase a winter food supply, blankets and yardage for clothing. In the old days, Mary's people went to Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama´pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagon) territory to trade.

According to Chilowist Jim, who is of 484
Methow descent, although there have always
been canoes, travel by water is infrequent. 439
In early days, however, they travelled all
the way to the Wenatchi, sometimes twenty
boats going at a time. It took four days to 437
get back, using long poles to go upstream.
They went to collect tules for housemaking
and to catch salmon which they dried there
for food. Trading took place at the mouth
of the npEsqwö´ūs creek which enters the
Columbia River at Wenatchee. Trade in Wen-
atchi territory had to be with a certain man,
a trading friend (sö´xqūi).[10] If an in-
dividual's trading friend was not present,
that person would have to return without
making any trade. This seldom happened, since
the trips would be made at times when many
Indians gathered from everywhere, and all
who were interested in trading would be cer-
tain to be present. If a man's trading
friend died, friends would assist him in

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[10] For other data, see Individual Life Cycle.

p. 75(A)

Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion. 622 765

On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided, the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. 623 [584]●

The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly. 622

These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for woman officials were eliminated before the latter. 173 622

CIyá′qwEkEn was chief (yIlamI′xŭm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmána′ŭs, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kŭχkŭχtá′skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

p. 97 (A)

584

The usual pattern for the marriage proposal was for the father, uncle, or some older male relative of the boy to ask the parents of the girl for her in marriage. It would be insulting, thought Dave, for a friend or a woman to be dispatched. The boy was always consulted, and the suggestion might come from him. Sometimes the boy did his own proposing, but this was not considered quite the best form.

There was apparently no set form for the occasion. The father sometimes made a speech, speaking of such things as any friendship that may have existed between himself and the father of the girl. If the request was refused, no hard feelings were aroused and the man left without more ado. If the parents of the girl gave their consent, she went off with her husband and his father immediately, or he joined her family group. She was expected to assent to her family's choice without hesitation, as her former seclusion had prevented her making a choice of her own. If for any reason she refused, the man might make a determined effort to win her by a prolonged courtship. Mary Carden's first husband, whom she had at first refused because he already had two wives, courted her for about a year, visiting with her family for long periods of time. Julie Josephine, on the other hand, said that the man whom she married came to ask for her himself, and she went off with him immediately. In her case, her father being long dead, her mother arranged the affair. If the girl did not like the man approved by her parents, she might elope with someone else. Old Harry insisted that the chief was frequently called as consultant by the family searching for a mate for their child. If this was so, it was probably a local pattern of the extreme south.

Several of our informants spoke of the possibility that the family of the girl make the advances. A particularly good hunter would be selected, for example, and the girl sent to him. Should he not desire to marry her, he was free to send her back, with no stigma upon her. Others scorned this idea, but agreed that a younger sister, as she became mature, was sent in this fashion to join her sister as co-wife. Curtis mentions the proposal by the parents of the girl as a regular Salish institution, which was passing out of favor at the time he made his survey.[13] Teit speaks only of the proposal from the suitor to the parents of the girl, directly, or by means of a relative or the chief.[14]

Sometimes the parents arranged for the marriage of their children while the latter were yet infants. This was known as ckEłōmEct. There were exchanges of presents from then on, mostly of food, the parents of the girl giving things like roots and ber-

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13 Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 73.
14 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 287.
15 See also Household Arrangement.

p. 113 (A)

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, symbolic 584
of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen
or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately received
a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would interfere
with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live together.
There was no feast, for the Okanagon [574]
never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visited
back and forth until they had accumulated 591
enough to build their own home; the necessities
might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed
the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be welcomed
back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separation 586
might be urged, but could not be enforced
without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern informants,
particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), category 116. --Analyst]

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

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16 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 281; Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 73-74.

171 Then there was a feast; according to Ross a rather formal affair.

585 574 "When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. On arranging the purchase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" (David Isaac).

171 585 There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Suszen, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and Nez Percé. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkaietk only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi.

584 ● 585 The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maldcl'nŭm and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?"

585 At the meeting the people sit in a big

572 me and I will give you things." They would
agree to exchange presents and hospitality
431 as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

A man would have a "giving-partner" in
[426] his own tribe very seldom, because men in
the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow
each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinŭqōx̄hwītstŭĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tŭĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ŭĕ; a gift chwītsx.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 Among many groups the men had regular
partners with whom they preferred to trade
when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups
572 often went, and the women went along, for
they were useful for carrying and the care
439 of the food. Much of the produce exchanged
was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like
[527] the salmon fishing and some of the winter
dances, for the coming together of large
crowds of people, so that the young people
● [584] had a chance to meet. Marriages were
frequently contracted at this time.

By the time that full middle life was
885 reached, social recognition of individual
differences was achieved. Differentiation
554 in position and function meant rather
specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was 585
no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back
on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[384] As a rule,
there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is
customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give
feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. 583
Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is 177
considered a modern custom adopted from the whites.

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. [833]
Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires.

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. 584
Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[385] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[386]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his 428
brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself 587
and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property.

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[384] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[385] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

[386] *a*, p. 324.

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535 727 796

TSUWIKT DANCE.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327]

TRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL WAR DANCES.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. [203] In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. [524] Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

MARRYING DANCE.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 796 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[327] *b*, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, *e*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 501, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*171 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*171 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
*171 obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He than addressed the pair. He admonished them to realise the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother. 585/867

Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained. 585 591

To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called sta'lam. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but 585

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[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term ənri'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

587 form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast.

515 Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[15]

583 If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives. He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended.

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

581 595 Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time.

595 It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in separate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognized as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry

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[15] See page 198.

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nine-
teen or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately re-
ceived a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would inter-
fere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live to-
gether. There was no feast, for the Okana- [574]
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visit- 591
ed back and forth until they had accumulated
enough to build their own home; the necessi-
ties might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instruct-
ed the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1/A]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be wel-
comed back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforc-
ed without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern in-
formants, particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

583 587 595 The sororate, separate households for non-related wives, childhood betrothal, and the subsecuent gift exchange are mentioned or suggested in the literature."[1]

Ceremony

●585 The information with regard to the ceremony of marriage is in rather a confused state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist, a completely informal affair. "It was not marriage; it was just taking each other." This seems rather to be a voicing of the contrast between its formlessness and simplicity and the ceremoniousness of more modern forms of marriage.

583 It is difficult to say exactly what sort of variations our diverse accounts are indicative of. Probably they were all recognized patterns, among which the situation, or the individuals or families concerned, might indicate a choice. Possibly Suszen's explanation is to the point; that when a marriage was with another tribe that practices the potlatch, the Okanagon carried gifts, otherwise not. Some sort of local variation as to the most highly desirable of the possibilities may be represented. The system was certainly never very formal and fixed, and it is natural that newly introduced changes and contrasts should have made the solution of the confusion rather impracticable. Certainly not all the types indicated were of equal validity or age in the culture.

The various patterns which were claimed to have existed here are:

Childhood betrothal, with subsequent exchanges between the parents, and unceremonious consummation.

Payment by the groom, to be repaid later, but not so ceremoniously, and not in full. Mary Carden's husband gave four horses for her, and about a year later her family returned two to him. Half of the marriage price was given to her mother's brother. This was not a unique case, but was a rare one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or unattractive man, particularly with a girl having a reputation for chastity. Cecile told of a chief who had paid eight horses for a girl, and when her sister came of age, desiring to marry her as well, he paid another ten. This was, however, a modern case. There may have been return payments of which she had no knowledge. She said that an old man told her that such purchases would never have been made in the old days, but this may have been a reflection on the size rather than on the fact of the payment.

583 582 Many of the informants said that it would be particularly in the case of an intertribal marriage that such external ratifications were necessary. These took place

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took 583
place occasionally with all the surrounding
peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez [621]
Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and
Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon 582
speaking people was not classed in the same
way. This occured very commonly. David
Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no
means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1]

[1][For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's par- 583
ents. Returning with the girl, he carried 585
presents from her parents. Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josephine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern.

Information from the Inkamip band of 171
Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a
man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts 585
to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders.

Commonly the group was notified of the 171
marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents
of either bride or groom. The girl's father 585
announced to the guests that his daughter
was married. There were no ceremonies, no 574
gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross.[17] After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting.

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[17] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

Then there was a feast; according to Ross a rather formal affair. 171

585 574 "When the boy brings the purchase money to his father-in-law the pipe is passed around. Then the girl is brought in, seated near him, and the pipe is passed around again. Each side then talks about the worth of his own family. On arranging the purchase price, several offers are made by the suitor, and refused, until one sufficiently high is offered. This takes place only for the first marriage" (David Isaac).

171 585 There were obtained two accounts of more elaborate ceremonies. I shall present them for what they may be worth, but both of them are suspect. One was given by Suszen, who latter admitted that it was a pattern newly taken up at Nespelem from Yakima and Nez Percé. He insisted at one time that it had existed in his youth and been stopped by order of the missionary. The others said that this form was quite new. Lucy Joe thought it was used even now by the Sinkaietk only in the case of marriage with the Wenatchi.

584 585 The person who acted as go-between at a wedding was called n'maɫdcɫ'nŭm and might be of either sex. If he was not a relative or close friend of the participants, he was paid for his services. He made one or two visits to the girl, each time taking her a small gift. He offered a price of some value to the family. Then both the families concerned would try to get a large amount together. All the relatives would send horses, blankets, food, and other valuables. They were brought to the meeting place a few days before the ceremony. They served as stabilizers of the marriage, for the relatives, in case of divorce, would say, "Look at all the things I gave away to get you married. Are these all to be for nothing?"

At the meeting the people sit in a big 585

585 circle, with the presents in the center. They form two groups; the girl's family and presents representing one half the circle, those of the boy the other. Speakers were appointed for the occasion, who took their places in the center of the circle. First the one representing the boy and then the one for the girl recited the list of the presents on his side. Then they said to the young people, "Will you be good to each other, and live always together?" The young people were shy, so the speakers answered for them, saying to the group, "These young people are now married."

Then the parents exchanged all the gifts. Little boys carried them across the center line dividing the two groups. Each party redistributed its receipts among the contributors. The fathers gave things to the men, the mothers to the women. If one of the parents was dead, a relative served as proxy. The parents usually profited little by the transaction, and the others treated it pretty much as a gamble. There were no reproaches for those who took or were given more than their share.

A feast followed, although it sometimes preceded the distribution of gifts. Young men and women assisted with the cooking and the serving. It was given in the largest house in the village, or, if the weather permitted, out-of-doors.. After this there was a dance, and a chance for the mingling of the young people.

All this ceremony was held only for the taking of a first wife. For this the people wore their most elaborete headdresses. The boy wore one of eagle feathers, which he borrowed if he did not own one. The girl wore two feathers fixed to a deer thong, at the back or the front of her head. They were in honor of the creator (Qwulencolten) and were removed after the ceremony. Those of the women were fastened close to each other, for they represented herself and her husband. [Chilowhist Jim denied that such feather bonnets were worn at marriage; indeed that they were worn at all until introduced by the Nez Percé.]

While this account differs from that presented by other informants, it was confirmed in essentials by Chilowhist Jim (of Methow affiliations). He stated that at marriage presents were given. "This shows that the relatives are pleased with the match." All sat in a great circle, indoors or out, according to the season. The chief asked the youth if he would be a good husband and faithful, to which the spokesman for the groom's party replied. A similar question was put to the bride. "The people there act as witnesses to this."

The other aberrant account is that of Billy Joe. It includes several pre-nuptial visits performed by the bridal pair and both sets of parents. Each time the visitors brought gifts. The first payments were made by the groom's parents. This is a common Southern Plateau pattern, but all the other

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

684 837 In the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man: a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps [629] would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after seperating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

p. 116 (B)

578 There were no insulting gestures. The following verbal insults were recorded: nṭlupqō'pc, "dirty anus (or buttocks)"; kcilltEmI'lt, "bastard"; kEkōwa'p, "dog"; kcqwē'chin, "you have semen on your penis"; kcpa'rEk, "your foreskin is drawn back"; "your anus is filled with blue mud."

576 Some phrases of greeting were secured. When a man meets a friend on the trail, he says, waI xI'wI'X, "Good! We meet." The other replies, waI (waI is a generalized affirmative, rendered "well," "good"). To a caller entering a house, or to a person joining a group, one of those present would say, waI ktstsEkI'ts, "Good! You have come," to which the newcomer responds, waI.

574 A great deal of time was spent in visiting. This was very informal. One entered the tipi of another with some such greeting as waI ktskI'ts, "Well, I am here." This the 576 other echoed, and then hands were shaken all around. After this the visitor was asked to sit down, often at the best place, that belonging to the head of the house, back of the fireplace. He was expected immediately [203] and without further formality to deliver any news of which he was aware. Chilowhist Jim stated that one was expected to enter and sit without invitation, for if he hesitated he might be taken for an enemy. In entering the semi-underground house there was somewhat more formality demanded of a visitor. Possibly even members of the household were required to announce their presence at the top of the ladder, so that those within would avoid the foot of it. There was a particular rule of etiquette demanding that no one look up while a woman was descending. When one person was leaving, he or she said, waI qEnqXhō'Ia, "Well, I am going," or in the plural, waI qōqXhū'Ia, "Well, we are going," to which the response was waI.

When a visitor arrived the dogs would bark and someone would look out. One never went to meet a visitor. When he reached the entrance, he announced, "I am here." The host responded, xwa'I kūskI'tsEts, "Oh, you are here," and again the visitor said, xwa'I kEnskI'ts, "Yes, I am here." This is just like knocking and opening the door. The visitor descended the ladder and went around shaking hands with everyone present, including children. Then some man would say, "Sit down." The visitor was offered the place belonging to the head of the household, the best place (which in a mat lodge was back of the fireplace opposite the doorway). Should the guest bring important news, he told it immediately. People always asked, "Have you any news?" If he replied in the negative, they knew he was merely visiting. He might begin to tell stories. The woman of the household was supposed to cook a full meal for him, whether he arrived at meal time or not. He was given the best place to sleep, adjacent to the head of the house.

585● 431 A married woman might go to visit her parents without her husband, but his permission was required. She carried gifts (Mary Carden).

p.125(B)

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881 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in [illegible] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

582 MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[illegible]

583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[illegible] a, pp. 321-325.

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites. 585 583 177

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires. [832]

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused. 584

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property. 428 587

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

[306] *a*, p. 324.

595 another and live with her for a time. Whenever he desired he could return to his former wife. The concept of "supporting" a wife did not exist and therefore the question of providing for the various wives with whom a man was not living did not arise. An able bodied woman was quite as capable of taking care of all of her personal needs as she was of attending to a part of the requirements of both herself and her husband. She could always trade her roots and berries for salmon or venison. Moreover she was always welcome at the home of her parents or relatives. Nevertheless it was desirable to have a husband in attendance and there was considerable enmity and quarreling between the wives of a man. One or another felt that she had more "right" to the man's presence, or that she was being unduly neglected. Burke said that the reason a man changed from one wife to another was that he soon became tired of one woman and then another seemed more attractive, or quarreled with one and left her for another.

A man resented another's paying attentions to a wife of his even though he were not living with her. Co-habitation was adultery of as serious a nature as though the husband were present. Many quarrels resulted. Even though a man were not particularly interested in one of his wives it was a blow to his vanity to have her accept the attentions of another.

586 A woman was never privileged to leave her husband. However, if her husband stayed away from her for a long period of time, living with another wife, she might refuse to accept him upon his return. If he could not prevail upon her to live with him again, and if the sympathies of the community were with the woman, she became in effect a single woman once more. After a reasonable period of time she might remarry.

In recent times these limited rights of women seem to have been expanded, or perhaps the above formulation was not always enforced in practice. In any event, the first wife of Jim James, qwın'xwa'pi'tsa, left him and returned to her parents because he repeatedly visited another woman, staying away for several days at a time. About a year later she married again. One of the wives of wuq̣api'tkʷ of Roger's Bar left him permanently as the result of a petty quarrel. She gave herself more food at meals than she gave her husband. He called her q̣ami·'la, "greedy, glutton," whereupon she left his house.

586 684 If a husband obviously deserted a wife who had borne him children he was sought out and considerable pressure was brought to bear by the chief and others, to get him to return. If a man deserted his wife and was not found his wife was considered free and allowed to remarry after about a year. If her former husband returned at a later time with another woman, that marriage was recognized. If a married woman disappeared with another man a strong effort was made to find them. If the hunt ended successfully the two were returned, the man lashed and the woman sent back to her husband. The latter could accept her or refuse to live with her longer, as he pleased. If he gave her up she was allowed to marry again.

The prevalence of separation and subsequent remarriage even in recent times is indicated by the fact that Burke, who was very widely acquainted, could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime.

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

. Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nine-
teen or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately re-
ceived a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would inter-
fere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live to-
gether. There was no feast, for the Okana- [574]
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visit- 591
ed back and forth until they had accumulated
enough to build their own home; the necessi-
ties might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instruct-
ed the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be wel-
comed back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforc-
ed without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern in-
formants, particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113(A), Category 116. --Analyst]

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

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If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

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Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[387]

606 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The [837] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and 173 bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cɛlcɛltcō'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[387] *a*, pp. 326–327.

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waʔ' kwunxami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'xʷ wumi'xʷ
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pitxʷ i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 589 584 832

> A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lx was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

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[10] See pages 84, 179

[11] Cf. page 30.

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term sənï'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention 587
to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast.

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an after- 585
math of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[15]

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his 583
father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives. He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended.

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and 581
unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical
appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed 595
by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time.

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in sepa- 595
rate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognised as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry

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[15] See page 198.

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The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law.

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

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There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now.

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

362 765 the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide) buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not removed until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

765 For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

587 765 In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling resulted.

551 For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," temtamani'. A woman whose husband has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as siu·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

[171] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

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587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

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[43] Spier, Kinship Systems, 76.
[44] Spier, idem., 74.

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
768 with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
● 587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-law living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

601 In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEtpūqtsI'nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna'lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa'sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (fkI'ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi'st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē'lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

624 Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwafk-
Enma'lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwafk-
Enma'lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

583 The sororate, separate households for
●587 non-related wives, childhood betrothal, and
the subsequent gift exchange are mentioned
595 or suggested in the literature."[1]

Ceremony

585 The information with regard to the ceremony of marriage is in rather a confused state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist, a completely informal affair. "It was not marriage; it was just taking each other." This seems rather to be a voicing of the contrast between its formlessness and simplicity and the ceremoniousness of more modern forms of marriage.

583 It is difficult to say exactly what sort of variations our diverse accounts are indicative of. Probably they were all recognized patterns, among which the situation, or the individuals or families concerned, might indicate a choice. Possibly Suszen's explanation is to the point; that when a marriage was with another tribe that practices the potlatch, the Okanagon carried gifts, otherwise not. Some sort of local variation as to the most highly desirable of the possibilities may be represented. The system was certainly never very formal and fixed, and it is natural that newly introduced changes and contrasts should have made the solution of the confusion rather impracticable. Certainly not all the types indicated were of equal validity or age in the culture.

The various patterns which were claimed to have existed here are:

Childhood betrothal, with subsequent exchanges between the parents, and unceremonious consummation.

Payment by the groom, to be repaid later, but not so ceremoniously, and not in full. Mary Carden's husband gave four horses for her, and about a year later her family returned two to him. Half of the marriage price was given to her mother's brother. This was not a unique case, but was a rare one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or unattractive man, particularly with a girl having a reputation for chastity. Cecile told of a chief who had paid eight horses for a girl, and when her sister came of age, desiring to marry her as well, he paid another ten. This was, however, a modern case. There may have been return payments of which she had no knowledge. She said that an old man told her that such purchases would never have been made in the old days, but this may have been a reflection on the size rather than on the fact of the payment.

583
582 Many of the informants said that it would be particularly in the case of an intertribal marriage that such external ratifications were necessary. These took place

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

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837 In the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "toc much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man: a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps [629] would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

● 587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after separating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

wives or his female relatives.

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If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son. Of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother."

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage.

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Mary's brother was married to k'alôp'kEn's sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alôpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This man and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alôpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have separate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart. But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives usually left each with her own family. Co-wives shared equally economically, unless the husband particularly favored one. Each [601] cared only for her own children and was swa wa´sa (mother's sister) to all the others, whether really related or not. As there was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies often arose. Several informants said that the wife most loved by the husband had authority over the others; David Isaac, a Northern Okanagon, said that it was always the first wife. The informants insist that most men who were married had at least two wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters often had more. The only explanation, and a very probable one, is that there was a very high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as follows. In the old days a man who was a good hunter would have many wives, as many as five. Several sisters would marry one man. All lived together in one house. The husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives, one each night. [843] There was no jealousy between the wives. The husband did not stop sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant, but after the baby was born he had no intercourse with her for quite a few days. The wives divided the food he brought home and took turns cooking it for him. When he died they might continue living together, or, each taking such household articles as she had made, build little separate houses in which to live. 587 595 After the mourning period of a year or so the man's brother, who was the best hunter and had been chosen to care for them, would come to the house. If he was already married he might visit back and forth between his other wife or wives and these women. If he had but one wife and there was only one widow, he might establish

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 606 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 264 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 778 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 831 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmamtô la^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

** See also Social Organization.

765 lodge, and wore bound around her ankles and wrists strips of buckskin which she was not to change or remove. On rising in the morning she went to the grave alone to wail for a few minutes; every day at first, but with dwindling frequency. If her home was too far from the grave, she wailed just outside the house. Her posture while she was so engaged was crouching with her feet flat on the ground, while she bowed her face in her palms. A widow would mourn in this fashion for about a year, when she might think of re- [587] marriage. Should she marry too soon her abdomen would swell until she died: her husband would not be able to hunt successfully, would lose his power, and would sicken and die. For a month after the death other mourners, on meeting, wailed: "as soon as they saw each other they would cry." None of the mourners might eat fresh meat or salmon lest they endanger the supply. If a newly bereaved woman picked berries it was sure to ruin the crop for all. A man in mourning could not hunt for a month after the death, for the animals would be frightened of him.

768 Sometimes when a person died the house of death was razed, its poles burned or abandoned. A whole village might be abandoned at this time. Destroying the house was not always done, but was said to have been a matter for the family to decide. It was not done in severe weather. Instead, the house was surrounded with rose bush or Oregon grape branches, and the spot where the deceased had lain covered with fir boughs, or surrounded as was the house. The boughs were changed as often as they became sear, until, when they remained fresh, purification was known to have been accomplished. This was a precaution against the return of the ghost, which was dreaded. Alexander Ross' account gives the razing of the house as the only proper pattern.[1] The old women of the camp came together to wail and to burn the mats on which the dead person had slept, and such of his oldest clothes as were not wanted.

There was little property to be disposed of. There were clothes and, for the man, his weapons, horses, dogs; for the woman, her blankets, mats and household utensils. Under the supervision of the mother, the brother, or other close relative, the strictly personal property of the deceased, such as was not in common use by all the household, was divided on the day of burial. The undertaker's helper (for whom there was no particular designation) was usu-

p.128 (B)

[1] [For footnote, see p.128(C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

Some women's names are *Sai''mô̈sä, Yaromi', Siyô''ɛ, Xwa'm-ɛmma', Xaq̣[illegible]'tcɛn* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwôlɛmcɛma', Wilɛwôlɛma', Siyaq̣ta', Si''pal, Tcîɛmtä'l, Xwɛɛotsti', Tc'ä'äne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Doxwal al 'lla'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qaq̣pi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551/611 [552]

Property.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421/861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [662]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was 585
no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give 583
feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. 177
Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites.

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. [832]
Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires.

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. 584
Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his 428
brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself 587
and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property.

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] *a*, p. 324.

[306] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

592 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and
sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer con-
591 sidered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could
marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's
brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until
old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to
its father's family.

586 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements
684 occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to
kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and
appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those
obtaining among the Thompson.[307]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict
taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many
families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs
are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to
go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The
[837] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives
were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in
the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited
on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable
766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and
bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial
173 grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes
thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called
Cɛlcɛltcō'ls, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far
to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the
extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these
distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man,
and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch
of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at
last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who
died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as
was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried
in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which
the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs
of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses
passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those
of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy
to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much
less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves.
Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[307] a, pp. 326–327.

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term særi'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognised status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

593 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the man was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

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836 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away. Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning. When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The punishment meted out was lashing. 684 837 Young persons were not the only ones guilty of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful eyes of others.

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This
[illegible] door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or
342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below
the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner
doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway
251 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept
352 there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid
on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes
thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house
352 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor
354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces
591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number
of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it.
A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes
soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the
passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses
342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and
422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the
768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period 591/619
of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognise them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but 621
at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born.

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying 423
grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property. No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter 621
of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight.

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession 622
was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord.

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.

[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.

[6] Cf. pages 27-28.

Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after 585/867 the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He then addressed the pair. He admonished them to realize the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother.

Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly 585/591 married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained.

To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with 585 the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called staʼləm. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but

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[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained 852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. [553] Then a feast was held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal 861 education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. [881] From the major part of the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on 885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather [591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. [843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by 761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, symbolic 584
of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen
or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other,in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately received
a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would interfere
with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live together.
There was no feast, for the Okanagon [574]
never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visited 591
back and forth until they had accumulated
enough to build their own home; the necessities
might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed
the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be welcomed
back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separation 586
might be urged, but could not be enforced
without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern informants,
particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a seperation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

to marry him. K'alōpa'kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa'kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa'kEn one horse. 159 595

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ūnqwūnłEp people. K'alōpa'kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan . Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa'kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa'kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were separated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkūmcI'n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa'kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpe'kEn was alreys good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved 591

p. 117(B)

591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have separate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart. But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives usually left each with her own family. Cowives shared equally economically, unless the husband particularly favored one. Each cared only for her own children and was [601] swa wa'sa (mother's sister) to all the others, whether really related or not. As there was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies often arose. Several informants said that the wife most loved by the husband had authority over the others; David Isaac, a Northern Okanagon, said that it was always the first wife. The informants insist that most men who were married had at least two wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters often had more. The only explanation, and a very probable one, is that there was a very high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as follows. In the old days a man who was a good hunter would have many wives, as many as five. Several sisters would marry one man. All lived together in one house. The husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives, one each night. There was no jealousy between the wives. [843] The husband did not stop sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant, but after the baby was born he had no intercourse with her for quite a few days. The wives divided the food he brought home and took turns cooking it for him. When he died they might continue living together, or, each taking such household articles as she had made, build little separate houses in which to live. After the mourning period of a 587 year or so the man's brother, who was the best hunter and had been chosen to care for 595 them, would come to the house. If he was already married he might visit back and forth between his other wife or wives and these women. If he had but one wife and there was only one widow, he might establish

Some women's names are *Sai''mösä, Yaromi', Siyö''x, Xwa'm-cəmine', Xapae'tcəm* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stswölamcəma', Wilxwilxma', Siyaxta', Si''pal, Tcləmtä'l, Xwxotsti', Tc'ä'äne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dəxwəl al 'da'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and 551 children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took 611 Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were [552] named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames.

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal 421 and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took 861 precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his 421 people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's 587 effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the 591 absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband [431] and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men [562] had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

592 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[307]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. [337] The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 173 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cʟlcʟlicō'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[307] a, pp. 326–327.

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of a mile. It[1] was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. xaimi·'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'luxʷ. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'łau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to sklamtcɩ'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'xʷ, home of the ski'xʷ. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwi'ł (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. masmasa'lmxʷ, home of the smasmasa'lmxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'xʷ (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. sklam'tcɩ'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'łau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

SANPOIL VILLAGES

8. nłxxo'i'tqʷ ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ. About half way between sklz'mtcɩ'n (7) and na'a'qʷ (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

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[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [nspi'lam -- Analyst]

9. wał'wəłá'skən ("solid rocks"), home of the swał'wəłá'skənxʷ, situated a half mile up the river from nləxo'i'tqʷ (8). This was a winter camp, but was also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11]

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10. t'sakt'si'lksən ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxʷ, located about a half mile below na'a'qʷ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wał'wəłá'skən (9).[11]

11. na'a'qʷ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[13] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth. [115]

12. χəχsula'uxʷ ("level ground"), home of the sχəχsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11]

13. kəlpuspu'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kəlpuspu'stənaxʷ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxʷ (15).

14. sa'a·'mlkʷ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkʷ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kəlpuspu'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxʷ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxʷ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxʷ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts [226]

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[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[13] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

162 of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington
221 estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon
season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due
361 to the extremes of temperature at this location.

592 Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up
that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own
[622] name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases
a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain
of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'sxənən ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qətsaltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qetəpkumu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qəqa·'mqəm, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tləm ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'sxənən (A).

G. skəwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. snluqá'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at nxoxoγu's (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved to npui·'luxʷ (15) with the approach of summer.

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17. nxoxoγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstʷ. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16)

18. snukɛ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɛ'iltkʷ. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snukɛ'iltkʷ travelled to npui·'luxʷ (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snukɛ'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[13]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[13]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxʷ. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'luxʷ (15).

sməqaie'tkʷ VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[13] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

342 285 of horizontal ribs, so that the space (five or six inches ?) between the ribs at the ridge was left uncovered for the escape of smoke. The top row of mats was of single thickness, the next below of two thicknesses the lower rows thicker (three to five at the most) depending on the severity of the weather. Sunlight could penetrate a single thickness of matting, although it was said rain could not. Bark, grass and earth were packed in successive layers about the base of the house to keep out moisture. One informant reported a drainage ditch, and two said that snow was cleared from near the house when thawing.

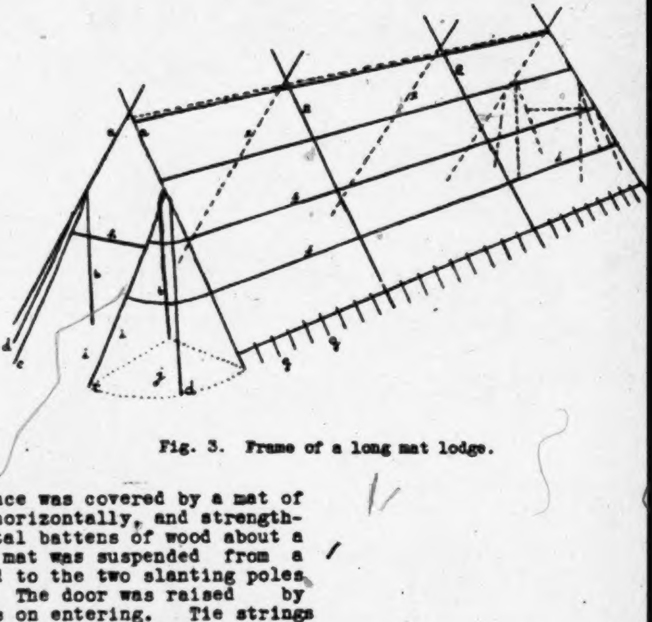

Fig. 3. Frame of a long mat lodge.

Each door space was covered by a mat of flat tules, sewn horizontally, and strengthened with horizontal battens of wood about a foot apart. This mat was suspended from a crossbar (h), tied to the two slanting poles of the end frame. The door was raised by one of its corners on entering. Tie strings were attached to its vertical edges and to the mats framing the entrance, so that the door could be tied securely shut. In warm weather these ties were released and the mat rolled up and tied to the crossbar to leave the entrance open.

Inside the door was a passageway six or more feet long, partitioned off by tule mats which were strongly reinforced with battens, both horizontal and vertical (at i, Figure 3). [551] In the two quarter-circle spaces thus formed (j) food was stored, piled right up to the roof in the autumn. Food was also stored under the eaves. Supplies usually lasted through the freezing months when access to the outdoor caches was difficult.

342 592 Each long mat lodge was inhabited by several families. No definite areas were marked off for them, but normally each occupied one section, less if they were poor. The floor of the house, except for the space

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
342 grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
342 space directly under the open ridge. Protec-
342 tion from the fires was given by a line of
four-inch poles along each border, held in
354 place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
342 held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pil-
513 lowing the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were
raised two feet from the ground and were six
feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
[753] shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled
and the mats rolled up and stored in trees
for use the following winter, or some of them
were carried along for use on summer shel-
ters.

171 The Colville were said to have had mat
lodges precisely like those of the Southern
342 Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

side of the pit. Two or three rows of transverse 342
branches were tied on, completely encircling
the frame, as in the mat lodge.
Like the mat lodge, the tipi was covered 342
with several rows of round-tule mats, the
tules vertical, each row overlapping the one 285
below it, shinglewise (Figure 4). The top
row of mats was of single thickness, each row
below having one more layer of mats than the
row above. The mats were not always rectangular,
as those of the long lodge, but
curved, a condition accomplished by laying
all the large ends of the tules along the
same border of the mat and not alternating
them with small ends. After the mats were
in place, slender poles were laid against
the mats and heavier poles on these to keep
the mats from blowing about. An opening was
left at the top for the escape of smoke,
flanked by two ears supported at the top by
poles as in the Plains tipi; but the method
of construction of these was not obtained, except
for the information that they were made
of tule mats. Presumably they consisted simply
of two tule mats fastened to the top of
the tipi on the windward side. Modern tipis
with cloth covering show such ears (Figure
5). There were storage spaces at the entrance,
said to be like those of the long
lodge. Details are lacking beyond a description
of vertical poles inside the entrance
tied to the lodge poles on both sides. The
door was like that of the long lodge: a mat
of flat tules suspended from a lintel, with
the tules horizontal so that it could be
rolled up and tied. One side was raised for
entering. The door faced south, for protection
from the weather. Poles were laid
against the mats on the outside to keep them
from blowing in the wind.

In winter cedar bark was set up within 342
the margin of the pit outside the poles and
covered with grass and earth, or earth was
piled up a foot or more over the outside
mats, and the outermost mat or an extra mat
affixed outside of this.

The size of the tipi varied according 342
to the number of occupants. Only one or two
families lived in a tipi: a larger number 592
would build a long lodge. A one-family tipi
was about ten feet in diameter; a two-family
tipi about fifteen feet. The height of the
tipi and the number of rows and layers of
mats varied accordingly. There was only one
fire; at the center. No elliptical tipis
were reported, although Curtis'[1] says they
were as often elliptical as circular among
the interior Salish.

The first buffalo skin tipis were seen 171
by Old Harry, then grown but still unmarried
(i.e., perhaps about 1855-60), "when the 177
soldiers came." Possibly the reference is to 342
the Yakima war of 1855-56. Michel stated
that the first skin tipis, possibly copied
from the Blackfoot, were made fifty to sixty
years ago.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 39(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a 361
recognized head whose authorization is from 621
his spirit power. 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single 342
row along a creek or river (sometimes there
is more than one row), their long axes running 361
parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

All working together, they build first 342
the chief's house, which is the largest, and
then the others. There is some question as 476
to whether others than those who are to
occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. 622
Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

In each house live a number of people 342
who are not necessarily related but who are
congenial. The house group is not formed
casually, but by special invitation. Actu- 592
ally, the winter house is composed predomin-
ately of the same group from year to year, 621
stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

When all the houses are finished, and 342
then only, individuals move into their pri-
vate dwellings and store their provisions. 574
The following day the chief's wife selects
women to prepare food for a feast to be eat- 796
en in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,'
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinkq his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

● 592 All members of the house eat together.
Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

592 One of the oldest men who is known to
have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
[578] A man who does not have this type
of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

S
592 place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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592 Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (*circa* 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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601 Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-lew living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
● 592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

601 In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEłpŭqtsI′nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sŏqapkEna′lŭks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa′sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (łkI′ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi′st,
Michel Brooks' father, who was her first
cross cousin. He was married to tsŭmatē′-
lŭqs, a Konkonelp woman.

621 Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwałk-
Enma′lŭxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwałk-
Enma′lŭxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

p. 40 (c)

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 606 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 264 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.[18]

561 778 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 831 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'ămamtŏ´lă^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

[18] See also Social Organization.

531 **Designs on Bark Baskets.**—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

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342 **Conical Mat Lodge.**—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark [332] were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double [314] and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From [542] one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

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342 **Skin Lodge.**—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-[531] skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

344 **Long Lodge.**—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end. [354] The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet for the smoke.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not 342
used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few 171*
by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the
Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. 184
The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them
since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The
neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were
peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia
River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance
from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with
the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and [417]
notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped
in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of
Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent,
but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant
said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance
from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that
long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground
was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by
others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas
the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all 344
large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were 361
the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public 171*
gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps
there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally
men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people
for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a
spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors.
All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them 361
mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes 342
used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed 171*
that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five
dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, [592]
having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. [364]
Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist
of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges
used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants; while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

342

361 of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents.
*171 Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled
[313] up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long
lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but
were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more
in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like
an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime.
It accommodated from four to six families, according to size.
In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of
mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are
said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni,
and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction
to Salish types.

342 Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common
*171 family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people
221 in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation
appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine
(*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or
two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All
the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson,
342 and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges
*171 varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large
178 ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially
[592] if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat
lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common
[285] old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction
of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers.
[237] At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers
of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the
introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for
all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent
[484] among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when
traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted
entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who
continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for
lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At
the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and
canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges
with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were
confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north
[531] to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes
painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon,
and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

342 Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend
*171 d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom
314 among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at
[184]

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the 524
violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them
were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the 755
older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks ~~855~~
into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not 861
to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially
if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but 593
the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the 855
threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw [527]
water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, 515
summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run 856
to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath
they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost 868
importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain 462
duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and 857
accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

578 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the man was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

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836 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away. Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning. When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The

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837 punishment meted out was lashing. Young persons were not the only ones guilty of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful eyes of others.

sons. He might do it in honor of a newly deceased relative, at the suggestion of his power, or merely for variety or amusement. Sometimes a man's parents would wish him to change his name, taking that of a relative recently dead. The parents would give a feast like that described above, then either the parents or the man himself would announce the new name. It was said that if someone wanted to give a man a new (ancestral) name, they gave him presents; but if he wished to take a new name, he made the presents (as described below). 553

It was claimed that men often changed their names, but women, and men of great repute, did this less frequently. Only when the new name was in its turn that of a deceased relative did it come into regular use and supersede the former one. Others were regarded as supplementary and less formal names, more in the nature of nicknames. However, it was said that some people never changed their names, e.g., great warriors. Sqts'sx̣ō′sūm and sūx̣sūxpk!ē′n, both Moses-Columbia (?), were cited as examples.

Among the Sinkaietk the assumption of a new name seems to have been accomplished very simply, by asking a friend to use the new name at a gathering: thus it came into use among a few friends. The friend might be paid for this service. Among the more northern groups it was a more formal affair.

The following is Andrew's account of the ceremony among the Northern Okanagon as it took place when a brother of his changed his name. In this a pattern for the use of wealth is evident, which does not seem to have been present at all in the Sinkaietk form. 553 574

Andrew's brother was given the name npīūxtcī′n by his mother when he was about fifteen. There was a little feast and then everybody knew him by that name. Then his mother died and he was sad. He wept and said, "I take pity on my name. My mother gave it to me and she is dead. I want to change my name, because she is dead and can no longer call me by it. My older brother had a name and I am going to take the name he had." Andrew told him to do as he thought best. [593]

Then all the Indians, the Sinkaietk and the Penticion [Northern Okanagon], and those from the Kettle River and the Similkameen, gathered at his invitation. He bought a lot of provisions and killed two steers. To all the Indians that came he said, "I want you to stay with me for three days." He hired two men and two women as cooks. The next morning after breakfast he said, "I want you to know what I have in my mind." He wrapped himself in a blanket and a shawl, and took ten dollars in silver in each hand. He stood up and said, "There are four of you different tribes, and I want one of each of you to take one of these things."

For an hour they tried to get one an-

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snĕĪ´mĔn, "place to weave."

343 857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ŭlakĪ´m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*171 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
*171 Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
*171 skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
*171 obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 383.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

262 224 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[231] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not exist. 611 621 The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous country separating the two. 166 579 621 The band consisted of a greater or lesser number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[231] a, pp. 289-302.

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5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes 166
with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in 597
another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered
with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit 621
that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the
horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, 177
and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although
parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during 221
the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast. 587

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[18] 585

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended. 583

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time. 581 595

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in separate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognized as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry 595

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[18] See page 198.

595 [redacted] another and live with her for a time. Whenever he desired he could return to his former wife. The concept of "supporting" a wife did not exist and therefore the question of providing for the various wives with whom a man was not living did not arise. An able bodied woman was quite as capable of taking care of all of her personal needs as she was of attending to a part of the requirements of both herself and her husband. She could always trade her roots and berries for salmon or venison. Moreover she was always welcome at the home of her parents or relatives. Nevertheless it was desirable to have a husband in attendance and there was considerable enmity and quarreling between the wives of a man. One or another felt that she had more "right" to the man's presence, or that she was being unduly neglected. Burke said that the reason a man changed from one wife to another was that he soon became tired of one woman and then another seemed more attractive, or quarreled with one and left her for another.

A man resented another's paying attentions to a wife of his even though he were not living with her. Co-habitation was adultery of as serious a nature as though the husband were present. Many quarrels resulted. Even though a man were not particularly interested in one of his wives it was a blow to his vanity to have her accept the attentions of another.

586 A woman was never privileged to leave her husband. However, if her husband stayed away from her for a long period of time, living with another wife, she might refuse to accept him upon his return. If he could not prevail upon her to live with him again, and if the sympathies of the community were with the woman, she became in effect a single woman once more. After a reasonable period of time she might remarry.

In recent times these limited rights of women seem to have been expanded, or perhaps the above formulation was not always enforced in practice. In any event, the first wife of Jim James, qwɯn'xwa'pi'tsa, left him and returned to her parents because he repeatedly visited another woman, staying away for several days at a time. About a year later she married again. One of the wives of wuq̣api'tkʷ of Roger's Bar left him permanently as the result of a petty quarrel. She gave herself more food at meals than she gave her husband. He called her q̣ami·'la, "greedy, glutton," whereupon she left his house.

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684 If a husband obviously deserted a wife who had borne him children he was sought out and considerable pressure was brought to bear by the chief and others, to get him to return. If a man deserted his wife and was not found his wife was considered free and allowed to remarry after about a year. If her former husband returned at a later time with another woman, that marriage was recognized. If a married woman disappeared with another man a strong effort was made to find them. If the hunt ended successfully the two were returned, the man lashed and the woman sent back to her husband. The latter could accept her or refuse to live with her longer, as he pleased. If he gave her up she was allowed to marry again.

The prevalence of separation and subsequent remarriage even in recent times is indicated by the fact that Burke, who was very widely acquainted, could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime.

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

● 595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

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16 Ross, Alexander, __Adventures__, 281; Curtis, __North American Indian__, VII, 73-74.

583 The sororate, separate households for
587 non-related wives, childhood betrothal, and
the subsequent gift exchange are mentioned
●595 or suggested in the literature."[1]

Ceremony

585 The information with regard to the ceremony of marriage is in rather a confused state. It was, most of the Sinkaietk insist, a completely informal affair. "It was not marriage; it was just taking each other." This seems rather to be a voicing of the contrast between its formlessness and simplicity and the ceremoniousness of more modern forms of marriage.

583 It is difficult to say exactly what sort of variations our diverse accounts are indicative of. Probably they were all recognized patterns, among which the situation, or the individuals or families concerned, might indicate a choice. Possibly Suszen's explanation is to the point; that when a marriage was with another tribe that practices the potlatch, the Okanagon carried gifts, otherwise not. Some sort of local variation as to the most highly desirable of the possibilities may be represented. The system was certainly never very formal and fixed, and it is natural that newly introduced changes and contrasts should have made the solution of the confusion rather impracticable. Certainly not all the types indicated were of equal validity or age in the culture.

The various patterns which were claimed to have existed here are:

Childhood betrothal, with subsequent exchanges between the parents, and unceremonious consummation.

Payment by the groom, to be repaid later, but not so ceremoniously, and not in full. Mary Carden's husband gave four horses for her, and about a year later her family returned two to him. Half of the marriage price was given to her mother's brother. This was not a unique case, but was a rare one.

Purchase, on the part of a wealthy or unattractive man, particularly with a girl having a reputation for chastity. Cecile told of a chief who had paid eight horses for a girl, and when her sister came of age, desiring to marry her as well, he paid another ten. This was, however, a modern case. There may have been return payments of which she had no knowledge. She said that an old man told her that such purchases would never have been made in the old days, but this may have been a reflection on the size rather than on the fact of the payment.

583 Many of the informants said that it
would be particularly in the case of an
582 intertribal marriage that such external rati-
fications were necessary. These took place

[1] [For footnote, see p. 114 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

wives or his female relatives. 000

If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son: of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother." 587

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage. 159 595

Mary's brother was married to k'alōp'kEn's sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alōpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This men and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alōpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

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to marry him. K'alōpa'kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa'kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa'kEn one horse. 159 595

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ünqwünłEp people. K'alōpa'kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan . Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa'kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa'kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were seperated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkümcI'n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa'kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpa'kEn was always good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved 591

P.117(B)

591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have separate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart. But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives
usually left each with her own family. Co-wives
shared equally economically, unless
the husband particularly favored one. Each
cared only for her own children and was
[601] swa wa'sa (mother's sister) to all the others,
whether really related or not. As there
was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies
often arose. Several informants said
that the wife most loved by the husband had
authority over the others; David Isaac, a
Northern Okanagon, said that it was always
the first wife. The informants insist that
most men who were married had at least two
wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters
often had more. The only explanation, and a
very probable one, is that there was a very
high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as
follows. In the old days a man who was a
good hunter would have many wives, as many
as five. Several sisters would marry one
man. All lived together in one house. The
husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives,
one each night. There was no jealousy between
[843] the wives. The husband did not stop
sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant,
but after the baby was born he had no intercourse
with her for quite a few days. The
wives divided the food he brought home and
took turns cooking it for him. When he died
they might continue living together, or, each
taking such household articles as she had
made, build little separate houses in which
to live. After the mourning period of a
587 year or so the man's brother, who was the
best hunter and had been chosen to care for
595 them, would come to the house. If he was
already married he might visit back and
forth between his other wife or wives and
these women. If he had but one wife and
there was only one widow, he might establish

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

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606 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 264 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 778 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 831 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'ämamtö'lä^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

1* See also Social Organization.

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*171 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
*171 had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women
178 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*171 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
*171 country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

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the religion of its elders.

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sIEIEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqōllöü. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora´tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cûnI´na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkûmkûmá´swûltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaö´l^{ûx} and up to Enasxwûö´nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alène

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
854 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably
when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that
long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alène
for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur
d'Alène never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many
of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of
infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many
families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled
597 very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 Whipping Ordeal.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the
Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal
each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people
had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the
winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and
good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as
was practiced by the Thompson [illegible] until recently.

961 Puberty.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes.
They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life
by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious,
and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially
those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of
them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alène turned buffalo
hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that
they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced
by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions,
and the Coeur d'Alène resembled in this respect, perhaps, the
Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alène
informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats,
where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and
they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During
the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice
various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
777 certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years.
They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[illegible] a, pp. 309, 310.

6; Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[6] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

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Head Deformation.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

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Fostering of Children.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

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Education.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

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[6] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 167, 140-181.

Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (circa 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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Sinkaietk		Northern Okanagon	
Tonasket[39]	**Konkonelp**[40]	**Inkamip**[41]	
yēR			the sixth generation removed and all preceding ancestors or succeeding descendants, beginning with great-great-great-great grandparents or great-great-great-great grandchildren.
tsōmī'n	cūmī'n	tsūmī'n	the fifth generation removed.
qō'psa	kō'psE	kō'poE	the fourth generation removed.

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38 See also Individual Life Cycle.
39 Informant, Andrew Tillson, Tonasket.
40 Informant, Suszen Timentwa, Konkonelp.
41 Informant, Tom Martin, Inkamip.

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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N
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Tonasket	Konkonelp	Inkemip
taEtöpa	tatö'p'	tatö'p'
sxa'xba	Icxa'p'	Icxa'p'
k!ö'k!wa	kI'qwa	kI'qwa
ka'qEna'	ka'kna	ka'köna
stEmtI'ma	tumtI'ma	tumtI'ma
snö'mat	cūnI'mat	sūnI'mat
lEI'ö	lI'I'ū^{x}	lI'I'ū^{x}
mI'stEm		mI'stūm
sk!öI	kūl	kūl
töm		tūm
sqsI		qūsI''i
stEmqEI'lt		tūmqI'I'lt
ɫqa'ksa	ɫqa'qca	ɫEka'ksa
ɫtsI'sEnsa	sI'cēnsa	cI'sEnsa
ɫkI'kha	ɫkI'qxa	ɫEkI'qa
ɫtstsIö'ps	cEcaū'p'	sEcūö'ps
sEntxös	cIntū's	
swawa'sa	tátá'kwa^{42} [1]	suwá'wa'sa
sk!ö'qwe stata'kwa	cEwaūwa'ca^{42}	sqö'kwö
sEsI'	cEcI'	sEsI'
smIɫ	camI'tɫ	sumI'ɫ^{x}
	ɫūI'ctEn	
sɫEɫEwIlt	cɫEɫūwI'lt	ɫEɫūwI'l·t
cxölūwö	xa'IlūI	xa'Ilöwel
naxnūx	na'xánáx kEtūlmI'l^{ūx}	na'xönáx kūɫūnI'l^{ūx}
	pöcx'I't	
	pöqaiiū'ūs	
	pöctIū'ūt	
ɫtsItsk	cItk	si'tsEkE
sxaxa	saxa'	xáxa''

[1] [For footnote, see p. 89 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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Sinkaietk

Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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the third generation removed. The above reciprocal terms are applied to all individuals of the specified generations, including in both maternal and paternal affiliations direct and collateral ancestors, and direct and collateral descendants of both sexes.

fathers father, father's father's brother, father's mother's brother, man's son's child, man's brother's son's child, man's sister's son's child.

mother's father, mother's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, man's daughter's child, man's sister's daughter's child.

father's mother, father's mother's sister, father's father's sister, woman's son's child, woman's sister's son's child, woman's brother's son's child.

mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, woman's daughter's child, woman's sister's daughter's child, woman's brother's daughter's child.

inclusive term for all grandchildren.

father (man speaking).

father (woman speaking).

mother (man speaking).

mother (woman speaking).

son.

daughter.

elder brother.

younger brother.

elder sister.

younger sister. All cousins (both parallel and cross), including all collateral relatives of the speaker's generation, as well as step-brothers and sisters, half brothers and sisters, and adopted brothers and sisters, are called by the four terms above. Also, in speaking to unrelated people, these are often used in place of the term cEla´t, "friend."

sibling.

mother's sister and her cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage; step-mother and father's wife other than one's own mother.

father's sister and his cross and parallel female cousins, both related and through marriage.

mother's brother and her cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

father's brother and his cross and parallel male cousins, both related and through marriage.

deceased parent's sibling.

inclusive term for niece and nephew, and husband's or wife's sibling's children.

husband.

wife.

first wife.

middle wife.

newest wife.

mother-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal aunts.

f-ther-in-law, mate's paternal and maternal uncles.

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5 NE

Tonasket	**Konkonelp**	**Inkamip**	
eqII'lp			deceased mate's parents, deceased son's wife, deceased daughter's husband.
atImtn	ntImtӧn	ntI'mtEn	son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents.
enIklü	sEnI'kEl^{xü}	sEnI'kEl^{xü}	daughter's husband.
sIpn	cI'pEn	sI'pEn	son's wife.
nkülEmöt	nkülEmö't	nEkülEmü'lt	relative-in-law living in same house.
	nata'mtEn		relative-in-law living apart.
stsIxt	tcI''üxt		wife's brother, sister's husband (man speaking), wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's husband.
nEskIō	nEsqö'ō		wife's brother's wife, husband's brother's wife, husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking).
eastEm	casta'm	cácta'm	wife's sister, sister's husband (woman speaking), husband's brother, brother's wife (man speaking).
nqō'Itstōn	nqō'ItstEn		brother's widow (man speaking), deceased husband's brother.
	nqō'ItstEm		brother's widow who has married another brother, husband's brother after the woman speaker has married deceased husband's brother.
nkülümtō'ōc			reciprocal. wives of cousins.

P. 90 (A)

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

Northeast Salish NE12

Northern Okanagon

601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

[171] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

601
768
587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

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[43] Spier, Kinship Systems, 76.
[44] Spier, idem., 74.

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
602 in-law living in the same house and rela-
tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
592 two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

601 In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEĭpŭqtsI´nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna´lŭks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa´sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (ĭkI´ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi´st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsŭmatē´lŭqs, a Konkonelp woman.

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Enma´lŭxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwaĭk-
Enma´lŭxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

764 768 The body was then buried in the earth among stones and was mourned for some time. When the relatives were once more pure, the property was divided among relatives and friends, and, except for perpetuation of the name in a new individual, the place and soon the memory of the individual was gone from the community.

STATUS TERMS

551 561 •601 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms to distinguish the place of the individual in the developmental sequence. They were not the ordinary terms of address. Personal names and relationship terms were more commonly used as vocatives, and status terms were used, even as terms of reference, only when there was some reason for stressing the status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do they represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	ōxtī'lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xī'xōtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqōcqōcē'
crawling	qElkētc'xī'nux
unweaned	wai'q'łxap
running about	xōxwēłuc
little child	qwūqwē'ō'ma
big child	tētExa'p
run about outdoors	qułcqē'tcilix
big enough for chores	q'ōtcqutsqwē'lix
boy	t'tūĪt
girl	xī'xōtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiĪ'tx
second oldest child	q:ē'ōc
youngest child	ctEē'ōt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEē'ltc
several sons of one father	łckōcē
just before puberty	xēlqē'lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxō'mxax

591 about between the homes of the two, spending
some time also alone or with other relatives.
Ordinarily a young couple went first to live
with the husband's parents. The girl assist-
ed the female head of the household, leaving
the older woman largely the task of supervis-
ing. A young wife was instructed in her du-
ties by this matron, but was already fairly
well acquainted with most of the techniques,
with which she had been working since puber-
ty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they
might have seperate households in the same
house, keeping their supplies separate and
eating apart. But ordinarily, since they
managed to maintain pleasant relations, they
lived as a single family. The young couple
would remain as long as they cared to, then
go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

A man who had several non-related wives
595 usually left each with her own family. Co-
wives shared equally economically, unless
the husband particularly favored one. Each
cared only for her own children and was
●[601] swa wa'sa (mother's sister) to all the others,
whether really related or not. As there
was no institutionalized head wife, jeal-
ousies often arose. Several informants said
that the wife most loved by the husband had
authority over the others; David Isaac, a
Northern Okanagon, said that it was always
the first wife. The informants insist that
most men who were married had at least two
wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters
often had more. The only explanation, and a
very probable one, is that there was a very
high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as
follows. In the old days a man who was a
good hunter would have many wives, as many
as five. Several sisters would marry one
man. All lived together in one house. The
husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives,
one each night. There was no jealousy be-
[843] tween the wives. The husband did not stop
sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant,
but after the baby was born he had no inter-
course with her for quite a few days. The
wives divided the food he brought home and
took turns cooking it for him. When he died
they might continue living together, or, each
taking such household articles as she had
made, build little separate houses in which
to live. After the mourning period of a
587 year or so the man's brother, who was the
best hunter and had been chosen to care for
595 them, would come to the house. If he was
already married he might visit back and
forth between his other wife or wives and
these women. If he had but one wife and
there was only one widow, he might establish

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility. 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes. 622 554

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot. 198

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children. 854

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head. 856

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca 551

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with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
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sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
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682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murder of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a hand ful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

304 854 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

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606 ● 602 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obecenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obecenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term sari'mtan. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might
264 share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with
831 the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'ămamtŏ´lăˣ. This is the sort that has no contect of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

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* See also Social Organization.

E: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

587 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[287]

606 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. [831] The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 173 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cxlcxltcö'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[287] a, pp. 326-327.

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on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way. 000

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next. 171* 727 [648] [628]

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them. 177 171*

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different. 201 191 171*

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 171* 56 61 575 000

(Blue-Robe), used also by Okanagon and Thompson. According to the Indians, persons having the same name are of a common descent, and the name must have been inherited through one line or another from the same ancestor. On p. 109 is given a list of a few names, probably Wenatchi, with translations. 551 611

BURIAL

764 The Columbia interred their dead in the earth and in rock-slides. Earth burials were in knolls, low mounds, edges of sandy terraces, and generally wherever digging was easy. Graves were lined with mats, pieces of bark, and slabs of stone, where these were convenient. Nearly all earth burials were covered with a heap of stones or encircled with a ring of stones, and further marked by a small pole. It seems that tents were not erected over graves, except occasionally among the most southern bands along Columbia River. Canoes were hauled up on the top of the graves by some people, but this does not seem to have been general.

Rock-slide burials were common. A place was cleared at the bottom of the slide for the body, a pole was stuck up at the head of the corpse, and the latter covered to a depth of three or four feet by pulling down the slide-rock on it. Sometimes a place was cleared of rock, or a shallow hole made in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the slide, the body placed in the cleared space, and covered to a considerable depth by pulling the rocks from the slide over it. This formed a little rocky mound at the foot of the rock-slide. Poles or sticks were erected at all graves. In small bluffs near the larger camps, burials were sometimes made in the slide-rock in tiers from bottom to top of the slide. Graves were made at irregular distances in a row at the base of the slide. When all the available room had been used up there, rocks were pulled down and levelled off over the old graves, and a new row made above; and so on as far up the bluff as required or as was possible. Thus the rows of graves formed narrow irregular terraces on the side of the bluff. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting, and usually buried on the side. The method of interment depended on the environment. If slide-rock was at hand, it was used, and if not, burial was made in the earth. Some articles were placed with the dead, chiefly necklaces, pipes, and the like. Some things were buried in the graves, while others were suspended from the grave-pole. The Indians say that the piling of rocks above a grave was to keep animals from digging up the corpse, which in some places was buried rather shallow.

262 224 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[illegible] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not 611 621 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous 166 594 621 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[illegible] a. pp. 289-302.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsă, Yaromi', Siyō''ᴇ, Xwa'mᴇcᴇnma', X̣ax̣ae'tcᴇn* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stᴇwōlᴇmcᴇna', Wīlᴇwīlᴇma', Siyax̣ta', Si''pal, Tclᴇmtă'l, Xwᴇotsti', Tc'ă'ăne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dᴇxwal al tla'rene* ("moon fell"), *Qax̣pi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551 611 [552]

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421 861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [462]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

4. *Stsmaxsmsmqt'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Sheikei'sñltsi'* or *Sxwsixwsilsnlci* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xwsixwsil*, "plenty"; *sñltsi'* or *snlci*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunā'xe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Łĕmqs'.ks* or *slxmqsike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ārli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622
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1. (Alexander) *Tx'msilhaqtlitse'* or *txmslqaq.lse'* ("No-Horses"; from *txmsl*, negative "without"; *haqtlitse'* or *xax.lse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcsnko's'kwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihwisilict* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwisl*, "plenty"; *slict* or *slist'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Nsś'lqsn* or *Nsś'riqsn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix -*qsn* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltsx.'t'* or *Nkotilts.t'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648]

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'ssrds* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls keimi'* or *Kulkuls qaii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1885.

3. *Ktsui'ssomqst'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsaks'lis'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arlo'mqsn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix -*qsn* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tcaqs'qsi* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE POLITICAL UNIT AND ITS GOVERNMENT

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The Sanpoil[1] political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "xʷ," or both.[2] No term existed or any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division.[3] The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect but each maintained complete independence. The matters of government of each village were entirely in the hands of the chief (ilmi'xum), his sub-chief (i'ilmi'xum) and the assembly (skwa·'kwa'ɛ'l).

The Sanpoil realized that many of their neighbors, not far distant, lived under an entirely different type of political organization in which many villages were closely knit into a single group which recognized a single head. Informants used these tribes for contrast to make it entirely clear that the only bonds between the Sanpoil villages were of an utterly different nature. These bonds were social, linguistic, common interests and customs—not political.

Though theoretically every village, large or small, was autonomous, there was some modification of the principle in practice. A very small village, especially one of only two or three houses, often affiliated with the nearest large settlement to the extent of attending the assemblies and soliciting the advice of the chief of the latter. This was a volitional proceedure, however, for the sake of convenience. The small village in such a case did not recognize a chief but named a head man to represent it at the political meetings of the large community. But even under such an arrangement the acts of the large village were never binding upon the other. Decisions which were thought wise were respected, others were ignored.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.

Mere residence constituted citisenship in a village. Since village population was constantly shifting the enfranchised members of a community always included many newcomers. The political rights of these newcomers were identical with those of lifelong residents. They were entitled to participate in all community ventures, to vote in assemblies, and were even eligible to hold office.

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[1] The derivation of the term Sanpoil and the manner in which it is here used is explained in the Introduction, page 9.

[2] See pages 9. 15-20.

[3] See page 10.

The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognise them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born. 591 619 621

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property. No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight. 423 621

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord. 622

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] Cf. pages 27-28.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe:

> "He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."[1]

621 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and
deny that any man was ever head chief over
their entire tribe. Taking into considera-
622 tion that each band is autonomous, it is not
possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a
tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a
group functioning as a unified political
whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess
619 may be explained as due to dialectic identi-
ty, close geographical association, similar
customs and friendly relations which have
been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

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[1] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

p. 73(A)

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 619 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geographical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqâle'tkû, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 171 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-called Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names; by the Indians, it was called nûqałé't^{kû} ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa'in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nûqałé't^{kû} river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 164 "The population of this section was probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

161 164 started on the Missouri a year earlier and extended from Lake Superior to the Pacific and northward to Great Slave Lake.... From all accounts it destroyed from one-third to one-half of the Indians within its area....

"The beginning of regular trade with ocean vessels at the mouth of the Columbia in 1788 marked the introduction of sexual diseases from sailors and traders which soon poisoned the blood of practically all the Indians west of the Cascades...."[1]

In 1846, the interior Plateau suffered from another smallpox epidemic. In 1847, numbers died with the measles, contracted from contact with the whites. In 1852-3, another destructive smallpox epidemic starting in the Makah tribe on the coast, swept across the state of Washington and into Idaho. Thus, the population of the Sinkaietk, as well as that of all other interior tribes, was greatly decimated.[1] 161 The following is a table of estimated populations of the Okanagon in the United States, obtained from old sources.

Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1780	1,000
Wilkes[3]	Okinakane	1841	300
Warre and Vavasour[3]	Okinakane	1849	300
Dart[3]	Okinakane	1851	250
Gibbs[3]	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	1853	550
Ross[1/A]	Okanagans	1870	340
Mooney[2]	Okinagan	1907	348

101 Now a few remaining families are found on government allotments scattered in the vicinity of the Okanogan River on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

173 These people believe that they have always lived in their present habitat. They have no migration tales concerning themselves, and no memory of a former close relationship to the Okanagon proper, such as is recorded by Teit.

174 "It seems that there had been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northeastward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls)."[5]

EXTRA-TRIBAL RELATIONS

● 619 574 A very close relationship is felt to the other Okanagon speaking groups in the area; the Nespelem, the Sanpoil, the Colville and the Northern Okanagon. Berry and hunting

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[2] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 13, 14, 16.
[3] Gibbs, Report on the Indian Tribes, 417-18.

[5] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 213.

1/A [For footnote, see p. 74 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 74 (A)

619 territories and fishing sites are shared in common by the Okanagon linguistic group. In fact, most Salish-speaking people in the 574 Plateau are treated as friends. At food gathering seasons, members of different bands meet in one place, but camp separately. Each chief or headman keeps order in his own camp. After fishing all day, the men gather socially in the evening for gambling, trading, wrestling and foot racing. There is much smoking, chiefs and old men passing their pipes around so that everyone present may have a turn. There is also extensive intertribal visiting during the season of winter dances. 582 Instances of marriages of Sinkaietk peoples with adjacent friendly tribes are not unusual, but in the records of 619 specific marriages obtained,"[1] it is noted that the majority of known cases for each band are marriages within the band. Out-marriages seem to be determined by geographical contiguity; the Tukoratum band has established friendly relations with the Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi tribes to the south; the Kartar and Konkonelp bands marry extensively with the Nespelem, while the more northerly Tonasket band is on a friendly basis with the Colville and Northern Okanagon tribes. Other out-marriages were cited with Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Moses Columbia, and Thompson. These friendly affiliations may also be cited regarding trade relations. Lucy Joe says that it is only since the several tribes have all been placed on the same reservation that the Sinkaietk have married other than Okanagon-speaking people. This is doubtful, since genealogical records'[1]give information to the contrary.

The Inkami'p group of Northern Okanagon married with Thompson, Colville, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Lakes, but never with Kutenai, Columbia, or Wenatchi, according to Tom Martin.

TRADE

439 Most trade routes followed the rivers prior to the coming of the horse."[1] The Sinkaietk went south as far as Wallula and 487 north into Thompson country to trade, their routes closely following the rivers, whether they travelled by foot or by canoe.

The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, "the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,"[1]who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of

[1] [For footnote, see p. 74(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [724] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmsIû′û^{x}) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

● 619 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmI′^{xû}) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (StuwI′x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SûqwEtI′kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[For context of footnote, see p. 78(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96 f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
14 According to David Isaac, Tonasket.
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar.

619 people have always been friends. (Michel, however, said that formerly they were fought.) Mary Carden thinks they intermarried with the Tukoratum in the old days, because Tukoratum here have relatives there. The Tukoratum cross the mountains some years. The coast people have strange kinds of fish for sale. The specific people to whom Mary is referring here are probably Skagit, for the neighboring Chelan and Skagit intermarry and are friendly, making annual visits across the mountains by way of Cascade Pass.

The Wenatchi are called npEsqwĕ´ŭs or sInqwI´la. The Columbia (i.e., Teit's Middle Columbia Salish) are called "big river people" (sInselŏxwI'I´t^{kwŭx}), while the Moses Columbia are known by their band name, skŭwa´xqtsIn, "build on edge of the river." The Upper Kutenai are skalsI´ŭIk.

The sInkaqaI'I´ŭs, "between people," are a group composed largely of Tukoratum and Moses Columbia people who have intermarried and live around Coulee City. It is a small group with one chief, and does not belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.

The naI´aq^{ŭ}tcEn live on the Columbia River below Wenatchee "around Ellensburg and Yakima." The Cayuse, Umatilla and Wallawalla are all known as either the skaI.ŭŭ´s or sEnIyĕ´l.m·n. The Coeur d'Alêne are known as the skI´tsŏ^{xŭ}. People around the Dalles in general are called swaI.ya´mpă^{x}, and the Chinook are stcEnŭ´k. The Snake are called sInxaxŏ'ŏ´laŭxtEn; the Blackfoot stEqwa´I'IxEn.

[726] During the days of Mary's grandfather, the Spokan (spŏka´In^{xŭ}) attacked the Sinkaietk across from the island just below the town of Okanogan. All the Spokan were killed but one, who swam the river and died on the edge of the island. Since then the island has been called stEpŏkanExI´kEn."[13] [1]

The Lakes (cInnaI´tckst) still use bark canoes. After the Colville got horses, they traded horses to the Lakes for bark canoes, but the Lakes could not use horses because the mountains in their country are too steep. The Tonasket make their own bark canoes, because it is too far to trade them from the Lakes."[14] [1]

The Similkameen (sImIlkamI´^{xŭ}), who now speak the Okanagon language, live around Penticton and at Princeton, B. C.

619 728 The Sinkaietk and Shuswap made a treaty at Konkonelp before 1800 and have never fought since."[1] The two tribes are apparently old enemies, for Teit mentions "the Okanagon, of Okanogan River and south, who occasionally

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 78(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."[16] 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 721

"The natives of the Oakinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms in impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe."[17]

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

. The last time the Thompson came to skŭnqwŭnřep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One men was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home."[18]

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

"At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow."[19]

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

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16 Teit, Shuswap, 542.
17 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, Thompson Indians, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Karter.

177 648 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes have joined them."[32] [1]

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 622 619 648 The relations of Tonasket with the whites illustrates how the whites even in the early days affected Indian political regimes. In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the Kartar band.

These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 113 or 112 years ago.[33] [1] Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselver and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."[34] [1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 622 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> ● 619 648 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 361 619 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 361 619 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

3 Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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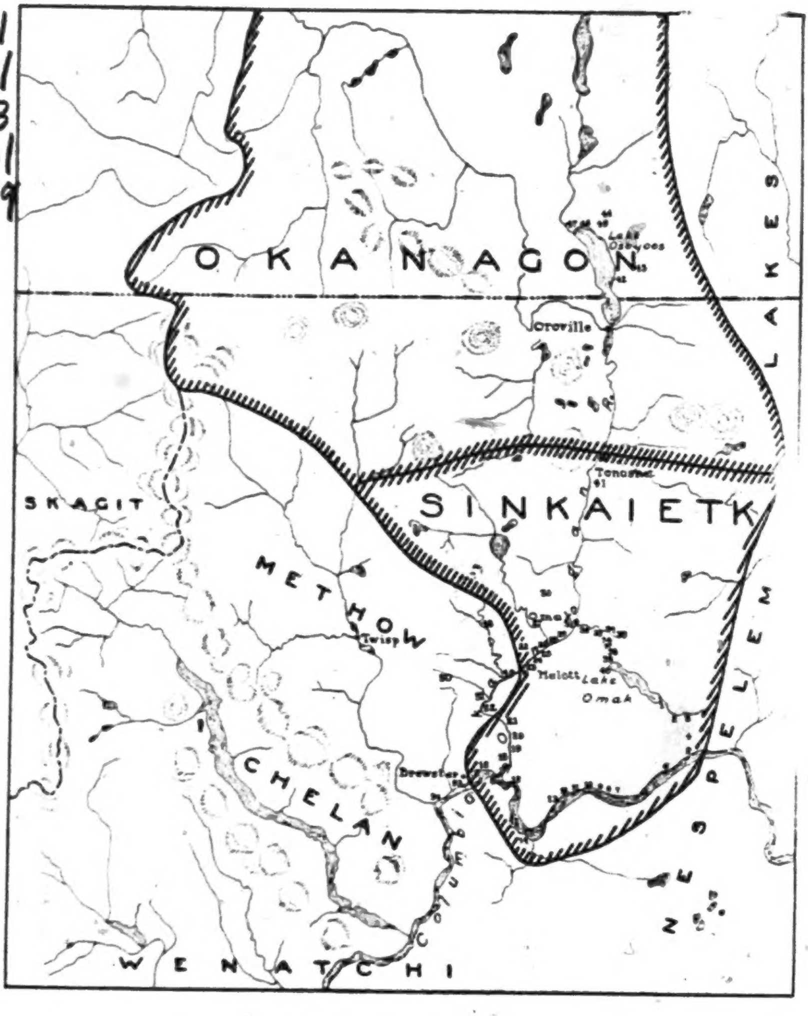
OKANAGON
Lake Osoyoos
Oroville
Tonasket
SINKAIETK
LAKES
SKAGIT
METHOW
Twisp
Omak
Malott
Lake Omak
Brewster
CHELAN
COLUMBIA
NESPELEM
WENATCHI

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

p. 85

103 361 619

The Tukoratum (stEkōra·′t^{ûx}) have winter sites from Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to about four miles above Monse, Washington. This band is sometimes called the snEkEkûm'tcI′n^{aûx}, "people at the mouth of the river."

6.[36] [1] Enkukcl′ptEn (Wenatchi word), "driftwood in the water."
7. ákItItqwEtá′n, "tules by the mouth of the creek."
8. sqe′tastûm, "rocks ready for a tipi."
9. nitá′p, "driftwood around the rocks."
10. tuxtIatá′ks, "rocky point."
11. kalI′tsman.
12. ya′kIámalámō′l·^{xû}, "brush at the mouth of the creek."
13. sIûxtI′na, "below the cliffs."
14. spûkpûkōmI′n, "scattered rocks."
15. tûkōra·′tûm.
16. EnIōxtcI′n, "below the mouth of the river."
17. nEkEkûm'tcI′n, "mouth of the river." This village is divided and built on both sides of the river.
18. sInkáspi′tlûxtEn, "old camp sites." This is one of the best winter sites belonging to the Tukoratum band. It is very old.
19. stsōsIxûwē′x·ûx, "fish hawk." This site is so named because birds called tsI′ōûk catch fish there.
20. sxa′IxkalûktEn.
21. skūpkûpû′naûx^{û}, "sand point."

The Kartar (skata′r^{Ex}) band have winter sites from the foot of Lake Omak to the Columbia River.[37] [1]

1. ya'akspI′tsEn, "place where Indian hemp grows."
2. kata′r^{ûx}, "strip of brush."
3. káIExEû′l·t, "trail between the cliff and the brush."
4. Ensûpsûpōxwe′nk^{u}, "holes in the cliff."
5. EnÁkaka′iûxstámxōlaû, "between two rocky points."

The Konkonelp (skû′nqwûnIEp) band have winter sites from about three miles above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak.

22. Enxasxasl′tk^{û}, "good water."
23. Name forgotten.
24. kaûōqánI′Ix^{û}, "snowdrift marks."
25. nixwItI′tk^{ûx}, "little creeks."
26. qō′nqōnIIp or skû′nqwûnIEp.
27. paka′ûōtsI′st, "white rock."
28. smōqátcI′n, "swallows."

[1] [For footnote, see p. 86 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86 (A)

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk; Methow
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

S
103 29. kàtà´ktàk, "little rows of brush off the hill."
361 30. kàtōma´ūkᵘ, "one hill on the flat."
619 31. ŕàami´na, "against the hill."
32. EnstEpI´tsa.
33. Enaqatkà´tEnEtk, "cache in rocks."
● 34. nxuxalI´nak, "putting sticks up against the bluff."
35. akcaca´ktkūŕp, "little pine trees."
36. EnsEsa´tqŕp, "a lot of pines."
37. sqwi´nt.
38. sūmūkwa'aqa´in, "snow on the brush."
39. nē´aōmEn.
40. sInàl·alaqwaI'l´p, "edge of the water."

The Tonasket or sqwaūxōlō´s band occupy the territory from Riverside upstream to Tonasket. Whereas the first three bands are commonly known by the names of their largest winter villages, this band is commonly known by the name of a famous former chief. However, the name of its most important village is sometimes used.

41. qwaūxōlō´s.

N
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361 The Inkamip band of Northern Okanagon winter at the head of and on the eastern shore of Lake Osoyoos in British Columbia. Their territory is directly north of that of the Tonasket band of Sinkaietk. Tom Martin says that they numbered about two hundred people in 1870. They live in one group in the winter, staying at a different site each year in order not to exhaust the wood supply of any one site.

42. tŕàtsEnI´tkᵘˣ, "flat place where brush comes to the shore."
43. nEwaI´e··nIkᵘˣ, "smooth rock with creek running down to it."
44. intaqamxūwI´ltEn, "to cross creek there."
45. inŕEl·ŕamEltsI´n', "level place with hills behind."
46. inkamI´p, "at head of the lake."
47. pūstIntsē´ntEn.

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[101]
[197]
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619 A group of Methow (smē´txaūʷIx) people winter on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. They are called the Chilowhist (ci´lōxwist) band, taking their name from the principal creek in their territory. These people speak a variety of the Okanagon language that is more similar to the Chelan dialect than to Sinkaietk. For this reason the Sinkaietk consider them members of another tribe, although they are wedged geographically between two Sinkaietk bands, possess similar customs, and intermarry with the Sinkaietk.

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36 Numbers refer to sites indicated on the map (Figure 36).[1]

37 In 1853 Gibbs mentioned the Saht-lil-kwu band as though resident at the lake between Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville (Gibbs, in Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413). This must be Omak or Goose Lake and the band the Kartar people. Teit lists a Southern Okanagon village Sałī'lx^{u} ("heaped house") situated "near the mouth of Similkameen River," according to his Northern Okanagon informant. The informant may very well have said "near the mouth of the river," meaning the Okanogan River, but which Teit took to mean the Similkameen. Immediately following he gives another village "Tᴇkwora'tᴇm - On Okanagon River, close to .sałī'lx^{u}" (our no. 15) Teit, Salishan Tribes, 208). Sałī'lx^{u} must be a Kartar village and the same as Gibbs' Saht-lil-kwu. —L.S.[1]

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 86(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 86(c)

48. carI′pa.
49. lŭ′plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI′kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci′lōx̣wist.
52. ənlâx̣ŭlâx̣swa′tk$^{\breve{u}}$, "rocks in the river." 619 ●

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae′lâ·x.
54. snx̣EncI′na$^{\breve{u}x}$.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

621 qwaʔkEnma′lüxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sI'pa′s, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe′n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEʔpüqtse′nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julie Josephine was never a sïsïxō′mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu′ʔpu′x [?]. [881]

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 ●[619] 422 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friendly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. All other property is strictly personal. Husband and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

1 [For context of these footnotes, See pp. 96(A), 96(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 96 (c)

51 Michel Brooks says that the Kartar feel that the Nespelem belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.
52 Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.
53 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.
54 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.
55 Higua is the bead-like shell money ground from clam shells.
56 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 291.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their 101 *[171] natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called [307] [439] "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

101 619 *[171] NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sɛt'lictcɛn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nɛt'lixtcɛn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sɛ̈lic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[1] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stlqetkomstct'(nt)* ("people of *SɬQe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Sɬkä'lixtct'(nt)* ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispɛ'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispɛ'lɛm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from *sälst* ("people"). If, however, the suffix -ic means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909)-1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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619

4. *Spôqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spôqēi'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spôqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qein* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298).	The Spokan.
5. *Sɛmiē'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sɛmiē'use*.
6. *Tuna'xē* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xe*.

Nᴀᴍᴇs ʙʏ ᴡʜɪᴄʜ Kɴᴏᴡɴ ᴛᴏ Oᴛʜᴇʀ Tʀɪʙᴇs; Nᴀᴍᴇs Gɪᴠᴇɴ ᴛᴏ Tʜᴇᴍ ʙʏ Sᴀʟɪsʜ Tʀɪʙᴇs.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sä'lix*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lɛx*, *Sē'lix*, *Se'lic*, and *Sī'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlɛmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lɛmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstcī'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sʟqa'tkomstci'nt*, *Sʟqatkomstci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomskī'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Sniä'lɛmɛn* or *Snia'lɛmɛnic* or *Snia'lɛmɛnɛx*, "people of *Snia'lɛmɛn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lɛm* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspī'lɛm*, *Kalispa'lɛm*, *Skalɛspi'lɛx*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lɛm*, the name of

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[3] Compare p. 296.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tuna'xe* while the Kutenai pronounced *Tuna'xa*. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 302, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes *-ix*, *-ic*, *-is*, *-ɛx*, *-ɛc*, *-ex*, *-i*, *-c*, *-ɛmɛ*, *-ɛmɛc*, *-ɛmic* *-ɛmux*, *-ux*, mean "people"; *-tcī'nt*, *-tcīnt*, *-tcī* means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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a great camas-digging place at Çalispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokan or *Spōqē'inic* are called ***Spokei'.nꭇms*** or ***Spōqē'ꭇnꭇmc*** by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spōkei'mux* by the Columbia, ***Spoqai'nꭇx̣*** by the Sanpoil, *Spōqe'inꭇx̣* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "***Spōkē'n*** or ***Spōqē'in*** people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called ***Sꭇnoxamī'-naꭇx*** by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of (their own), and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

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1. *Stsēkastsi'*, *Stkastsī'lꭇn*, or *Stkāstsī'lꭇnic* (= the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called ***Stkastsī'lꭇn***, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[7] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (= the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snx̣o'mē'*, *Sꭇnx̣omē'*, *Sꭇnx̣omē'nic* (= the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *x̣ome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[8] but this is probably incorrect.

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NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

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[7] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, [illegible], is translated "people with bad heads."

[8] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Sin-hu* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
Upper Kutenai	A'kinuqlē'lām[1] ("Flatheaded"). Akkokɛno'kɛa, kākɛnō'k·e ("Leg or leggy ' people").	Moqkwō'qɛnɛk ("Red willow people"). a'kinuqlē'lām[5]	a'kinamilā'kɛwa ("river people") a'kinuqlē'lām[5] [4] ("compress side of head.")	Sɛnɛoma'n.[2] Sɛntutū'.[3]
Nez Percés		snuīe'lɛmɛnɛ'tc'tōkɛn	kamʼspalo ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		ku'shpēlu*, pupshpūn'lēme* ("people of the great fir-trees")[6]	ku'shpēlu*, pupshpūn'lēme* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpūkā'n.[7] Cpoka'n.
Wasco				Lēcɩɛ'cukɛ.[9]
Klamath and Modoc				Spukā'n.[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Kok-to'k-spi-tu'p-i-o*		ni-ke-tu-tc-tu'p-i-o*	
Gros Ventres	Kaakaāāuia[10] ("Flat-head man").			
Arapaho	Ka-ka-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-ta'-ta-tsi-e-ts-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nabagindibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Asuke'pe, Ācukāpe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ak-mi'n-e-chu'-me*, ak-minu-e-shu-me*. ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	ō-tso-kā-pe*			
Yankton	pando-sha*, pao-bde'-ca* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably a'ku'q!nuk, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. I, p. 147.

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In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sɛmīl'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'x̣e* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmxtū'kɛnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

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The Sɛmtĕ'use.—The *Sɛmtĕ'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[27] or *Eplĕ'tkwa*[28] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie. [178]

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[29] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

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[27] Said to be the *Sɛmtĕ'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[28] Said to be the *Flathead* name.

[29] Some say that each tribe of the *Flathead* group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

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361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the
131 lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon,
Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near
Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may
have been after the extinction of the *Sxmtē'use*, as this place was
considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend
d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large
band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[*] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St.
Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse
this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not
quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
178 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission,
in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in
two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number
of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
619 divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsī'ni*
("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsin*, "entrance, outlet, or
131 confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a
considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower
Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes
"camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have
been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper,
the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large
camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake,
Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slātē'use*, and
sometimes *Tē'entī's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah
by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwi'la*, the name of one of
their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people
considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they
spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However,
they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did
not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that
there were several in each division. There were probably at least
two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had
two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near
Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks.
They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug
camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

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[*] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

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the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tru'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyĕ'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stset'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[41] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

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[41] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. [illegible].

361 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south
619 along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not
131 go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwé'stsɛne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 *Population.*—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none
[177] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend
162 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the
171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmtɛ'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'χe* were
161 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems
162 possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars
+171 with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1860, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a liv-
[619] ing, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
622 larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
178 chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
organization changed so long ago that very little authentic informa-
621 tion about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
*171 bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
*171 of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regard-
ing the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
*171 divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
*171 each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regula-
tions of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

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They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619, ●
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people 171*
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together 171*
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage re-
garding positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 361
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231
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361 side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass
231 within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

*171 CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the
622 tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the
*171 small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was
• 619 elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two
000 small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tcĕ'les keimi'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'ls keimi'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotiïrā'tEat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

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4. *Stemaxsmemqt'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Skoikoi'sēlisi'* or *Szwoizwoilsalici* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *zwoizwoil*, "plenty"; *sēlisi'* or *selici*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunā'χe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunā'χe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charlos [or Carlos]) *Łāmqe'.ke* or *ełsmqaike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ārli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622 619

1. (Alexander) *Tɛ'mɛlhaχilise'* or *tɛmɛlχaχ.ise'* ("No-Horses"; from *tɛmɛl*, negative "without"; *haχilise'* or *χaχ.ise'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunā'χe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunā'χe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcɛmko's'hwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihiɛlłicł* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwiɛl*, "plenty"; *ełicł* or *ɛlicł*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunā'χe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunā'χe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Nɛā'lqen* or *Nɛā'rlqɛn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qɛn* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltɛɛ.'ł'* or *Nkotiłts.ł'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648]

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nl'warde* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.
2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls keimi'* or *Kulkuls qaii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.
3. *Etswi'ssom.χł'* ("Standing-Bear").
4. Victor *Ntsaka'lie'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arla'mqɛn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qɛn* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.
5. Marcellin *Tcaqe'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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619 None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silεmuxε'tu'*. was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoitεmsla'* or *Kwokwo'ita* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'xe* word. He was partly of *Tunā'xe* descent.
2. *Tcukwi'teqεn* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix -qen "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Silεmlōlōroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'xe* name. *lōlōroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunā'xe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunā'xe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

000 The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilεni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilεni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

622 I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each
619 division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago
178 there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan
622 as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined
619 in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqεn* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwistpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spait'χ*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe
624 on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular
619 chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point.

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Names.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ésqɛt* ("cloud"), *-ēlɛst* ("stone"), *-qɛn*, *-qain* ("head"), *-ɫ'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names:

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171*
[428]

Tọna'sqɛt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Saχsaχpɛqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stakɛsitci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Eleme'uts spɛkane' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoispɛkane'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 334
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to 342
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skəmı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctıltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.*

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcınəm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service [825] berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble.

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming 621
from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted.
Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered 481
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to 624
gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height 412
of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of trans- 482
porting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE POLITICAL UNIT AND ITS GOVERNMENT

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The Sanpoil[1] political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{w}," or both.[2] No term existed or any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division.[3] The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect but each maintained complete independence. The matters of government of each village were entirely in the hands of the chief (ilꭒmi'xum), his sub-chief (i'ilꭒmi'xum) and the assembly (skwa·'kwa'ɛ'l).

The Sanpoil realized that many of their neighbors, not far distant, lived under an entirely different type of political organization in which many villages were closely knit into a single group which recognized a single head. Informants used these tribes for contrast to make it entirely clear that the only bonds between the Sanpoil villages were of an utterly different nature. These bonds were social, linguistic, common interests and customs—not political.

Though theoretically every village, large or small, was autonomous, there was some modification of the principle in practice. A very small village, especially one of only two or three houses, often affiliated with the nearest large settlement to the extent of attending the assemblies and soliciting the advice of the chief of the latter. This was a volitional proceedure, however, for the sake of convenience. The small village in such a case did not recognize a chief but named a head man to represent it at the political meetings of the large community. But even under such an arrangement the acts of the large village were never binding upon the other. Decisions which were thought wise were respected, others were ignored.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.

Mere residence constituted citizenship in a village. Since village population was constantly shifting the enfranchised members of a community always included many newcomers. The political rights of these newcomers were identical with those of lifelong residents. They were entitled to participate in all community ventures, to vote in assemblies, and were even eligible to hold office.

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[1] The derivation of the term Sanpoil and the manner in which it is here used is explained in the Introduction, page 9.

[2] See pages 9, 15-20.

[3] See page 10.

The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognise them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born. 591 619 621

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property. No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight. 423 621

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord. 622

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] *Cf.* pages 27-28.

Sinkaietk

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe:

> "He was sorry that the country of the Spoken had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."[1]

621 622 619 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess may be explained as due to dialectic identity, close geographical association, similar customs and friendly relations which have been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

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[1] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

p. 73(A)

177 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other
622 Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> 619 "Tonasket was never chief of any-
> body except his own band. He was a mean man
> 648 who beat his children to death, drank and had
> many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four
361 autonomous groups, which have come to be
known by the following anglicized forms of
619 their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp,
Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."=[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 Following is a list of desirable sites
which may be chosen for winter habitation.
361 In the summer, band organization breaks up,
Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations
619 and food sites are composed indiscriminately
of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

48. carI´pa.
49. lŭ´plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI´kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lŏxwist.
52. ănlăxŭlăxswa´tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lă'x.
54. snxEncI´na^{ŭx}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a 361
recognized head whose authorization is from 621
his spirit power. 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single 342
row along a creek or river (sometimes there
is more than one row), their long axes running 361
parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis.

All working together, they build first 342
the chief's house, which is the largest, and
then the others. There is some question as 476
to whether others than those who are to
occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. 622
Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position.

In each house live a number of people 342
who are not necessarily related but who are
congenial. The house group is not formed 592
casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, 621
stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances.

When all the houses are finished, and 342
then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. 5[illegible]4
The following day the chief's wife selects 796
women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in-

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

S
592 place, but each family eats its own food. Parents may eat with married children, but the families of two brothers living in the same house eat separately.

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592 Members of the winter village usually disperse to different food gathering sites in the summer. The village breaks up casually. There is no formal proclamation like the one which organizes it. Families leave one by one, taking the children along, particularly the girls. A boy may be allowed to stop away from the family if he wishes. If a group of brothers are living together, they usually move together.

Michel traced the movement of a winter village when he was about ten years old (circa 1885). The village site was a little above the present town of Okanogan on the river. The village broke up to go to set a big fishnet (weir?) at the waterfall on Omak Creek at sq!Ent, a few miles to the east. A man with salmon power had announced at the winter dance that he would place a net at sq!Ent at the proper time. The villagers reached there in the afternoon, most riding, but some walking when their horses were needed for packing. In this season the weather was still chilly, so that fires were laid inside the mat-covered tipis.

The summer camps are set up without any special organization. They are always near water, but houses may be on either side of the stream, and members of different bands may all camp in one place while gathering food. When a large group is camped together and all are members of one band, there is no reflections of their winter affiliations in the arrangement of the camp.

KINSHIP TERMS

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60 Kinship terminology was obtained from both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon informants. It is clear from the following lists that the two systems are identical. It is impossible to judge whether phonetic differences are in all cases due to inexpert recording or represent in some instances functional phonetic differences between Okanagon proper and Sinkaietk dialects of the Okanagon language.

p. 88 (B)

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-law living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
601 near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
She does not remember all the inmates of the
621 houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEīpūqtsI′nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna′lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa′sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (īkI′ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi′st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē′lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwaīk-
621 Enma′lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwaīk-
Enma′lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

621 qwaťkEnma′lüxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sI'pa′s, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe′n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEťpüqtse′nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julie
[881] Josephine was never a sťsťxö′mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu′xpu′x [?].

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friendly
[619] tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. All other property is strictly personal. Hus-
422 band and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

chiefly among the wealthy. Marriages took 583
place occasionally with all the surrounding
peoples: Chelan, Methow, Moses Columbia, Nez [621]
Percé, Yakima, Coeur d'Alêne, Wenatchi, and
Thompson. Marriage with other Okanagon
speaking people was not classed in the same 582
way. This occured very commonly. David
Isaac's genealogy, for example, is by no
means atypical. (Tribal or band affiliation is indicated by the names.)[1]

[1] [For David Isaac's genealogy, see p. 115 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

If from another tribe, the groom's father would bring gifts to the bride's parents. 583
Returning with the girl, he carried presents from her parents. 585
Sometimes the groom would accompany him on this visit (Mary Carden). This might be followed by slight exchanges, as of food, between the families. It might also be followed later by a present from the family of the groom as a sort of token of appreciation of the worth of the bride. This is the extremely simple pattern in which both Lucy Joe and Julie Josèphine were married, accompanied by no gift exchange or other preliminaries. This may have been a Kartaro local pattern.

Information from the Inkamip band of 171
Northern Okanagon (Tom Martin) was that a
man's father, if he was alive, brought gifts 585
to the girl's parents "to buy the girl so her parents will let her go." If they agreed, she accompanied him home at once. There were no return presents. The couple lived first with the man's parents; later visiting back and forth, each time carrying gifts provided by their elders.

Commonly the group was notified of the 171
marriage by a feast, supplied by the parents
of either bride or groom. The girl's father 585
announced to the guests that his daughter
was married. There were no ceremonies, no 574
gifts, no special clothing. The couple married as soon as an agreement was made by their parents: the feast was usually held the next day. David Isaac's account for the northern bands agrees rather well with that of Ross." After the arrangements were completed the suitor spent the night with his bride. Ross says he did it for four nights, spending them, however, only in chatting.

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17 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 299-302.

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, 621 ●
but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected 131
bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kEtEmux̣ or Tiā'kEtux̣[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kEtux̣,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsEnux̣ or .skowa'xtsEnEx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchEn or .niā'qEtcEn, 101
which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or 105
Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tEm in .nia'kEtcEn means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iā'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iākEma and stia'kEt, etc.

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he 159
had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over 622
all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were: 621 131

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcɛlē'nɛx, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zux̣, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zux̣ or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20] 101 621 131

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[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Pisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pcwa'nwapam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallatoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutɛme'xᵘ, Nekɛtɛme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, [illegible]), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the 621
same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the 131
north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place 177
called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named 167
people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near 173
Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[27]

POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and 161
Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were 131
decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in [164]
later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[28] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[27] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.

[28] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

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621 **Divisions, Bands, Villages.**—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional
101 seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the per-
161 manent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time
164 when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they
621 were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

Villages of St. Joe River division

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	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakᴇcᴇn* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tcłti'ctacᴇcᴇn*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsᴇłtł'wᴇs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcał'owa'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *ntcił'mtsᴇn* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ta'x.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

101
621 There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tca'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'sᴇntsᴇn* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

262 were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters
224 themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

565 Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[281] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not
611 exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands
621 in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous
166 country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser
594 number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time.
621 Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

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[281] a, pp. 289-302.

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tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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[416] 177 221 Furthermore, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe,
[621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned, and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 241 621 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 Chiefs.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
157 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like
622 qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

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never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[illegible] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stėla''am*, with headquarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *X̧wistceni''tsa* ("walking rōbe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Cilcilltcó'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stėla''am* died, André *Sėltis* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stėla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[illegible] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyt'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[illegible] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[illegible] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqᴇt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemī'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Anastᴇmᴇlpo'* (?) (full name *Tᴇmplpo'sᴇmᴇn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *χwᴇlīspo'sᴇmᴇn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings
of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
203 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
624 assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

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used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's 342
lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It 344
seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard 621
to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was 484
formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often 621
necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alène the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alène the north. Coeur d'Alène and Spokan would take
the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory [537]
was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any 622
attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not 626
interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way.
There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and 681
public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible]

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had 224
chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first 624
night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was 728
recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt,

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[illegible] b, pp. 244, 245.

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 622 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated 624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as 805 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 **Companies.**—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not 463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special 484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

Dialects.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consist in the slower utterance of the latter.[3] 197

The Colville use the term *Salịxtci'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

Habitat and Boundaries.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwi'x* or *Stuwi'xamux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

Divisions, Bands, Villages, Place-names.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621 ●

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[4] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'xamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[3] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[4] This division is called [illegible] ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, [illegible], Lake people.

101 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

●621 131 3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwi'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

101 621 361 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spä'xəmən* or *Spä'xəmən*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spä'xəmən*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkama'pəlks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkama'pəlks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pənti'ktən*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkəmi'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkəmi'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kərəmyə'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnü'lex*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snäsdi'st*, *Tcutcuwi'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamən* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pələks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia. 101 621● 361

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. [illegible].

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nkatqxtəp*.

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites. 361

Upper Similkameen Band:	
1. *Nikai'ɬxlēx*[14]	About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.[15]
2. *Snāzāi'st* ("striped rock")[16]	On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley;[17] 10 houses.
3. *Tcutcuwī'xɛa* or *Tcutcuwī'xɛa*[18] ("creek" or "little creek").	On same side of river, a little below No. 2; 3 houses.
Ashnola Band:	
4. *Acnū'lax* ("—— ground")	On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nxe'pus a sɛa'axɛ*[19] ("where the stone sticks up or is planted").	A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)
Lower Similkameen Band:	
6. *Kerəmɛp'ɛus* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]).	On the north side of the river, near Keremeous; several houses.
7. *Kekerəmɛp'ɛus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]).	Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkwrau'lāx* ("—— ground")	On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smala'lax*	On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

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[14] Said to be a Thompson name.

[15] The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

[16] A Thompson name (from snēz, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and -ēst "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

[17] There were 6 houses and a church at *Snāzāi'st* proper, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

[18] This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

[19] Also *Nxe'pus Lxe'ner*. So named from a large boulder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

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Smxlkemmi'n....................	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sāli'lx·[34] ("heaped house"[35])...	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tskwera'lxm[36]....................	On Okanagon River, close to *sāli'lx·*.
Ôkinā'qēn[37] ("—— head")......	An old name for *sāli'lx·*.

101 The Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoi'lxqxq* (Sanpoil or Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespi'lxq* (Nespelim). The name of the
● 621 former division is said to be derived from that of the district around
361 Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespi'lxm* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around
177 Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

101 I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have
361 I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxielpi'tuk*,[38] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[34] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.

[35] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.

[36] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 781).

[37] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 115).

[38] Compare the tribal name.

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete. 526

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia. 201

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Organization.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;* and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it. 565 575 621 ●

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

Chiefs.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs 622

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*I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

101 619 a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokan or *Spōqē'inic* are called *Spokei'.nᴇms* or *Spōqē'ᴇnᴇmc* by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spōkei'mux* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nᴇx̣* by the Sanpoil, *Spōqe'inᴇx̣* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spōkē'n* or *Spōqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Sᴇnoxamē'-naᴇx* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. 101 621 It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

1. *Stsēkastsi'*, *Stkastsī'lᴇn*, or *Stkāstsī'lᴇnic* (= the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called *Stkastsī'lᴇn*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[7] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (= the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snx̣o'mē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'nic* (= the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *x̣ome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[8] but this is probably incorrect.

101 619 *171 Names given to them by Non-Salish Tribes.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

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[7] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, *skisatsi'tēmi*, is translated "people with bad heads."

[8] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Sin-ha* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
[619] of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
178 chiefs ~~were~~ in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
621 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
*171 bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
*171 organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
*171 divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
*171 each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under 171*
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders. Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen, according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that 171*
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were 171*
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably [221]
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially 171*
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding positions, which may have been geographical in origin. Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle; if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven 361
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 231
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 171*

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Columbia (Sinkiuse)

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members of which were there at the same time. Cf. *Sinaca*. (H. E. B.)

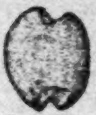
Cenase.—Valero Bautismos, 1729, MS. Cenese.—Ibid. Seniesa.—Ibid., 1728. Senisse.—Ibid., 1728.

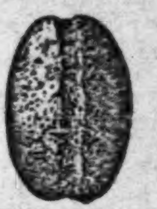
Sinimiut. A Central Eskimo tribe on Pelly bay, Canada. They live on musk-ox and salmon like the tribes of Hudson bay, and have also an abundance of seals. They numbered 45 in 1902.

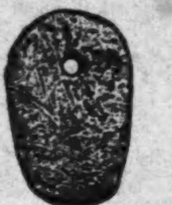
Pelly Bay Eskimo.—Ausland, 653, 1885. Sinamiut.—Boas in Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xv, pt. 2, 377, 1907. Sinimiut.—Boas in Zeitschr. Ges. f. Erdk., 226, 1883. Sinimiut.—Boas in 6th Rep. B. A. E., 451, 1888.

Siningmon. A Kaviagmiut Eskimo village on Golofnin bay, Alaska.—11th Census, Alaska, 162, 1893.

Sinkers. Primitive fishermen everywhere weight their lines and nets with stones. These are usually pebbles or other suitable bits of stone, grooved or notched for attachment by means of cords. Those now in use by the Indian tribes, as well as by the whites, correspond with specimens found in large numbers along the banks of streams and the shores of lakes and other large bodies of water. Larger specimens of the same general shape become anchors (q. v.) on occasion, and the better finished forms pass by imperceptible gradations into the very large group of objects classed as plummets (q. v.), and, in another direction, into the stone clubheads of the Plains tribes (see *Weapons*). Adair states that the Southern Indians, having placed a trap in the bed of the stream, drove the fish toward it by means of a rope made of long grape vines to which were attached stones at proper distances, men placed on opposite sides of the stream dragging the weighted rope along the bottom. The extent to which nets (q. v.) were used by the Indians of the Middle Atlantic states is not known; but the impressions of nets of varying degrees of fineness on pottery show at least that nets were in common use.


SINKER; N. Y. (1-4)


SINKER OF GRANITE; R. I.


SINKER OF STEATITE; N. C. (1-2)

Consult Abbott, Prim. Indust., 1881; Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., 1775; Beauchamp in Bull. N. Y. State Mus., iv, no. 16, 1897; Jones, Antiq. Southern Inds., 1873; Rau, Prehist. Fishing, Smithson. Cont., xxv, 1884. (W. H. H.)

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Sinkiuse. A former division of Salish, under Chief Moses, living on the E. side of Columbia r. from Ft Okinakane to the neighborhood of Pt Eaton, Wash. Hale classed them as a division of the Pisquows. Pop. 355 in 1905, 299 in 1908, 540 (with others?) in 1909. 101

Columbias.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 734, 1896. Isle-de-Peirre.—Nesmith in Ind. Aff. Rep., 219, 1858. Isle-de-peirre.—Owen, ibid., 268. Isle-de-Pierre.—Shaw in H. R. Ex. Doc. 37, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 113, 1857. Linkinse.—Bancroft, Nat. Races, I, 316, 1874 (misprint). Moses band.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1904, 610, 1905. Sinkakaiúsish.—Hale in U. S. Expl. Exped., vi, 211, 1846. Sinkíyuse.—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name). Sin-ki-use.—Winans in Ind. Aff. Rep., 23, 1870. Suqéyus.—Gatschet, Salish MS., B. A. E. (Salish name).

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Sinklezin (Navaho name). An ancient pueblo ruin situated on the highest point of a peninsula-like mesa jutting into Chaco canyon from the s., about ¾ m. s. of Pueblo Bonito, N. W. N. Mex. It is built of dull-brown sandstone, rectangular in form but very irregular, a semicircular tier of rooms on the s. inclosing a large court. The dimensions of the structure are 135 ft E. and W. by 183 ft N. and S. The E. wing is 50 by 75 ft, the W. 60 by 58 ft. A wing 30 ft wide extends 40 ft to the s. The semicircular tier of rooms was 256 ft long, 9 ft wide, and 2 stories high; 72 ft of this tier is still (1902) standing about 12 ft high. The walls throughout vary from 20 to 30 in. thick. The rooms are long and narrow, 5½ by 21½ ft being a common size. There are 5 circular kivas in the building, varying from 6 to 25 ft in diameter. The masonry is of alternating bands of fine and coarse stone and dressed blocks chinked with fine tablets, the arrangement being very irregular. Portions of the third story remain standing. The original height was probably 4 stories. (E. L. H.)

Sinkyone. An Athapascan group formerly living on the lower part of the South fork of Eel r., Humboldt co., Cal., having settlements on Bull and Salmon crs. They also held the country down to the coast at Shelter cove and s. to Usal. This section has been popularly known as the Usal (a Pomo term), that on Bull cr. and South fork as the Lolanko (from the name of a locality). They lived for a time on Smith River res., afterward being transferred to Hoopa res. on Trinity r., from which place a few survivors returned in the early seventies and are now living near their old homes. They lived in conical houses of bark, dressed much as the tribes about them, and made baskets by twining. They burned their dead. They differed but little from the Wailaki in language. (P. E. G.)

Bay-ma-pomas.—Tobin in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1857, 405, 1858.

Sinnonquiresse ('Very long wampum string.'—Hewitt). A Mohawk chief, the speaker at Albany in 1691, 1696, 1700, and 1701, signing the Beaver land treaty in the latter year. He was examined about Dellius in 1699, and was at Albany

162 of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington
221 estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon
season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due
361 to the extremes of temperature at this location.

592 Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own
[622] name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwəli'xmənəm ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qəltsaltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qətəpkumu'laxʷ ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'luxʷ. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qəqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwəli'xmənəm (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tlam ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwəli'xmənəm (A).

G. skəxwi'lxʷ ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. snluqá'lukʷ ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstʷ. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'luxʷ (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the 554
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radicalism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period 571
of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the 619
time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognize
them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but 621
at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence
was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young
men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus
women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than
those in which they were born.

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying 423
grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property.
No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter 621
of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight.

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession 622
was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord.

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

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[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] Cf. pages 27-28.

562 625 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the sanadjais'tk.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [557] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkan, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*

[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*

[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more 622
truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[19]

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in 623
the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to 624
speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections.

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period 276
of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal 623
smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order.

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open 622
hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the 692
crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect.
After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to 695
make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were

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[19] See pages 69-71.

622 681 692 695 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

693 The lasher (suqlt'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 681 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agreement that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 682 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were invited 431 to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was 796 left only with a breechclout.

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed 756 in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power. Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. 554 Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was 622 a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves 756 to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had 756 certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power 756 was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. 776 Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

926 lower Okanogan in mid-September, at which time they develop long fighting teeth and dog-like snouts. (2) O. nerka, the blueback or sockeye salmon, which run in July and August according to Cobb, in late May and June according to the local game warden. (3) O. kisutch, silver or white salmon, taken in November.

The steelhead trout, usually thought of as salmon, were fully as important as the last two species. They were taken when they ascended the rivers in March or April. After spawning, they descended the small streams to the Columbia River where by winter time they were fat enough to be worth catching.

Salmon were caught by various methods, depending on the season and the status of the fisherman. In the shallows they used spears, standing on the rocks or wading (no platforms were known); in certain favored positions weirs and traps were built; at waterfalls small dip nets were operated by hand. Large nets may have been used at the falls near Oroville. In winter spearing was accomplished from canoes by torchlight; and when the salmon had spawned and drifted ashore they were gathered by older women. A man lacking any proper implement might shoot fish in shallow water, but this was by no means a customary method.

A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River, for which the prerequisites are (1) rapids where the water is not over waist deep; (2) a deep and large pool below the rapids, where the fish have the habit of lying during the daytime, so that there will be more chance of some going through the rapids at night; (3) rocks about six or eight inches in diameter on the bottom of the stream among which the poles will settle firmly. At present these locations on the river are (1) the rapids just above the head of the island at Monse; (2) rapids about a mile downstream from Malott; (3) rapids just above the head of the island which is about a mile below Omak. These places are used only when the river is at its present low level (summer of 1930). In former times when the river was higher the traps were located elsewhere. There were none between Shell Rock Point and Oroville.

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The first step in the building of the weir is the announcement by a man (occasionally a woman) that he will build one at such a time and place. This announcement usually occurred at the winter dance. The news spread by word of mouth, in former times also by the speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this "head man." The two would talk over the plans in some detail, with the help of older men.

The head man was the first to move his family to the camping site, more families following day by day. The trap was communal: anyone could spear in it who wished, and anyone who was there would work on it. He would detail groups of men to make the preparations; some to cut poles of proper length, others to cut branches, twigs and strips of yellow bark for lashings; to make or borrow spears, canoes, apparatus for lighting, etc. As these assistants begin to arrive he cuts a small willow stick, while singing his power song, and lays it on the ground to signify the beginning. The others also sing if they have power songs. The head man superintends the whole construction, himself working here and there as he sees fit. 227 622

Poles of young pine trees are cut for tripods, each from ten to twelve feet long and four to five inches in diameter. They are hewn clean of all branches, the top yard or so cut off, and the butts sharpened so that they will stick in the bottom. These are not sharply pointed, but bluntly rounded, since no pole could be sunk more than a few inches among the rocks of the stream bed, and a sharp point would not present a large enough frictional area to hold firmly. Two of these poles are tied together about a foot from the tips and the third is tied to one of them two feet from the tips. Thus one of the three poles has two lashings, one a foot above the other. The lashing is of willow bark, wrapped around and around, and secured with half hitches. (Hay wire is used today.) The lashing is done ashore on the ground, and the tripods are then pulled out into the river to the site, either by pairs of men or a boy on a saddle horse with a lasso. In former days the head man carried the upstream pole of the three. He sights along the tripods which are already placed so as to get the next one aligned. Each one is placed so that the two poles whose lashing is the lower will be upstream and the third pole downstream of them. In former days the weir was built straight across the river, perhaps slightly curved with the convex side upstream. Today the Indians on the Okanogan River are allowed to put their weir only halfway across. So from this halfway point they run a wing straight downstream, which obviously helps to corral the salmon. The poles do not have to be worked down into the bottom, but are merely jammed between the rocks. In the eight or nine m.p.h. current they are quite stable, with their angles of inclination at about twenty-five degrees from the vertical. The tripods are about twelve feet apart, and the poles comprising each tripod are about seven feet apart at the water line, so there is a pole every five and seven feet alternating at the waterline. Power songs are sung at frequent intervals while this work is in progress. 227

Longer poles, of eighteen to twenty-two feet, are now lashed horizontally to the two upstream poles of each tripod, about eight inches above the water. One can walk along these easily. Sticks about two inches in diameter are lashed to this in a vertical

P-13(A)

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on 226
during the first four days each year that
fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was 796
to keep the fish at the river shore until
daybreak (the first ones usually having been
taken at night), and then carry them up on
poles, actually spear poles, which were [482]
thrust into the gills and out through the
mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight
or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders.
They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves
to await butchering. The butcher is chosen [622] ●
by the head man as one skilled in the work
and deserving the distinction. He frequently
does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. 226
A transverse c[illegible] made into the ventral
side at the base of the mandible, where the 796
gill slits are closest together, and another
transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base 252
of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to
the backbone. The head of the fish is then 788
bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

poles were tied together near the top, one 171
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622

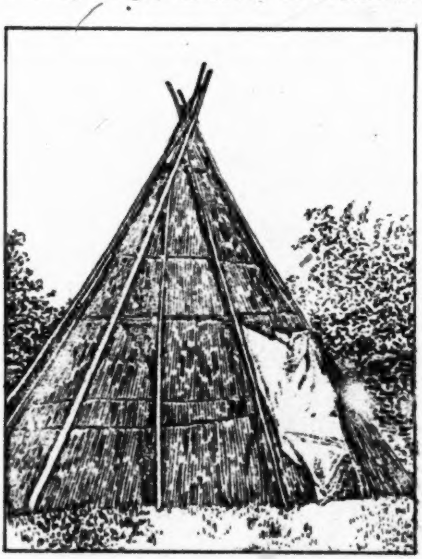

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531]
which covered the chief's lodge were decor-
ated on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large [791]
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our
area and from the Northern Okanagon. A cir-
cular pit about a foot deep was dug, and
three or four poles (both numbers were regu-
larly used) sharpened and tied together at
the top were set up inside the excavation.
Other poles of smaller diameter were then
tucked in among the foundation poles, the
butt ends of all poles resting against the

¹ [For context of this footnote, see p. 39 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

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4 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 69.¹

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

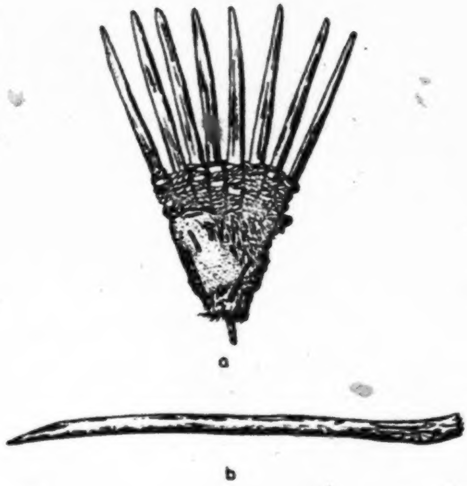

Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which might reach even to the ground. The lower end of each quill was cut down to a strip, which was passed through the fabric or skin of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were often decorated with tassels of horse hair or down. No other ornaments were attached.
● [622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16] and by them only on special public occasions or when travelling.

293 211 554 622 Before the introduction of the Plains bonnet, feathers were worn with the following significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers flat on the head. One feather indicated a single matter of business, two feathers indicated two matters of business. Scouts wore one or two feathers upright, depending on the prestige and standing of the individual. Three feathers indicated a chief. Such standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with power, in that an individual without the proper power could not wear feathers without suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

p. 48(A)

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
● 622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains
type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging
in front of the ears or on the side, and
suspended in front of the shoulders. The
front hair was cut off at about the level of
the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women
parted their hair in the middle and had two
braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the
braids were tied together at the ends and
drawn forward over each shoulder so that the
joined ends of the braids rested against the
back of the neck. When riding, women tied
the braids together in front to keep them
[881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded
up each braid and fastened it with a buck-
skin thong so that a roll hung on each side
of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits
of fur into their braids; not necessarily the
fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills
were used in these knots of hair behind the
ears in some unascertained fashion. At the
winter Power dance both men and women wore
their hair loose. At the same dance a coy-
ote skin with its tail hanging might be worn
for a head covering. Occasionally an indi-
vidual would be commanded by his power to
keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair
by women, less frequently by men. It was
mixed with finely pounded needles of fra-
grant fir to make a pomade of bright green
color. Face and body were less often treat-
[415] ed. The grease was collected from the tops
of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It
was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By L. V. W. WALTERS

TRIBAL NAME

101 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the Okanagon River valley in eastern Washington, have been referred to in all past written records as the Okanagon, thus grouping them with the British Columbia Okanagon as one tribe.

Teit calls the Sinkaietk the "American Okanagon" and treats them as one with the British Columbia Okanagon when discussing pre-white customs. To explain their different entities in historic times, he says, while recording autobiographical material about Nicholas (1780-1865), head chief of the Okanagon tribe:

"He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicholas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicholas's death, recognized a different head chief."[1]

621 The Sinkaietk have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe. Taking into considera-
622 tion that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Sinkaietk as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political
619 whole. Any unity that the Sinkaietk possess may be explained as due to dialectic identity, close geographical association, similar customs and friendly relations which have been maintained by constant intermarriage.

The Sinkaietk deny identity with the Northern Okanagon on the basis of political differences, although they speak an identical dialect. They deny identity with the Chilowhist band of Methow on the basis of dialectic differences, although this band is located on the Okanogan river between two Sinkaietk bands and possesses similar customs.

101 The term "tribe" is loosely used in anthropological literature. Within the Plateau culture area, the interior Salish linguistic stock may be analyzed into a number of dialectic types, one of which is the Okanagon speaking peoples, who speak a mutually understandable language and possess many culture traits in common. The Okanagon

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[1] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 269.

p. 73(A)

177 648 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes have joined them."[32] [1]

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 The relations of Tonasket with the
whites illustrates how the whites even in the
● 622 early days affected Indian political regimes.
In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of
619 great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the
Kartar band.

648 These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 113 or 112 years ago.[33] [1] Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselves and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."[34] [1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 84 (A)

177 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other
● 622 Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> 619 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man
> 648 who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four
361 autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of
619 their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp,
Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation.
In the summer, band organization breaks up.
361 Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations
619 and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 84 (B)

48. carI´pa.
49. lū´plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnI´kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules."
51. ci´lōxwist. 361
52. snlāxūlāxswa´tk^{ū}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´lā·x.
54. snxEncI´na^{ax}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
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An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage.
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Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives.
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The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime.
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At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti-
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For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a recognized head whose authorization is from his spirit power. 361 621 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single row along a creek or river (sometimes there is more than one row), their long axes running parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis. 342 361

All working together, they build first the chief's house, which is the largest, and then the others. There is some question as to whether others than those who are to occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position. 342 476 622

In each house live a number of people who are not necessarily related but who are congenial. The house group is not formed casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances. 342 592 621

When all the houses are finished, and then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. The following day the chief's wife selects women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in- 342 374 796

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 ● 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47] 1

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48] 1

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

1 [For footnote, see p. 94(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94 (B)

622 554 the duties of the chief. Michel Brooks says that a son of a chief is chosen as his successor because he knows how to be chief, having heard all that his father has said before him. Even so, the children of the chief are respected and judged according to their individual merits.

The members of a chief's family are not known by a distinctive term. Terms of a purely descriptive nature, such as, wife of the chief (pōĭ′lmixūm), or child of the chief (nkałelmĭ′xūm) are used during the life of the chief. Even the eldest son, who is recognized as the one who will most certainly succeed to his father's position, is not designated by any distinctive term.

622 581 In selecting a wife, the chief need not choose a girl from a wealthy family; it is more important that she be a chaste and industrious individual. A chief's child may marry into a lazy and improvident family without disapproval. Personal compatibility is the first essential in marriage. There is no conception of good birth in any except the chief's family, and this recognition does not approximate an attitude of caste.

622 554 The wife of a chief works just as does any other woman, but her suggestions are received by the other women with respect and are usually followed. The women talk to her as they do to anyone else; some may establish a very free verbal joking relationship with her, but no woman argues with her concerning a disputed point. She attempts to prevent quarrelling among the women. If the chief has several wives, it is not the oldest, but the one who receives his greatest favor, who is most respected by the other women of the band.

Sisters of the chief are considered worthy of some respect. There is no such feeling regarding women who are particularly skillful at the tasks of women. It is said of such a woman that she is smart, but this does not mean that her suggestions are certain to be followed.

622 555 Power was not a necessary attribute for holding the office of chief. Reputation as a warrior was not considered essential. The ability to organize successful hunting, fishing, and gathering expeditions is the most important requisite of office. Mary Carden says, "A chief has to be a good manager and have good sense."

622 Informants from the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands agree that ordinarily a chief does not participate in daily activities. The people say, "You be chief. You stay in one place. We will take care of you. You tell us how to get food, and take care of us in time of trouble." Then, the best of all the food gathered or killed is given to the

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 95(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

49 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.[1]
50 Spier and Sapir, Wishram, 212.[1]

p. 95(A)

man and woman chiefs, divided between them. They use what they need and keep the surplus on reserve for the people until time of want 622

Chilowhist Jim, a Methow informant, says of chiefs, "They do little work, just stay in the house all day and talk and smoke. But they care for their people well, keep track of everyone, where each person is, what he is doing and how successful he is in everything. A man, before making a trap or taking a trip of even one day, talks it over with the chief." The Kartar agree with the Northern Okanagon tribe in saying that their chiefs work just the same as ordinary people.

Suszen Timentwa insists that there may be two or three chiefs at one time in a band, each with equal authority, and that they take turns in directing tribal affairs.

"Each nation or principal tribe has generally two chiefs; one for the village, and another called the war-chief. The former is the head of the tribe; and, as already observed, holds his office by lineal descent: the latter is elective, and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people."**† 622 624

All other informants deny that the Sinkaietk bands have more than one chief at a time. The war chief referred to here by Alexander Ross is probably only the war leader, described as an individual possessing great power and respect but having no permanent official position. Each band has one chief, who, in accordance with the loose social organization of the group, functions as a tribal manager rather than as a despot controlling life and death, as did the chiefs of the tribes to the south on the Columbia River."†Even though he prove selfish and inefficient, and meet with serious disapproval on the part of some, the group will continue to respect him as chief.

According to Mary Carden, all four of the Sinkaietk bands as well as the Methow and Chelan tribes have chieftainesses (skū'mált, woman of great authority) as well, who serve in an advisory capacity. 622 562

The chieftainess is officially elected. She receives formal appointment at a council meeting just as the chief does. Apparently this office is hereditary through the male line; these women are always related to the chief, and at death, the office passes to another female relative, and in no recorded case from mother to daughter.

There are apparently differences in the status of such women in the several bands. In the Tukoratum band, whereas the chief served as the group manager, the woman skū'mált was a consulting adviser only in cases of murder, revenge or emergencies. If her decision differed from that of the chief, the

†[For footnotes, see p. 95 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

622 562 people were free to follow either. Amity might be advised but could not be enforced. Suszen Timentwa, who has lived among Konkonelp and Kartar people, pictures these women chieftainesses as group managers, serving as sole chief of the band from their appointment to office until death. It is doubtful if this was ever the case in either band; for the male hereditary chiefs are remembered for five generations back in both bands, and contemporary women skū´mált are recorded for the Konkonelp band. Kartar informants declare that women never had a voice in council and that there were no women chieftainesses. In consideration of their close social affiliation[a] with the Nespelem tribe, this is intelligible, since the Nespelem never vested authority in women.[52]

562 184 This recognition among the Sinkaietk of the equality of women is not unexpected. Ross Cox, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, comments upon the independence of the women of the lower Columbia.

> "The treatment of women differs materially among the various tribes.... Among the lower tribes, however, where their exertions in collecting the Wappitoo roots contribute to the general support, they assume an air of liberty and independence quite unknown among the upper natives [Kutenai, Flathead, Spokan]; and in all cases of importance the elder women, equally with the men, are consulted."[53]

Such women are also known among the Coeur d'Alêne:

> "There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the elections of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called sq'o´mâ'lt. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs."[54]

There is no difference in function between the Coeur d'Alêne sq'o´mâ'lt and the Sinkaietk skū´mált. The latter women have greater honor, however, for their position is official while that of the Coeur d'Alêne women is not.

293 554 622 In the old days, among the Konkonelp and Tukoratum bands, supposedly no one but a chief could wear an eagle feather headdress clear around the head. A "mean" man, that is, of an aggressive, desperado disposition, might make a headdress of eagle feathers and

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[a] [For footnote, see p. 96 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

[52] Ray, Sanpoil and Nespelem.

[53] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 235.

[54] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 154.

293 wear it in battle and at group gatherings.
Such men were not criticized by the people.
554 In later days, anyone can wear such a head-
dress, but the chief's is always the most
● 622 ornate. The woman skü´mält has no special
dress, but she is better dressed than any
other woman of the band, and always wears a
[304] shell through her pierced septum, a sign of
wealth.

622 "The royal insignia of an Indian king or chief is simple, and is always known in the camp. The Oakinacken [Konkonelp band in this instance] emblem is a white wolf-skin, fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours — the head and tail decorated with the higua,"[1] bears' claws, and the teeth of different animals — suspended from a pole in a conspicuous place near the chief's lodge.

"On our first arrival among this people, the wolf-skin was always to be seen waving conspicuously from the pole; but as they began to associate and get accustomed to us, they became less particular in exhibiting the ensigns of royalty.""[1]

~~292~~ The Kartar chief, on special occasions,
622 wears a buckskin shirt fringed at all the
seams and carries a fan made of the wing of
a crane or swan. A "mean" man may possess a
fringed shirt also, painted and worn for
power. Such a man may wear a fringed shirt
at any time without objections from the
chief.

276 The new chief of the Kartar band is
always given the tribal pipe which belonged
622 to his predecessor. The pipe is a large one
made of stone. The chief passes it around
in formal gatherings. He carries this pipe
in a special frirged buckskin bag, sewed with
hemp or sinew and decorated with porcupine
quills. This stone pipe is called sinaī´-
östn. The chief of the neighboring Nespelem
tribe also has a stone pipe called sinaī´-
ostn. This formal smoking of the pipe at
special gatherings is characteristic of the
Plains.

622 If a chief is sick a long time before
death, he may appoint his oldest son to take
his place, or if a chief reaches senility, he
appoints the new chief and retires. Some-
times a chief may be displeased with his
children, considering them disobedient, and
name instead one of his own brothers or a
near male relative to take the office. When
the old people's council meets, they announce
[165] the chief's wish to everyone. These forms
of appointment seldom occur since most men
die a violent death.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 96 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 96 (B)

622 765 Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion.

623 On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. [584]

622 The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly.

173 622 These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for woman officials were eliminated before the latter.

CIyá´qwEkEn was chief (yIlamI´xÜm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmána´Üs, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kÜx̣kÜx̣tá´akEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

sI´nt^{kū}, a contemporary of cIyá´qwEkEn and his cousin, was a chieftainess (skū´mált) of the Tukoratum band. She was followed by klaItsIapI´tsa, a cousin. The latter was not formally appointed at sI´ntkū's death, but she had much wisdom so the people called her skū´mált and went to her for advice. She died a few years after the death of kūẋkūẋtá´skEt.

Txwista´skEt was chief of the Konkonelp band and a contemporary of cIyá´qwEkEn. He married two Konkonelp women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by his son, nōẋtá´skEt, who married a Nespelem woman. KūmkūmI-Epō´sEmEn, a younger brother, succeeded nōẋta´skEt, and married a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, EntáktcEnI^{x}ū, who also married a Nespelem woman. The latter's son, EntáktcEnI^{x}ū, is Johnnie Frank who now lives at Nespelem. Johnnie Frank has been appointed chief by the Government as well as by the people.

Sqwal·Ipa´ls was chieftainess of the Konkonelp band, contemporaneously with txwIsta´skEt. She was succeeded by her niece, tcūtcūwē´l·ks, who was the last chieftainess of this band.

XwIstásūmxa´I'kEn (Walking Grizzly) was chief of the Kartar band and a contemporary of cIyá´qwEkEn. He married two Kartar sisters and a Nespelem woman. He was succeeded by his son, xwIstásūmxa´I'kEn, whose mother was one of the Kartar women. He married two Kartar women who were not sisters, and was succeeded by a son, sūwIpūka´In, who married a Kartar woman, a Nespelem woman, and a Similkameen woman. He was a contemporary of Chief Moses of the Moses Columbia band, and died in 1872. SūwIpūka´In was succeeded by a brother's son, sōyI´mēt'kEn, who married a Konkonelp woman. Suszen Timentwa, the present chief of the Kartar band, was appointed by the Government with the people's sanction. His grandmother was a sister of sōyI´mēt'kEn's father. He is now living at Malott on an allotment.

Mary says that the entire Methow tribe was under the rule of one chief only, who usually lived at ci´lōxwist, on the Okanogan River. Sqálō'ska´sket was a contemporary of cIyá´qwEkEn. He married a Chilowhist woman, a Tukoratum woman, and a lalaē´lá'^{x} woman. He is the only chief whom Mary knows about who depended on his spirit power in managing his people, rather than on "good common sense."

Of the Chelan tribe, kanI´mt·kū was chieftainess during the days of cIyá´qwEkEn, and was a distant cousin of the Chelan chief who was her contemporary. She was followed by an unappointed skū´mált woman. "There were government laws by this time and chiefs were not necessary."

p.97(B) Mēlá´InEm was chief of the SInkaqaI'I´ūs during the days of CIyá´qwEkEn.57⁑

⁑[For footnote, see p.97(c), category 116.--Analyst]

57 An account of the Moses Columbia chief Sulktasku'sum will be found in the section on Religion. 1/^

1/^ [For context of this footnote, see p. 97(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa·tü´c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. [585 787] He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skölstI´ckŭm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cüxkwitłatłacümI´ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cüxwawa´m) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cüxwawa´m are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo,'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (côxqōlôqwe´Ilt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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58 Compare the house leaders.

59 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293. 1/A

p. 98(A)

In war, enemy men are killed and their women 567
taken as wives (sqwĕ'nExEn, "wife who is cap-
tured"). There is no word in the Sinkaietk 727
vocabulary for slave.

Mary Carden says that the chief some- 622 ●
times cares for wounded enemies until they
are well. Then such men work with the chief's 727
family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is
a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask 582
the chief to let him marry their daughter.
At these marriages, the chief acts as the
captive's father. It is hard to believe that
captive enemies would prove so amenable, unless they had been taken very young.

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60 See the Dream dance. 1/A

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 99 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might
tempt another shaman to steal them or that
the spirits themselves would be offended and
desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said
his grandmother, grandfather, and father had
power, but they never told anyone about it.
One' seems often to have affected secrecy
about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to
gloss over his own uncertainty as to its
real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for
his own exclusive use, and grew angry and
ashamed if he heard others singing his power
song except at the winter dance. This song
[424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but
they should sing it only when its possessor
578 was not within hearing. People sometimes
ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or
533] her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinōx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed
deep interest in the power of each of its
554 members. The amount and character of power
which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After
childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or
she would have played little part in society.
According to Suszen, at least one child in
every family had only weak power. This
child was lazy, and on the power-quest was
sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the
objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help
him. On the other hand, Suszen believed
that in every family there was a man who had
more power than the other members, and who
took care of them and provided them with
food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 Though a chief was always credited with
considerable power, he did not necessarily
•622 have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

p. 136 (A)

778 622 [791] membered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, 621
but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected 131
bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeĕ'us or .s.nkeiĕ'usox̣ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kᴇtᴇmux̣ or Tiă'kᴇtux̣[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kᴇtux̣,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowă'xtsᴇnux̣ or .skowa'xtsᴇnᴇx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchᴇn or .niă'qᴇtcᴇn, 101
which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or 105
Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more sligintly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tᴇn in .nia'kᴇtcᴇn means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iă'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iăkᴇma and stia'kᴇt, etc.

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he 159
had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over 622
all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility. 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes. 622 554

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot. 198

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children. 854

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head. 856

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca 551

344 long. Six "lengths" (of poles) were considered a large house, and
very few were longer than this. A "length" was generally 4 meters
or more (about 2 fathoms), but varied a little. Upright poles or
posts supported the joinings of the "lengths," and were considered
divisions for the fires and families; each "length" forming, as it
were, a room on each side. Thus in a large house there were generally
six fires placed opposite the middle of each "length." Each fire
[354] served two opposite rooms occupied by two families. Occasionally
small partitions of mats were attached to the uprights, dividing off
the rooms; but few people cared for privacy. Mats were also
sometimes arranged inside the house in different ways to prevent
or regulate draughts. Some of the largest villages had two or three
of these houses, but the Indians claim that none of them were ever
used exclusively as ordinary dwellings. At some of the old village
sites near Coeur d'Alêne Lake there are reported to be marks of the
sites of several of these houses, with cottonwood and other trees
almost a meter thick growing in the excavations. In conjunction
with all, or most of them, are circular depressions marking the sites
of conical lodges, which, to all appearances, were in use at the same
[622] time as the long lodges, large trees growing in them also.[61] According
to some informants, the village "long house" was under the supervision of the village chief. When not in use, the mats used as covering
were taken off and placed in a cache until the following winter, or
taken by the people if required; for it seems that in some cases the
[422] mats were supplied by the several families, and were their property.
[358] Young men, and sometimes others, kept the house clean when in use,
and gathered most of the firewood required.

[476] When a long house was built, the poles were cut and hauled and
the excavation dug by all the people of the place at the request of the
chief or elders. However, there were no very strict rules regarding
the management of the work and the upkeep of the house. All this
was considered a community matter and a public duty. As a rule,
the orders or advice of the chief or elders were taken, and all the
people assisted more or less, according to their ability or inclination.
All mat lodges, especially if in windy places, were braced by poles
laid vertically against the outside here and there. The butt ends of
some of the poles were sharpened so as to catch in the ground; but
where stones were handy a fairly heavy stone was placed against the
butt of each pole, as among the Thompson and other tribes. Some
people used mats inside the lodges around the heads of their beds.
[354] The mats were tied to the poles and were intended for protection
against draught at the base of the lodge, and also, it seems, as conductors of the draught toward the smoke hole, thus helping to draw
the smoke out. Screens for these purposes were
also used in skin tents.[62]

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[61] See b, p. 180.

[62] Cf. p. 116, where back walls are mentioned serving the same purpose.

[416] 177 221 Furthermore, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe,
[621] and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

177 241 621 Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

622 Chiefs.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[282] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were
157 622 not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[282] a, p. 289.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. 157
People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or 622
if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[283] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up 157
the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single
community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed 177
away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time 622
there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three
recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stéla''am*, with head- [551]
quarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *X̧wistceni''tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Cilciltcó'sqet* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stéla''am* died, André *Sélts* (Saltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stéla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[284] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyt'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[283] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original 177
site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the 621
surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[284] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqxt*, "rolling on the
~~622~~ clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
[551] chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemł'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Anastεmεlpo'* (?) (full name *Tεmplpo'sεmεn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *xwεltspo'sεmεn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings
of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
203 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
624 assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out to the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 [illegible] 621

CAMP CIRCLE.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 481 621 [537]

TRIBAL REGULATIONS.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[285] 622 626 681

WAR CHIEFS.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

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[285] b, pp. 244, 245.

624 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority
728 to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent
war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions.
They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had
distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect,
being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting
in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards
chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief
622 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated
624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He
was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as
an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give
a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the
business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as
705 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days,
moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and
the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old
621 habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization.
The bands seem to have become completely merged in the
tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of
the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country
where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly
well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus
it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations
of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment.
The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the
people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not
463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the
tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special
484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in
traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole,
occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear,
and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not
obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable
body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the
people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men
who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front,
but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete. 526

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. 201
Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Organization.—The social organization of the tribes was practi- 565
cally the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern
Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no 575
clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that 621
long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

Chiefs.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor 622 ●
villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

622 of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x̣* blood [1]); *Sax̣kokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x̣* and half Thompson); and Martinus [2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawĭ'sesqɛn* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeŭ's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

555 There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might
622 become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

624 All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among
756 the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were perma-
622 nent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.9).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers. 622 ●

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained. 554 622

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance. 623 203

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line. 622

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pɛlkamū'lōx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation. 173 622

1.1. *Pɛlkamū'lōx* (*Pilɛkɛmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sɛnχomi'nux* or *sɛnxomē'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

173 2.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lāx*, a chief in the same tribe. He was born presumably between 1705 and 1710. For some reason he left his own tribe ●622 and lived chiefly among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and Shuswap. He had other children besides the four sons here mentioned. Since they were not prominent their names have been forgotten. He died at an advanced age at *Sālī'lxᵉ* "heaped-up stone house," an ancient Okanagon stronghold near the junction of the Similkameen and Okanagon Rivers. It is said that when he was young he went several times on buffalo hunting expeditions to the plains. During his lifetime there was a period of severe warfare in the Okanagon region. The Indians believe that at this time the *Stuwi'x* were driven out of the lower Similkameen region. He married first a Spokan woman (2.1 *a*); second, a Shuswap woman at Kamloops (2.1 *b*); third, a Sanpoil woman (2.1 *c*); fourth, an Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief at *Sālī'lxᵉ* (2.1 *d*).

3.1. A son of 2.1 and 2.1*a*, whose name is not remembered, married a Spokan woman. The order of the four children of 3.1 is uncertain. According to some the daughter was the eldest; according to others, the youngest child. The three sons all married and left descendants among the Spokan. He became chief of the *Sᴇnxomē'nic* and was the ancestor of several Lower and Upper Spokan, including *Nhwislpo'* (Walking-Outside) and his brother *Kotī'lᴇko'* (Big-Star) or *Nkeaskwī'lox*, commonly known as Oliver Lot, late chief of the Lower Spokan on the Spokane Reservation.

3.2. *Kwolī'la*, chief of the Kamloops Band of the Shuswap; married a Kamloops woman (3.2 *a*). He was known also as *Tōkē'n* (possibly a corruption of Duncan as he was called by the traders). He had more children than those mentioned here. His half-niece (4.8) was adopted by him. (See under 3.4.)

It is said that the Kamloops chief preceding *Kwolī'la* was *Talᴇxa'n* who was killed on a war expedition in which the Sekanai were driven out of the upper North Thompson and Yellowhead districts. He was also engaged in wars with the Cree and is said to have been wounded in a fight with them.[3] The Kamloops chieftaincy did not descend in *Kwolī'la's* family. His successor was *Kwī'mtᴇxᴇn* (a name also used by the Thompson), who was not related to *Kwolī'la*. His successor was Jean Baptiste Lolo, commonly known as St. Paul. About 1864 he was succeeded by Louis *Xlexᴇle'xkᴇn*, not a relative of St. Paul, who held the chieftaincy until his death in 1915 at the age of 87 years. The present chief is a young man, Elie La Rue, chosen by Chief Louis before his death, and confirmed by election by the tribe. Some informants say that *Kwolī'la* was succeeded by *Tᴇlākā'n* or *Slākān* (male grizzly bear), whence the Indian surname Logan.

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[3] e, pp. 546-554; and Franz Boas, Report on Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Assn. Adv. of Science, 1890, pp. 86, 87 (reprint).

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

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Baptiste Logan, a chief at the head of Okanagon Lake, lately deposed by the agent, is a grandson of this man. The same informant claims that a chief named *Patea* preceded Louis as chief.

3.3. *Sirwt'lexkзn*, chief of the Sanpoil. He married a Sanpoil woman. He had more children than those mentioned here. It is said that most of the later Sanpoil and Nespelim chiefs are his descendants.

3.4. *Pзlkamū'lōx*, head chief of the Okanagon. He married first, an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pзlзks* (3.4*a*), at the head of Okanagon Lake; and second, a *Stuwi'x* woman from Similkameen, perhaps partly of Thompson descent. The order of birth of his children is uncertain.

Pзlkamū'lōx became a noted chief and was known far and wide. During his early life he was much engaged in war. These wars commenced in his father's time or before and continued for many years—many Okanagon as well as people of other tribes being killed. *Sāli'lxᵘ* where he made his headquarters was considered the chief seat of the Okanagon tribe (or at least of the northern division). The old name of the place is said to have been *Okanā'qзn*. *Pзlkamū'lōx* built a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally known as *Sāli'lxᵘ*, "heaped-up (stone) house," with reference to the fortifications of stone. It is said there was also a cave near there, the approach to which was defended with breastworks of stones. In case of necessity the people took refuge in it, and from there no party could approach, except under cover of night, without being observed. This place is said to have been impregnable and war parties of Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, and others who assaulted it were easily beaten off. *Kwoli'la* (3.2), the Kamloops chief, had heard of the many attacks by enemy war parties on *Pзlkamū'lōx* and determined to go and see him. His people tried to dissuade him, telling him it was very dangerous for any one to visit him, for his people had been attacked so often that they trusted no one and attacked all strangers on sight who approached their place. Seeing that *Kwoli'la* was determined to go, the Shuswap and the people of *Nkama'pзlзks*, who at that time were a mixture of Shuswap and Okanagon, offered to accompany him in an armed body, but he refused their offer, saying he would go alone. As he was leaving, his people told him, "*Pзlkamū'lōx's* people will kill you before they know who you are, and even if they know, they may kill you." *Kwoli'la* answered, "I am *Pзlkamū'lōx's* brother, and will go and see him alone." Arriving on the open ground before *Pзlkamū'lōx's* house, the people ran out to meet him in battle array. *Pзlkamū'lōx* recognized him and was glad to see him. He took him to his house and kept him as his guest for a long time. *Kwoli'la* advised *Pзlkamū'lōx* to forsake *Sāli'lxᵘ* and go

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north with him. He told him, "*Salt'lxᵘ* is a bad place to live in. You will always have trouble as long as you stay there." *Pɛlkamū'lôx* was persuaded. It was early summer, and he and his people traveled north with the *Kwolt'la* to *Komkɛna'tko*, "headwaters," now called Fish Lake, in the Nicola country. This place was at that time in Shuswap territory, for the Shuswap claimed the country south of Kamloops around the head of the Nicola River. Stump Lake, Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, and Chaperon Lake were all in Shuswap country. This country at that time was full of elk and deer, and there were also many sheep, bear, and other game. Prairie chicken, grouse of all kinds, and water fowl were plentiful, and the lakes teemed with fish. Here at Fish Lake *Kwolt'la* made a lasting agreement with *Pɛlkamū'lôx*, giving him the perpetual use over all the Shuswap territory of the upper Nicola Valley, south, east, and west of Chaperon Lake, comprising Douglas Lake and Fish Lake. The *Stuwī'x̣ɛmuxᵘ* and *Ntlakyá'pamux* held the country west and south around Nicola Lake and Minnie Lake to the Similkameen. *Kwolt'la* said, "You will have the country for yourself and your people as your own. I will live as your neighbor at *Tox̣ox̣oi'tcɛn* (Chaperon Lake) and will retain all the country from there north. You will make Fish Lake your headquarters in the summer and I will summer at Chaperon Lake so that we may be close neighbors part of each year. You will give me your daughter, *Kokoimálks* (4.8), to be my foster child and she will always live with me, but your son (4.9) you will keep with yourself." *Pɛlkamū'lôx* had only two children at this time, both of them very young. After this *Pɛlkamū'lôx* and most of his people spent their summers in their new country with headquarters around Fish Lake and Douglas Lake, and in the wintertime lived at *Nkama'pɛlɛks*. Henceforth *Salt'lxᵘ* was deserted of permanent inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon. Those people who did not go with *Pɛlkamū'lôx* moved north to different parts of the Okanagon Lake country and especially to the head of the lake around *Nkama'pɛlɛks*. The latter place became an important Okanagon center. Not many years after this, owing to its fine grazing, many of the people of the old *Salt'lxᵘ* band, and others of the *Nkama'pɛlɛks* band, who were now much mixed with them, began to winter around Douglas Lake and Fish Lake, forming as it were a new band. However, even up to the present day they look upon themselves as merely an offshoot of the *Nkama'pɛlɛks* and Okanagon people and as really one with them. Each year when *Pɛlkamū'lôx* left for his winter quarters at *Nkama'pɛlɛks*, *Kwolt'la* at the same time left to winter at Kamloops. Being head chief of the Okanagon, *Pɛlkamū'lôx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighboring tribes, visiting the *Stuwī'x*, Upper Thompson,

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Shuswap of Kamloops, and it is said, the Wenatchi, Columbia, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel. He went a number of times buffalo hunting to the plains, by way of the Flathead country, and was therefore well acquainted with chiefs and people of all the tribes to the south and east as far as the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, Yakima, Kutenai, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot. On his last trip to the plains his party met near Helena, Mont., the first white men they had seen (viz, Legace and MacDonald, explorers and trappers of the Northwest Co.). On the return trip these men accompanied the party as far west as the Columbia River, where they wintered with the Colville chief. After this *Pɛlkamū'lōx* traveled around in his own country and within the borders of the neighboring tribes, telling of the wonderful men he had seen on his recent trip. *Kwolī'la* invited him to Kamloops to tell of the event. He accompanied the Shuswap to their salmon-fishing and trading rendezvous at Pavilion and Fountain, on Fraser River. Here he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in an altercation with a Lillooet chief. When dying he charged *Kwolī'la* with the guardianship of his son, *Hwistesmexe'qɛn* (4.9), and asked him to see that he avenged his death. (For full particulars of this part of the history of *Pɛlkamū'lōx*, see Dawson, "The Shuswap People," pp. 26, 27; and Wade, "The Thompson Country," pp. 13–15.)

4.1. Ālī', married Donald McLean (4.1*a*), in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. post at Kamloops; born 1801, killed in the Chilcotin war 1864. (See Father A. G. Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, pp. 264–270, 279, 307–313.) He had a second wife who was half Shuswap. With her he had three sons, Alan, Charles, and Archibald, who along with Alexander Hare (whose mother was Lower Thompson from Boston Bar), were hanged in 1881 for the murder of whites in the Kamloops district. By a third wife, partly Carrier, he had several children, John and others.

4.2. *Skwa'lkwɛl*
4.3. *Tcɛmā'wis* } Left descendants among the Spokan.
4.4. *Nɛkeeskws'*

4.5. *Tak.lī'sqɛt* (rain cloud, or descending cloud?), married a Shuswap woman (4.5*a*), died at Kamloops, very old. He had other children besides those noted here.

4.6. *Tahwū'lkɛnɛm*, married.

4.7. *Yenamusī'tsa*, "surrounded robe." He had other children besides the one recorded here.

4.8. *Kokoimālks* or *Koimā'lks*, married. She was adopted by *Kwolī'la* (3.2).

4.9. Nicolas *Hwistesmetxē'qɛn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear" born 1780–1785, died about 1865. This name is said to be of Spokan origin and was inherited. The name Nicolas was given to him by the traders.

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The Indians pronounced it, *Nkwala'*. He married 15 wives (according to other informants 17) from the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Shuswap, *Stuwi'x̣*, Thompson, and perhaps others. His children who grew up numbered about 50 and many of their descendants are now living on the Colville, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alêne Reservations as well as in southern British Columbia among the Okanagon, Shuswap, and Thompson. One of his daughters, Mary *Sukomē'lks* (5.7), married one of the Peones (Pion [4]) in the Colville or Spokane country. One of his sons, *Kᴇsᴇxka'lux̣* (*Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*) (5.8), "Bad Man," was well known. I did not try to get a list of Chief Nicolas's wives and children as the head chieftainship did not descend to them, but instead to his adopted son and nephew *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* (5.10), the son of his sister *Sapxᴇnā'lks* (4.11). Charles *Tcere'pqᴇn*, a Spokan from the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation and a descendant of Chief Nicolas, visited his friends at Kamloops, Nicola, and Spences Bridge in 1912.

This man became even a more famous chief than his father and the Nicola Valley, Nicola River, and Nicola Lake are named after him. The fur traders called the region of the upper Nicola, "Nicolas's country," and the river which flowed through it "Nicolas's River." Later the lake and valley were given the names from the river. Nicolas was given his name Nicolas by the French Canadian traders who conducted the temporary trading post at the head of Okanagon Lake. When a young man, Nicolas was placed in charge of this post by the trader, who had to leave for a winter. On his return the trader found everthing at the post in good order and many valuable skins collected by Nicolas. In reward he gave the latter a present of 10 guns with plenty of ammunition. About this time the Kamloops chief, *Kwolī'la*, visited him and reminded him of his duty to avenge the death of his father. Nicolas at once prepared himself for the warpath and sent invitations to the neighboring tribes to join him in his war expedition against the Lillooet. It is said about 500 warriors of the Okanagon, Upper Thompson, *Stuwī'x̣*, and Shuswap assisted Nicolas in this expedition, which swept through most of the Lillooet country. They killed about 300 or 400 Lillooet and took many young women and children captive. On this expedition some of the Lower Lillooet are said to have seen the first horse and heard the first gun—a number of the war party being armed with guns and some of them being mounted on horses. Most of the Lillooet, however, had seen horses on Fraser River long before this date and some of the upper division may have owned horses. Guns, however, were still unknown among them at this time. Both before and after this war expedition the hundreds of warriors made several elk drives in the upper Nicola country on a grand scale, driving great numbers

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[4] The Peones are descended from a French Canadian Péon (?) who was in the service of the Northwest Co. Peone Prairie in the Spokan country, is named after one of them.

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of these animals into inclosures and over cliffs, thus hastening the extermination of elk in that country. (For fuller particulars of this war expedition see McKay in Dawson, "The Shuswap people," pp. 27, 28; Wade, "The Thompson country," pp. 16–19; Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," p. 246.)

Chief Nicolas, it is said, was quite as widely known as his father and made several trips to the plains buffalo hunting. According to some, on one of these trips he had a fight with the Blackfoot in which the latter were defeated. He was also the chief who came down to Nicola Lake and buried the Thompson and *Stuwi'x* victims of the Shuswap raid at Guichon. (For a mention of this see Smith, "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," p. 432.) An interesting account of Chief Nicolas's scheme to outwit Tod (who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops) and take the trading post (about 1846) is mentioned in Bancroft's History of British Columbia and a fuller account is given by Wade. ("The Thompson Country," pp. 63–66.) The fur traders recognized Nicolas as the most powerful and influential chief in the interior of British Columbia. He was noted for his sagacity, prudence, honesty, and fair dealing, and was rather a peacemaker than a fighting man. He was greatly respected by the Indians and his word was law among his own people and even among the neighboring tribes. He overshadowed all the other chiefs of his time in power and influence. Like other head chiefs, he usually had a bodyguard of young warriors who did his bidding and accompanied him on all important trips and visits to neighboring chiefs. During his lifetime the Okanagon and neighboring tribes became acquainted with the white man; first with the fur traders in the very early years of the last century, and then about 50 years later (about 1856–1864) with the first gold miners and settlers. On the advent of the latter, Nicolas used his great influence for their protection and in preventing the Indians making war on them. During the Fraser River trouble between the Thompson and whites (1858–59) he advocated peace although preparing for war, and had the affair not been settled when it was, he might have joined the Thompson against the miners. Although repeatedly asked to join in the Spokan war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen. He was an ally of the latter and wore the medals the Queen and King had presented to him. Having his territory controlled by the Queen, he expected to be dealt fairly with, for the Queen and her subjects, the fur traders, had always been fair with the Indians. He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicolas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing

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through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicolas's death, recognized a different head chief. According to some his name was *Tōnā'sqᴇt*. He was not of chief's descent and, it is said, secured his reputation through war and horse raiding. Chief Nicolas was also noted as a very wealthy man. He had numbers of fine robes and other wealth, large bands of horses, and before 1858 or 1860, had a good many cattle, the first of which he had obtained some years before from Indians and whites or half-breeds in the Colville and Spokan countries. He also cultivated some patches of corn, potatoes, and probably tobacco before 1860. He obtained the seed from traders at Kamloops or from traders and others in the south. Nicolas died at Grand Prairie about 1865, in the fall of the year. His body was taken to Kamloops by a great cortege of Indians and temporarily buried near the Hudson Bay fort. During the winter a large number of Indians remained with the body, and either the traders or the Indians or both kept a guard of honor over it in military style during the winter. In the spring it was exhumed and carried on horses to *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, where it was finally buried. Chief Nicolas generally (or at least very often) wintered at *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*, as his father *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* had done, and he considered this place his real winter quarters.

An Okanagon informant gave me the following names as those of leading chiefs in various tribes about 1850, or in the latter days of Chief Nicolas. Adam, at Shuswap Lake, leading chief of the "real Shuswap"; William, at Williams Lake, and *Ło'xᴇsᴇm*, at Soda Creek, leading chiefs of the Northern or Fraser River at Shuswap; *Cexpē'ntlᴇm*, at Lytton, head chief of the Thompson; *Pā'lak*, at Spuzzum, leading chief of the Lower Thompson; *Kirkwa'* or *Kᴇsawī'lᴇx*, "become bad," at Fort Shepherd, leading chief of the Lake; *Yēlᴇmxᴇstū'lᴇx*, at Kettle Falls, leading chief of the Colville. Gregor *Yokumtī'kᴇn* was chief of the Nkamip band of the Okanagon when they talked with Commissioner Sproat.

One informant told me the following about *Tōnā'sqᴇt*.

"*Tōnā'sqᴇt* was not a chief nor descended from any chiefs. He first became prominent in the following manner. In 1858 some of the Okanagon were fighting the whites who came overland with pack trains and horses via the Okanagon route to the newly discovered gold diggings in British Columbia. Many of the white parties were killed. Horses were also stampeded and stolen from them. Most of the fighting took place near the British Columbia line. In all there were never more than 70 or 80 Okanagon fighting and most of them had no guns. *Tōnā'sqᴇt* was one of their number. Once they fought a large party of whites and stopped them from passing through. They had to retreat and change their direction. Then a still larger party of whites came on the scene. The Indians set fires in the grass on the

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flanks of the party, and another large fire ahead of them which spread into the trees. They separated and fired shots from behind the fires. The white party came to a halt and made ready for an attack. There were probably less than 20 Indians at this time while the whites must have numbered about 150. *Tōnā'sqxt* made himself leader of the Indians. He left half of his men here and there at the sides and front to shoot off their guns while he with the others rode down on the camp of the whites. The latter thought the Indians were going to attack them and prepared to shoot. *Tōnā'sqxt*, who was ahead, held his gun above his head and called out, "Don't shoot, we are friends." He said to the whites, "I have great numbers of my warriors all around, to the sides, and in front and behind you. They are waiting behind these fires. At my call they will come out and overwhelm you, but I do not want to do this. I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through my country." The whites believed him; they wrote down his name and gave him many presents. He and his following then allowed them to pass on, gave them directions, and did not molest them any further. After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better, and always gave him presents. In this way *Tōnā'sqxt* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief, but he was really no chief, although later the American Okanagon recognized him as such to some extent. *Tōnā'sqxt* himself, after Nicolas's death, claimed to be head chief of the Okanagon who lived on the American side of the line.

4.10. *Sukomē'lks*, married a Hudson Bay Co. employee in the Okanagon or Colville country. According to some informants she was a daughter, not a sister, of Chief Nicolas (4.9). There may have been two individuals of the same name. She had more children than those here recorded.

4.11. *Sapx̣xna'lks*, married *Xalxkskwai'lōx̣* of *Tutxkskū'lōx̣* (4.11 *a*), a little below Keremeous, Similkameen. She was the favorite sister of Chief Nicolas. She died giving birth to her first child, who became Chief *Texlaxī'tsa* (5.10). Her husband was almost pure Okanagon.

5.1. Donald McLean, married Julienne (5.1 *a*), daughter of Chief Jean Paul, of Kamloops. Donald McLean was famous as fiddler and Government scout. He was living at Kamloops, 1916, aged over 80 years. He had more children than enumerated here.

5.2. Duncan McLean.

5.3. Alexander McLean, living near Kamloops, 1916. He had more children living than enumerated here.

5.4. A daughter, married Donald(?) Manson, Lac La Hache, a Hudson Bay employee or son of a Hudson Bay employee, of Scotch descent.

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5.5. *Nx̣o'mqɛn*, "Painted Head," married a Shuswap woman (5.5 *a*.) He died at Kamloops, 1913, as an old man. He had more children besides Julia (6.8).

5.6. *Ratcā'x̣ɛn*, "Tied Arms." He died among the Sanpoil about 1900, a very old man. He had more children besides *Ratcā'x̣ɛn* (6.9).

5.7 Mary *Sukomī'lks*. See 4.9.

5.8. *Kɛsɛska'lux̣* (*Kesaskai'lex̣*). See 4.9.

5.9. Julie. Married William Peone (5.9 *a*) in the Spokan country.

5.10. *Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa*, adopted by Chief Nicolas (4.9). He had 12 wives. Best known among them were (1st) an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pɛlɛks* (5.10 *a*); (2d) *Panā'lks*, "Folded Dress," from *Nkamtcī'nɛmuxʷ* (Spences Bridge) (5.10 *b*); (3d) Marie *Mɛmī'x̣tsa*, "Hanging-loose Robe," a Kamloops (5.10 *c*); (4th) Sophie, from Spences Bridge, a younger sister of *Panā'lks* (5.10 *d*); (5th) *Tikumtī'nɛk*, "Smooth Bow," an Okanagon mixed with Colville (5.10 *e*); (6th) *Seisi'tko*, or *Sisi'ntko*, "Two Waters," of *Ka'lɛmix* (Guichon), Nicola Valley (5.10 *f*); (7th) a woman whose name is not remembered (5.10 *g*); (8th) *Kanī'sta*, of *Ka'lɛmix*, Nicola Valley (5.10 *h*).

Tsɛlaxī'tsa was the most prominent chief in the interior of British Columbia in his day, and was noted as an all-round good man. He was the recognized head chief of the Okanagon tribe on the Canadian side of the line and the only chief of the Okanagon in the Nicola country. He was the chief who carried on the negotiations with Government Commissioner Sproat regarding the tribal territory and hunting and fishing rights of the Okanagon, and the laying off of reservations for the people at Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, Quilchena, Guichon, and around the head of Okanagon Lake (*Nkama'pɛlɛks*, etc.). Like his uncle, Chief Nicolas, he had great faith in the Queen and the Queen's laws, and expected his people to be dealt with by the Government in the fairest manner regarding all the rights that they claimed in the territories inherited from their forefathers. About 1875 and 1876, when there was great dissatisfaction among the interior Salishan tribes in British Columbia because of white settlement on their lands and the failure of the Government to make treaties and proper agreements with them regarding their land and hunting rights, etc., *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* calmed the other chiefs and repressed the people, telling them the Queen would eventually see to it that the Indians would be dealt with fairly. He was friendly to the settlers and did not try to run them off. He simply asked them questions and let them understand that they were trespassing on land still possessed by the Indians. About this time an alliance was formed by most of the Shuswap and Okanagon chiefs for the purpose of a combined attack upon all white settlers, and there only remained the word of Chief *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* to set the country aflame. He stood out against all the others and advocated a peaceful policy. Through his efforts a

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serious Indian war was avoided. The Indians were appeased shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mr. Sproat and the apparent desire of the Government to acknowledge the rights of the Indians. However, considerable dissatisfaction remained among many. *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* was considered a wealthy chief and a good speaker. He died about 1884, after having chosen his son Alexander *Xwistesmexe'qᴇn* to succeed him as head chief of the tribe. After his death two of his other sons became local chiefs of subbands, and another a church chief (so called). *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* survived most of his wives.

6.1. John McLean.

6.2. Rosie McLean.

6.3. Alick McLean, about 1885. In wild excitement, he ran into the Indian village at Kamloops and shot some Indians. When he did the same a second time he was shot by the Indians.

6.4. Charles McLean, lately of Edmonton, Alberta.

6.5. Duncan McLean.

6.6. Alfred McLean.

6.7. John McLean.

6.8. Julie, living 1916 at Kamloops.

6.9. *Ratcā'χᴇn*, living 1911 among the Sanpoil on the Colville Reservation.

6.10. *Nkeaskwai'lᴇx*.

6.11. A daughter, who married an Okanagon man and has a family.

6.12. *Elᴇmᴇlpōsᴇman* or *Iamᴇlpō'sᴇmᴇn* (good heart); married *Χaikwa'tko* (— water) (6.12 *a*) and *Sixwē'ltsa* (6.12 *b*), both Thompson from Nicola. He had several children living in 1915. He inherited his father's medals, two of which had belonged to Chief Nicolas, one of them a King George III medal. Shortly after his father's death he became chief of the band at *Kalᴇmēx* or Guichon. This band was originally *Stuwī'χ* and later Thompson and *Stuwī'χ*, and not at all in the territory of the Okanagon. Owing to the slaughter of most members of the original band by the Shuswap (see Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region), followed by the settlement of many people of Okanagon origin at the place, the Okanagon element outweighed the Thompson and *Stuwī'χ*, and the Douglas Lake chiefs assumed control. *Iamᴇlpo'sᴇmᴇn* died about 1901 and his half brother *Tsᴇlaxī'tsa* (6.16) became chief of the band as well as of that of Douglas Lake.

6.13. George, married, but without issue.

6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*, married an Okanagon man and had a family living in 1915.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas (Nicola), *Xwistesmexe'qᴇn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear," and *Sᴇkᴇlepkī'qᴇn*, "Little Coyote Head"; married *Swaχᴇpī'nᴇk*, "Surviving Bow," of the upper Thompson (6.15 *a*),

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who died in 1914. He was hereditary chief of the Okanagon. All his children died young. His adopted son, Tommy Alexander, lives at Fish Lake.

6.16 John Celestin (*Salista'*), *Tsɛlax̣ī'tsa*, "Standing Robe," married a woman from the Upper Thompson, partly of *Stuwī'x̣* descent (6.16 *a*). In 1915 he had an only married daughter who lived with her parents. He was chosen by his father to succeed him as head chief of the Okanagon, which title he held by hereditary right and gift. He lives at *Nkama'pɛlɛks* and at Fish Lake, as his fathers before him. He was living in 1916, aged about 74 or 75. Like his father and grand uncle, he is a shrewd man. After his father's death he became church chief by appointment by the priests. After the death of his half brothers, *Iamɛlpō'sɛmɛn* (6.12) and Basil (6.19), he became chief of the Douglas Lake and Guichon bands. He is said to be the wealthiest chief in British Columbia. He made one trip to Europe, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. He has been several times in Okanagon representing his tribe.

6.17. Saul, died a number of years ago.

6.18. François, died a number of years ago.

6.19. Basil. Became chief of the Douglas Lake band after his father's death, as his half brother Chief Alexander, the head chief, did not wish to act as a band chief. He was shot and killed, in a brawl among Indians on the Granite Creek Trail, by Charles *Sxpɛxpɛpā'x̣ɛn*, "Striped (?) Arms," of *Nɛ̣ē'skɛt*, Nicola division of the Upper Thompson, about 1885. He was succeeded as chief by his half brother, John *Tsɛlaxī'tsa*.

6.20. Narcisse, died a number of years ago.

6.21. Michel, married Therèse (6.21 *a*), of the Upper Thompson, mixed with the Colville. She is a younger sister of the shaman Baptiste *Ululamē'Ilst*, "Iron Stone," who lived at Potato Gardens, on Nicola River, 16 miles from Spences Bridge. The family were half Upper Thompson and half Colville mixed with Okanagon.

6.22. *Kopkopē'llst*, married *Tsalutā'Ilks* (6.22 *a*), of Douglas Lake, a daughter of *Tsɛxī'nɛk*, "Standing Bow," a sister to *Kaxpē'tsa*, "sticking out bottom of robe," of the Spences Bridge band. This family is half Upper Thompson and half Okanagon in blood.

6.23. *Sāpxɛnā'Ilks*, married Napoleon, of the Nicola Thompson. He died a number of years ago.

6.24. A woman whose name is not remembered. She was shot and killed by her husband, who shortly afterwards was shot and killed by her (?) relatives.

7.1. James Michel, married Maggie, a Thompson woman from Lytton. She was reared on the Colville Reservation in Washington, being fostered by a sister of his mother, who was married there. He received some education in the American schools and when he grew to manhood came back to his native place, where he received a share

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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in the reservation at Guichon. He died near 1903 aged about 40 years. He had no children. After his death his wife went to the Quilchena Creek Reserve, Upper Thompson tribe, where she was living, 1916.

INDIVIDUALS IN OKANAGON GENEALOGY

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1675. See p. 263.
2.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1705. See p. 264.
2.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
2.1*b*. A Shuswap woman, Kamloops. See p. 264.
2.1*c*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 264.
2.1*d*. An Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief of *Salī'lxu*. See p. 264.
3.1. Man, name unknown. See p. 264.
3.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
3.2. *Kwolī'la*. Shuswap chief, Kamloops. See pp. 264, 265, 268.
3.2*a*. A Kamloops woman. See p. 264.
3.3. *Sixwī'lᴇx̣kᴇn*. Sanpoil chief. See p. 265.
3.3*a*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 265.
3.4. *Pelkamū'lôx*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 265.
3.4*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlᴇks*. See p. 265.
3.4*b*. A *Stuwī'x̣* woman, perhaps partly Thompson. See p. 265.
4.1. *Ālī'*. See p. 267.
4.1*a*. Donald McLean. A Scotchman. See p. 267.
4.2. *Skwa'lkwᴇl*. See p. 267.
4.3. *Tcᴇmā'wia*. See p. 267.
4.4. *Nᴇkeeskwa'*. See p. 267.
4.5. *Tak:lē'sqᴇt*. See p. 267.
4.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 267.
4.6. *Tahwū'lkᴇnᴇm*. See p. 267.
4.7. *Yenamusī'tsa*. See p. 267.
4.8. *Kokoimā'lks* or *Koimā'lks*. See pp. 264, 266, 267.
4.9. Nicolas *Xwistᴇsmᴇxe'qᴇn*. Born about 1780. See pp. 266, 267–270, 271, 272.
4.10. *Sukomē'lks*. See p. 271.
4.10*a*. An employee of the Hudson Bay Company. See p. 271.
4.11. *Sapx̣ᴇna'lks*. See pp. 268, 271.
4.11*a*. *Xalᴇkskwai'lôx̣*. See p. 271.
5.1. Donald McLean. See p. 271.
5.1*a*. Julienne, daughter of Chief Jean Paul, Kamloops. See p. 271.
5.2. Duncan McLean. See p. 271.
5.3. Alexander McLean. See p. 271.
5.4. A daughter, married Donald Manson, of Scotch descent. See p. 271.
5.5. *Nx̣o'mqᴇn*. See p. 272.
5.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 272.
5.6. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn*. See p. 272.

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opp. p. 276

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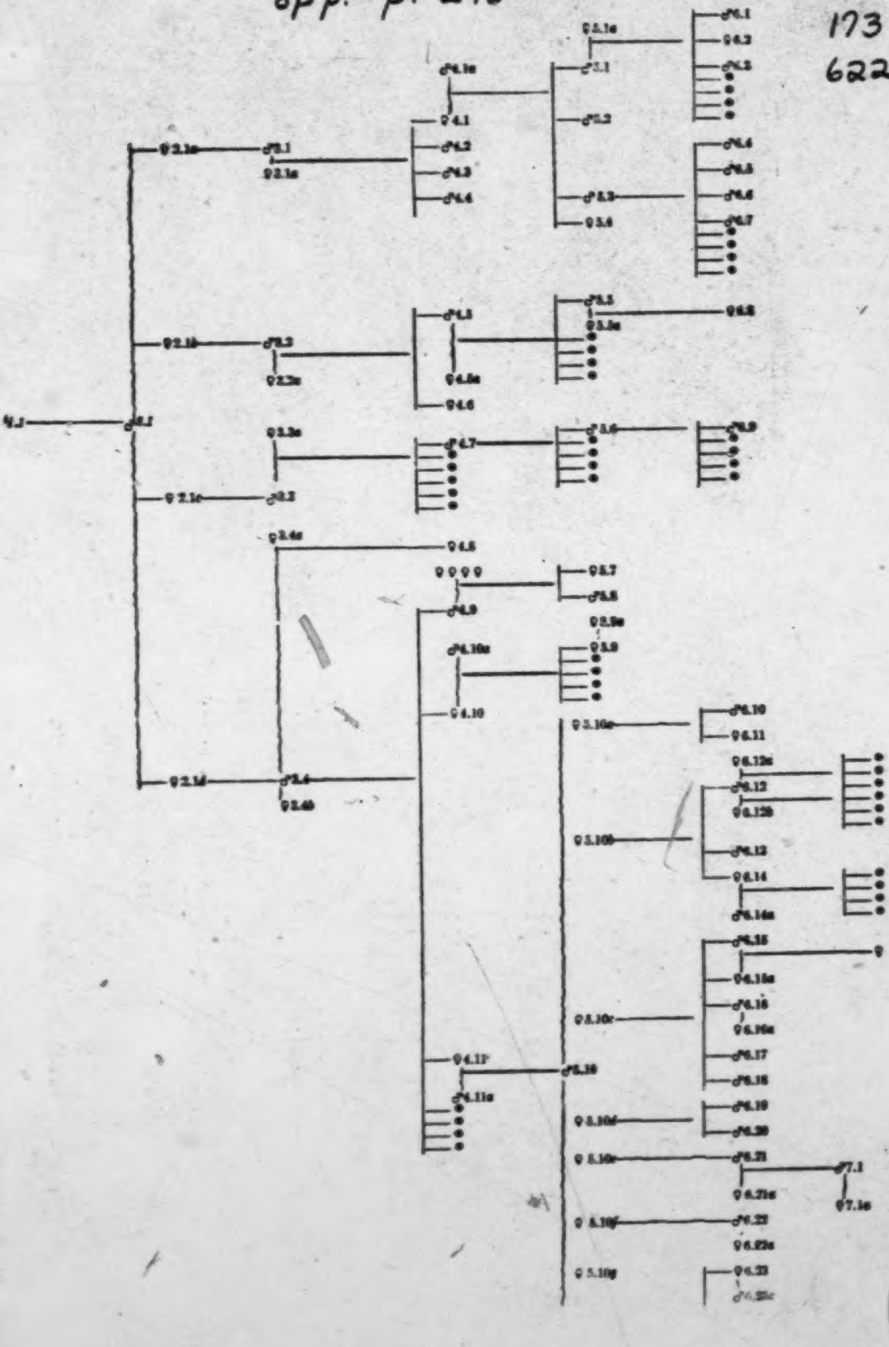
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5.7. Mary *Sukomɛ'lks*. See pp. 268, 272.
5.8. *Kɛsɛska'lux̣ (Kesaskai'lex̣)*. See pp. 259, 260, 268, 272.
5.9. Julie. See p. 272.
5.9a. William Peone. See p. 272.
5.10. *Tɛslax̣i'tsa*. See pp. 268, 271–273.
5.10a. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamā'pɛlɛks*. See p. 272.
5.10b. *Panā'lks*, a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.
5.10c. *Marie Mɛmī'x̣tsa*, a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.
5.10d. Sophie, younger sister of 5.10*b*. See p. 272.
5.10e. *Tikumī'nɛk*, an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.
5.10f. *Seisi'tko, Sisi'ntko*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
5.10g. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.
5.10h. *Kanī'tsa*, a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
6.1. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.
6.3. Alick McLean. See p. 273.
6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.
6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.
6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.
6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.
6.9. *Ratcā'x̣ɛn*. Colville. See pp. 272, 273.
6.10. *Nkesaskai'lɛx*. See p. 273.
6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.
6.12. *Elɛmɛlpōsɛmɛn (Jamɛlpōsɛmɛn)*. Guichon. See pp. 273, 274.
6.13. George. See p. 273.
6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa*. See p. 273.
6.15. Alexander Nicolas *Xwistesmex̣e'qɛn*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.
6.15a. *Swax̣ɛpī'nɛk*. Upper Thompson. See p. 273.
6.16. John Celestin. *Tɛslax̣i'tsa*. See pp. 273, 274.
6.16a. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.17. Saul. See p. 274.
6.18. François. See p. 274.
6.19. Basil. See p. 274.
6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.
6.21. Michel. See p. 274.
6.21a. Therèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.22. *Kopkopē'llet*. See p. 274.
6.22a. *Tsalutā'lks*. Douglas Lake. See p. 274.
6.23. *Sapx̣ɛnā'lks*. See p. 274.
6.23a. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.
6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.
7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.
7.2. Maggie, a Lytton woman. See p. 274.

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Kalispel
Spokan

000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a liv-
ing, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
[619] of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
178 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic informa-
621 tion about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
*171 bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
*171 organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regard-
619 ing the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
*171 divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
*171 party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regula-
tions of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

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Chiefs.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two small chiefs for each tribe. 000 The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tcł'les keimi'.* ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'ls keimi'.* ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotilxā'tɪxal* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

622 619 None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Sïlᴇmuxs'tu'*. was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kweikwoitᴇmᴇla'* or *Kwekwe'ila* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunä'χe* word. He was partly of *Tunä'χe* descent.
2. *Tcukwi'tsqᴇn* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix -qen "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Sïlᴇmlólᴇroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunä'χe* name. *lólᴇroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunä'χe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunä'χe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

000 The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilᴇni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilᴇni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

622 619 178 I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan 622 619 as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqᴇn* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwistpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spaiī'χ*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe 624 619 on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruit-
*171 ing ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (accord-
[778] ing to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
[622] Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
*171 meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

*171 When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the re-
796 counting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more 622
truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[illegible]

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in 623
the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to 624
speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections.

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period 276
of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal 623
smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order.

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open 622
hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the 692
crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect.
After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to 695
make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were

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[illegible] See pages 69-71.

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PIPES AND TOBACCO

276 [562] Various types of pipe were in use. These include the elbow pipe, the tubular pipe, a square block pipe, and variants of the tomahawk pipe (Figures 34 and 35). Women's pipes were like men's but smaller: they were made for them by the men. No woman could smoke a man's pipe.

276 316 439 Pipes were made of soapstone, clay, and a red stone, probably red catlinite. Red catlinite pipes were traded ready-made from the Shuswap, since the Okanagon did not know how to work this stone. A red stone was obtained on the Methow River, a dark blue-green soapstone from the Wenatchi, and black soapstone from the Similkameen River. A light green, soft stone (soapstone ?), which was considered superior to other materials, was also gotten from the Similkameen River. To obtain it a man had to be let down the bluff by means of a rope to the water's edge, where he crawled back under the shelving rocks and took the stone from under water. The stone was immediately cut into pipes while still wet and soft. Stone for pipes was also traded from the Thompson for Indian hemp. Clay was also used when stone was lacking, according to Suszen, although he had never seen clay pipes, but Billie Joe denied this. The Methow used a blue translucent stone (soapstone ?).

276 324 [531] [462] To manufacture a pipe, the shape marked on the stone was cut out with a flint or obsidian knife. The stem and bowl were bored with a flint or obsidian drill. The bowl was smoothed and polished with horse tail (Equisetum). The short stems of stone pipes were sometimes lengthened by inserting a hollow willow stem. The tubular type (Figure 34, b) rarely needed such a stem. Pictures of birds and animals or straight lines were incised on the stone stem of the pipe with an obsidian flake and filled with red paint made of red clay (ochre ?) mixed with pine pitch and grease. Those who were too poor to own a pipe or who were on a hunting trip without one, would make a hollow in the mud for a bowl and insert a wooden stem at one side. This makeshift had to be smoked in a prone position. Women's pipes were similar to men's but somewhat smaller. All pipes were formerly made by men, but are now made by women also. Pipes were never sold.

276 623 There was apparently a tribal pipe (i.e., group or band pipe) in the custody of the chief of the band. This pipe was passed around the council circle to the right, starting with the chief, before the discussion began, each man taking two or three puffs. The heads of winter houses were also said to have large pipes for formal gatherings like those of the chiefs.

314 [137] 276 Tobacco was not cultivated, not even by weeding the wild plants, but was gathered along creeks and in moist places. This plant was said to be a yard tall. The leaves were stripped off and spread on rocks to dry for about two days. The dry leaves were then

Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion. 622 765

On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family. 623 ● [584]

The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly. 622

These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great import in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for woman officials were eliminated before the latter. 173 622

CIyá´qwEkEn was chief (yIlamI´xŭm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmána´ŭs, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kŭx̣kŭx̣tá´skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating opprobation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[1/A]

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556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 98(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 98 (B)

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622
[551]

Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqɛt*, "rolling on the clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'enł'enemt'latcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastɛmɛłpo'* (?) (full name *Tɛmpłpo'sɛmɛn*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River division; *Sqonxwa'lqo* or *xwɛłtspo'sɛmɛn* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 Councils.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
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generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers. 622

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained. 554 622

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance. 623 203

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line. 622

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time. 5

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pɛlkamū'lôx*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation. 173 622

1.1. *Pɛlkamū'lôx* (*Pɪ̆lɛkɛmū'laux*), "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Sɛnxomi'nux* or *sɛnxomɛ̆'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

575 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

619 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living,
621 common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
622 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
623 larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information
621 about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
622 local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
624 subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding
the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
624 the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations
of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made 226 of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. 286 Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (łt'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers. The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone.

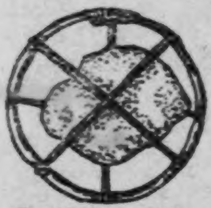

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon. 226

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch 286 was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. However, 422 since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch.

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory according 177 to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John 226 Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before. 286

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all 226 activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent 624 and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[a]

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[a] See page 174-175.

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves. [476] [462]

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'lam.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger than I have ever seen." 226

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be dreaming." 539

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said. "You had better come down and see." 773 796

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the program set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time. 226 624 796

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

226 462 796 While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[30] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

226 624 796 The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[31] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psəm) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon" was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[30] See pages 34-35.

[31] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

HUNTING

221/224 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during the winter months was hunting (spι·'xəm). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221/224 462 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game. During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133/224 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in sınəkâ'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 226/262 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an economically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively, to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 624 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

224 624 found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control.

224 784 [834] Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.)

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

224 484 Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter.

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

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[1] See page 179.

224 484 but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, of the circular or tipi type.[3] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day.

224 624 All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans.

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

224 624 789 A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illustrates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expeditions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out.

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[3] See page 34.

The leader carried the sni'i'kum; the other hunters carried the stakes. They then 224
started up the hill on one side of the valley where they intended to hunt, con-
tinued around the head of the valley and came down the hill on the opposite side. 624
About every twenty feet along this route, except where a cliff was encountered, 789
the leader took one of the stakes, tied a sni'i'kum to it, and thrust it in the snow or the ground, thus completely enclosing the valley except at the mouth. No one but the leader could do this; the others only followed, carrying the stakes. At the placing of each stake the leader called upon his guardian spirit (usually deer) reminding it of the promises it had made to him, and beseeching it not to let any deer pass the row of stakes.

Completion of this task occupied perhaps two days. The evening that the work was finished the leader called his followers together and announced that the hunt would start in the morning. He assured them that he had done all that was possible to make the hunt a success.

The hunters proceeded as usual to drive the deer they discovered to the head of the canyon. If the deer got past the hunters and started backwards, the women rushed out and prevented them from passing the mouth of the valley. If the deer, on the other hand, tried to escape over one of the hills they were confronted by the row of stakes and while yet many feet away, it is said, turned about and ran in the opposite direction. When the upper and narrow end of the "enclosure" was reached, it was a simple matter for the bowmen stationed there to shoot the deer, for they would not run beyond the stakes.

The efficacy of the "enclosure," however, depended entirely upon the power of the leader. If his power were not great enough the deer paid no heed to the stakes, and were lost. At one time a leader substituted a line of small fires for the stakes, but the innovation was a failure. The deer ran between them or jumped over them and fled to the woods beyond.

Deer taken by this method of hunting were handled in much the same manner as those killed by the more common procedure. When the sni'kum resulted in a large kill, which was usually the case, the deer were carried or dragged only part way down the canyon; then the camp was moved up to that point.

I was unable to learn how long this unique manner of hunting had been in 176
existence. Its inception antedated the memory of my oldest informants, but it 224
probably was not many generations old; the nature of the custom credits no as-
sumption of great age. Moreover, the Sanpoil were presumably the only people 624
acquainted with the custom. Although I do not have direct information from
their neighbors,[2] my Sanpoil informants claimed that none of the surrounding 789
peoples used any similar method in their hunting.

In this case I feel that we undoubtedly have an example of a clean cut innovation, completely formulated by its originator, and carried along by the momentum given it as a result of his eminence as a hunter and his power as a leader. There was nothing fundamentally new about the procedure; the details—the

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[2] Other than the Lakes, who were ignorant of the practice.

176 224 624 789 preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[4]

There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

224 Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned.

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulá'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

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[4] Cf., the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early 221
in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which 222
time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this 222
short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire 462
year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, 621
roaming from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This 222
was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered 481
it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited 624
day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. 222
This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry 412
wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, 222
where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were 482
emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had 222
been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for 251
future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were 222
made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of trans- 482
porting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to 251

562/622 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snəqaie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565/622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622/626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622/692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkan, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622/624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[10] 622 623

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections. 624

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order. 276 623

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect. After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were 622 692 695

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[10] See pages 69-71.

776 796 When the crowd had gathered the shaman addressed them: "Now I shall proceed just as my spirit has commanded me. I shall do everything in the proper manner." Then taking a broom or brush he swept all around the center of the room, while saying, "I am doing this for my children (that is, everyone present). I hope you may never have sore feet. I hope that you will always be fleet of foot, and that dust may never get in your eyes." After this he sent an assistant outside to bring in the tree which had been made ready. Upon receiving it he erected it in the center of the room, thrusting the base in the ground as well as possible. To hold it upright he removed his belt and with it he tied the tree to the central cross beam of the roof. During the operation he said: "Now I am putting up my helper, one of my spirits, and on the top I will have Owl sit. He will be my eyes. He will look out for us, all around the country."

624 796 But the spirit guard was not the only one used to supervise the dances and ascertain that none of the rules of conduct were broken. Persons with Owl or Bluejay power regularly impersonated their guardian spirits and guarded the dance and protected the dancers. The same persons served at place after place during the dance season. Before the first dance they removed all their clothing except the breechclout, and blackened the feet, hands and face. These qwa'skei (Bluejays) and xa'xxas (Owls) did not participate in the dances or stand about as guards. They sat in the rafters of the dance building and patrolled the grounds outside. One of the principal rules which it was their duty to enforce was that prohibiting eating of any sort during the dance. Anyone attempting to eat during a dance, no matter how cautious he was, would be seen by one of these sentries who would "fly down and recover the food from the person's throat," and eat it himself. Not only was eating in the dance house prohibited but no cooking or eating in the whole settlement was allowed. If one not attending the dance began to eat the sentries immediately became aware, "flew out," and very soon returned with the food "still hot from the fire." It was displayed and the place where it had been found told, then it was thrown away. These sentries also knew when anyone was approaching the dance house and who it was but it was seldom necessary to notify the shaman of such facts for he, too, could "see" them.

796 Many other formal rules of conduct were enforced by the sentries. No one was allowed to leave the building without the permission of the leader, and then not more than one person at a time. There was an exception to this: at midnight everyone was permitted to go outside for fifteen or twenty minutes, but was required to return. Water was provided but no one was permitted to drink until after the leader, or someone designated by him, had taken a sip. The water would otherwise cause the person to choke and become ill. Smoking was prohibited while singing and dancing were in progress but not at other times.

That sentries sometimes failed to detect infractions is indicated in the following account.

A man once went out from a dance at midnight but failed to return. Instead he went to a nearby house and ate some dried venison. In a little while he became very ill. The next morning the shaman who was the dance leader visited

DEER HUNTING

Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: preeminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (łEcqōqane´ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees.[1] "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks." 224

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (sŭktakei´n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. 224 624 [834]

Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they 224

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 19 (B)

[1][i.e., bear-hunting party.--Analyst]

224 624• 841

The leader of the party[1] had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter.

224 302

Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224

He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 825

An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224

Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

p.23 (A

top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

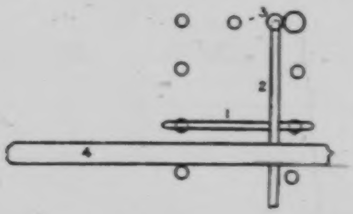

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 [124]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsömi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [585] 825

p.23(B)

kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared 721
for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were 727
never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk.
A wounded enemy might be cared for by the
chief and in time be identified with his cap-
tors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal 701
such as cougar or eagle may be the war lead-
er (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to 624 ●
wounds and directed the tactics of all his
men. Such an individual is supposed to be [787]
able to dream of an approaching enemy attack
so it is always desirable to winter with him. 791
He is urged to stay at the regular winter
villages with the chief. He has no proper
title or position, but is much respected as
a strong fighter and a man who has saved his
people. Ixwaski'nt, a Karter, was such a
man.

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp 721
on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago,
a summer camp. They had a trench there to 729
defend it. In July they would be camping up
there. They used to pick berries below Okan- 172
ogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight."[1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

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[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116.-- Analyst.]

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[1]

● [624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 94(B)

man and woman chiefs, divided between them. They use what they need and keep the surplus on reserve for the people until time of want 622

Chilowhist Jim, a Methow informant, says of chiefs, "They do little work, just stay in the house all day and talk and smoke. But they care for their people well, keep track of everyone, where each person is, what he is doing and how successful he is in everything. A man, before making a trap or taking a trip of even one day, talks it over with the chief." The Kartar agree with the Northern Okanagon tribe in saying that their chiefs work just the same as ordinary people.

Suszen Timentwa insists that there may be two or three chiefs at one time in a band, each with equal authority, and that they take turns in directing tribal affairs.

"Each nation or principal tribe has generally two chiefs; one for the village, and another called the war-chief. The former is the head of the tribe; and, as already observed, holds his office by lineal descent: the latter is elective, and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people."[illegible] [1] 622 624

All other informants deny that the Sinkaietk bands have more than one chief at a time. The war chief referred to here by Alexander Ross is probably only the war leader, described as an individual possessing great power and respect but having no permanent official position. Each band has one chief, who, in accordance with the loose social organization of the group, functions as a tribal manager rather than as a despot controlling life and death, as did the chiefs of the tribes to the south on the Columbia River.[30] [1] Even though he prove selfish and inefficient, and meet with serious disapproval on the part of some, the group will continue to respect him as chief.

According to Mary Carden, all four of the Sinkaietk bands as well as the Methow and Chelan tribes have chieftainesses (skū´mált, woman of great authority) as well, who serve in an advisory capacity. 622 562

The chieftainess is officially elected. She receives formal appointment at a council meeting just as the chief does. Apparently this office is hereditary through the male line; these women are always related to the chief, and at death, the office passes to another female relative, and in no recorded case from mother to daughter.

There are apparently differences in the status of such women in the several bands. In the Tukoratum band, whereas the chief served as the group manager, the woman skū´mált was a consulting adviser only in cases of murder, revenge or emergencies. If her decision differed from that of the chief, the

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 95 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

Headman

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tū´c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. [555 787] The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting."

Chief's Helpers

● 624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skōlstī´ckūm) and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwītīatīacūmī´ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa´m) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa´m are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cōxqōlōqwe´īlt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category ''b. -- Analyst]

58 Compare the house leaders.

59 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293. 1/A

● 624 helpers tie one or two eagle feathers to their back hair to indicate their position. All other informants deny that the chief's helpers have ever used feathers or any other objects as insignia of their position.

COUNCIL

623 Matters of great weight such as revenge, personal disputes and starvation are referred for consideration to a group meeting, composed of the chief, the chieftainess, and a council of all the old people of the band. Group meetings are never held concerning everyday routine, such as moving, hunting or food gathering. Such work is directed by the chief alone.

Ross, in his description, does not mention the inclusion of women in the council. Further, he stresses worthy personal achievement rather than age as the basis for membership in the council. The present Sinkaietk retain no memory of this earlier form in composing the council.

"On all state occasions, of peace or war, the chief has the assistance of a council; that is, he calls all the great men together, they form a ring, sometimes in the chief's lodge, sometimes in the open air. No one is admitted into the council, except he can show some marks or trophy of war, or has performed some praiseworthy deed, according to their ideas, or else he must be rich in horses or have many wives; or, lastly, he may be called by the chief, and that entitles him to a seat without any other qualification. The council being seated, and the ceremonial pipe smoked, the chief, in his usual sitting posture, holds down his head, as if looking to the ground, then opens the business of the meeting by a speech, closing every sentence with great emphasis, the other councilors vociferating opprobation. As soon as the chief is done speechifying, others harangue also; but only one at a time. The decision of the council is sure to be zealously carried into effect; but, in all ordinary matters, the chief is not more conspicuous than any other individual, and he seldom interferes in family affairs, or the ordinary routine of daily occurrences: and this, I think, adds greatly to the dignity of his character."[1]

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556 Bravery in war as a virtue for attaining status and position in the group is a Plains characteristic; wealth is a Northwest Coast characteristic. Thus, the composition of the Sinkaietk council in early times is an excellent illustration of the transitional character of the culture of the Sinkaietk.

SLAVES

567 All informants agreed that the Sinkaietk have never had slaves, although they are aware that some Indians buy and sell slaves.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 98(A), Category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 98 (B)

157 Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died
562 in 1907. Pete *Tci'yarpa'* (full name *Tci'yarpa'sqᴇt*, "rolling on the
622 clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head
[551] chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head
chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or
Pierre *T'ent'enemī'lstcen* (?) (the name seems to have some connection
with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the
St. Joe division; *Ƛnastᴇmᴇlpo'* (?) (full name *Tᴇmpᴇlpo'sᴇmᴇn*, "no
heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River
division; *Sqonᴇxwa'lqo* or *χwᴇltspo'sᴇmᴇn* ("deep thinker," literally
"many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is
probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women
had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence
of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A
woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent,
sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'ma'lt*. Such women were highly
respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of
them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

623 COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the
"band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The
head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters
concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings
of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief.
In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or
treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the
band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked,
the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this
pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important
treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were
203 generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to
624 assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the
crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the
morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and
gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some
of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or
621 on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice.
623 Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal
344 long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands,
at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During
fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or
under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they
were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old
band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was
erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of
poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's 342 lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It [illegible] seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard 621 to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was 481 formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often 621 necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory [537] was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any 622 attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. 626 There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and 681 public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible]

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had 224 chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first 624 night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was 728 recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt,

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[illegible] b, pp. 244, 245.

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 622 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated 624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as 705 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not 463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special 484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

535 624 721 796 days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all the men danced.

When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

535 721 796 Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[325] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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[325] a, p. 356.

622 of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x̣* blood [1]); *Sox̣kokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x̣* and half Thompson); and Martinus [2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawi'sesqən* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeũ's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

555 There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and
others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might
622 become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation
of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people
and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

● 624 All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among
756 the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the
war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were permanent.
622 They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.8).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I
was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a liv-
ing, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number
[619] of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite
locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by
blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more
nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and
Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band
had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal
*171 pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making
of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a
band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the
exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the
number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
178 chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
621 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic informa-
*171 tion about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate
bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel
never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
619 organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number
*171 of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[178] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a
subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regard-
ing the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
● 624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
*171 the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe
divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
619 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
624 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting,
*171 each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each
party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering
of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regula-
tions of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of
the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses 619
and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations 624
regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scout-
ing, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the 171*
camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp 621
there was some kind of division of the men into companies under
leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at 171*
least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A 619
group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small
chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group
of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in
making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders.
Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen,
according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war [555]
experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on
the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo;
but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting [624]
chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took 621
charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that
the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people 171*
who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were [624]
probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band.
Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same 361
district, usually with the same families, and these places were
considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably 171*
went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of [221]
this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did
not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people 361
who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions 619
in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially
when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together 171*
each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage re-
garding positions, which may have been geographical in origin.
Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former
occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle;
if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the
circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the [344]
center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often
used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven
inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were 361
picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 231
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7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silɛmuxs'tu'*. was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kweikweitɛmɛls'* or *Kwokwe'ite* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tund'ʒɛ* word. He was partly of *Tund'ʒɛ* descent.
2. *Tcukwi'teqɛn* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix -*qɛn* "head."
3. (Tom Peyette) *Silɛmlólòrei'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tund'ʒɛ* name. *lólòrei'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tund'ʒɛ* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tund'ʒɛ* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

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The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilɛni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilɛni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

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I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan
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as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqɛn* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwislpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spait'ʒ*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe
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619
on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point. 624 619

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-tsqxt* ("cloud"), *-ēlst* ("stone"), *-qən*, *-qain* ("head"), *-t'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with th[illegible]ardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names: 551 171* [787] 551 787 171* 551 171* [428]

Tena'aqxt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Saxeaxpaqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stskexstci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Elemé'uze spxkene' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kweispxkene'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

681 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it
away, it dies forever. If you eat it and
304 throw away the bones, it will come to life
again. That is why things are dead forever
now, because white men kill for pleasure and
do not eat everything." The chief warns
wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they
do not improve, the chief says, "Take them
over here and cut off their hair and tell
them to go some place and never come back."
Such culprits might come back later, declare
their good intentions, and be accepted into
the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 Punishment of crime has become much
more rigid since the advent of the Catholic
693 priests. They are said to have introduced a
simple judicial system with policemen (cūlEn-
797 ka′m), trial (cqwạkwa′lIckIm), witnesses
(sIn·mIpa′l^x), a judge, a whipper (cō′ĭtsEm)
and a counter of the strokes (tsEka′m).

696 The policeman, who carries a stick when
summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to
625 the chief. For doing this work, he receives
no payment. The only punishment meted out
is whipping. The people all assemble in
front of the village to hear the trial and
to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man
as judge to determine the number of strokes
to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 From fifty to one hundred lashes are
given for the first offense of murder, adul-
696 tery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

1/A [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. 1/A — Analyst]

47 Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 292. 1/A

48 *Ibid*., 293. 1/A

p. 94 (A)

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 554
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
687 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
578 great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

562 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship,
625 as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control
over men!" (Covington)

565 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other
622 prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and
were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of
626 his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked
after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility
692 within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes
peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keep-
[551] ing peace in his village. A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkan, was said to have
settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks
624 to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief
sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief
[202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce
meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

the widow if there was no brother. The de- 428
ceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

If the deceased person had been well- 428
liked, or if he possessed a famous family
name, some time after the death, the name 553
will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

Power is inherited in a dream. This 428
seldom happens, but a person who had not 778
been able to find power alone may dream that 787
a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

There is practically no thievery with- 626 ●
in the tribe, since any property may be had 685
for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

At the beginning of the nineteenth 525
century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dis- 626
honesty are of rare occurrence among either men or woman.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

This influence of the elders is the fac- 626
tor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 206-207.

fell down and jumped up. They chased him but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think he could jump over it. He could not. He jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back. 539 628

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Kalispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

No payment is ever accepted as compensation for adultery. If a man is sufficient- 684 626 ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge. 684 626 ●

If a man kills several people, he achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon. 626

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest men sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

According to Suszen Timentwa, the present chief, in pre-white days the chief ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a straight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound. 681 304

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

If a chief found in the old days that Indians were killing animals for fun, or wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

p. 93 (B)

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One' seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. [424 578 533] This song might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sInkwatsInöx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 554 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's 342
lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It 342
seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard 621
to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was 482
formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often 621
necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory [537]
was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any 622
attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not 626
interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. 681
There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[285]

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had 224
chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first 624
night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was 728
recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt,

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[285] b, pp. 244, 245.

628 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and
681 the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a ver-
dict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of
692 goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment
695 administered by an official lasher.

The lasher (suqlt'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served
693 concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served
as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the
681 injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agree-
ment that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought
682 before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter
immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages [illegible]5 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

682 628 602 After a murder, the deceased's family often kills the murderer for revenge. It may, but more usually does not, develop from this point into a regular feud of years' duration, depending on whether the murderer's family thinks that the revenge is justified. If the murderer is from another village two men will usually go off to find and kill him; the revenge party is never larger. If a feud is started, the chief talks, trying to persuade his people to stop fighting, but there is nothing more effective that he can do to check the feud.

682 628 602 437 Sometimes payment is taken in compensation for the murder of a relative. The first step is taken by the murderer to keep the others from seeking his life. He tells the chief that he is ready to make a certain payment in such things as blankets, provisions and weapons. The payment is usually so large that the murderer is impoverished for some time in the future. If the injured family accepts his offer as made through the chief, the affair is ended. Should they refuse the payment, it is clear that they intend to kill the murderer. There is no fixed valuation set on a life.

539 628 The following Colville tale, told by Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a feud. While it is Colville and involves other tribes as well, there is no reason to suppose it does not also represent the situation among the Sinkaietk. Despite its supernatural elements, it was told as an historical happening of the mid-eighteenth century.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a handful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

539 had shot him. He leaped up the bluff, with the arrow in his back. Quinmusq shot five
●628 more arrows into him and killed him.

. His sister came straight for him with the knife. He told her to stop; that he would shoot her if she did not. She said, "Shoot me if you want to," and kept coming. He shot her through the heart and shot five more arrows into her body. There he left her and ran back to camp. The baby was there on the cradle board. He took it up and smashed its head against a tree.

Then he went back to Colville. His people asked, "Where are your sister and her husband?" He told them that he had got tired of staying with them and left them; that they would be back in the fall sometime; that there were lots of camas to dig there.

Just a week later, the sister's dog came back to Cusick. The Cusick people recognized it. The dog's face was all greasy. They thought he had been eating bear. Then the dog made motions as if he were going to throw up. He did and a long black braid of hair came up. The people went to see what it was, and some of the brother-in-law's relatives knew the braid was his. They thought some enemy tribe had met the four on the way home and killed them. They did not suspect Quinmusq.

Finally about fifty good fighters started out. They came to the flat where the four had camped. Pretty soon they found the baby with its head smashed by the tree. They saw the woman's body and then the man's down by the river. Now Quinmusq's big toe was crooked and turned back on his other toes. Everywhere were Quinmusq's tracks, but no enemy tracks. So they knew that he had killed the three. They followed his tracks.

The Spokan went back and told their chief. He said, "All you warriors, go and kill that fellow. He killed his own sister as well as one of our people." They knew where Quinmusq hunted every year in the fall. So the chief sent them to kill Quinmusq and all his people. He told them to wait for Quinmusq where he would go to hunt.

The Spokan started. Early in the morning they arrived and asked the people for Quinmusq. The people told them that Quinmusq with his three brothers was down by the river sweating. The leader of the warriors said, "We just want Quinmusq's people. We won't hurt anybody else. He killed his brother and sister in the summer." So they killed the mother and father of Quinmusq.

Quinmusq was way in the back of the sweat house. He was so fierce that he always had his big knife in the sweat house just inside the door. The Spokan called to them. Finally the first brother jumped out and was killed with spears and bows and arrows. The second went out and was killed. The third sang his power song. Then he went out. When they shot at him they missed. He

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fell down and jumped up. They chased him but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think he could jump over it. He could not. He jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back.

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Kalispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

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No payment is ever accepted as compensation for adultery. If a man is sufficient-

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

684 837 In the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man: a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. [629] Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after seperating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve.

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Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hinwa'xᴇne* (full name *Hinwaxᴇnix'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Cililtcsq'wa'ilixʷ* [f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxᴇne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxᴇne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret*,[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Cililtcsq'wa'ilixʷ*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxᴇne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Cililtcsq'wa'ilixʷ*" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxᴇne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxᴇne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Cililtcsq'wa'ilixʷ* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxᴇne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Cililtcsq'wa'ilixʷ* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

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turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *Cil'iltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxᴇne'* and lived with him. As all the males of *Cil'iltcsq'wa'ilixʷ's* family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxᴇne'* and his helpers.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

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Dice and Guessing Games.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.[219] The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.[220] Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks[221] was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

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[219] *a*, p. 272, and fig. 256.

[220] See Thompson, *a*, p. 276, and fig. 264.

[221] *a*, pp. 272, 273.

000 of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the
Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked
the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off
with considerable loss and never came back.

721 The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago.
628 Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once
the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The
[648] Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number
[184] of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always
friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars
with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time
they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided
down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties
occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast,
and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette.
The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers"
because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the
Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap
and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. In
very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars
with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about
1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of
[648] buffalo hunting (1880-1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—
the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne,
Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including
the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot,
Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in
the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and
Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came
very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered
as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak;
while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock.
It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western
000 alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment
of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the
eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are
said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow
against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until
after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances
for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each
tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they
been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow
628 would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early
times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not. 628

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly. 926 171* [648]

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged. [728]

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident 000

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[1] See pp. 125, 316 et seq.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Walla walla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[648] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped 000 to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral 171* 648 during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. 721 [628] ● They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other [563] tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between fami- 727
lies were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles 648
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they 628
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children,
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flat- 171*
head (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook 191
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan 56
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 61
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 375
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

48. carI´pa.
49. lŭ´plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnŭkEnI´kEpŭtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci´lŏx̣wist.
52. Ənlàx̣ŭlàx̣swa´tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae´là·x.
54. snx̣EncI´na^{ux}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641●

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, 101
never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually
ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. 648
They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroachments 131
by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them
and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reservation 175
were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international
boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the
northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the
southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that 114
trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last
during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Department 122
of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the 114
ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal 117
of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native messianic
movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been included 121
here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear
as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in 114
which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit 122
many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more summarily
than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount 127
of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me
to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment
for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number
of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both
sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several
instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and
kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement
and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie
Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George 114
Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identifying 132
botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal
original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a com- 114
mittee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcription* 194
of American Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol.
66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 •648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

peaceably disposed." In 1850, Lane"[29][1/A] reports, "The Onkinegans inhabit the country north of Fort Colville; are well-armed, and number about 700. They are well disposed toward the whites." 177 181

The Sinkaietk deny that they ever participated in battle with the whites, but in the governmental reports concerning the difficulties in Yakima country in February, 1856 the Sinkaietk are mentioned. At this time, Major Haller took one hundred infantrymen to punish the murderer of a Mr. Bolon. The party was defeated by the Yakima and some ten persons were killed. 177 648

"The result of the blunder on the part of the military was instantly heralded to all the tribes west [east] of the mountains, inviting them to join and exterminate the Americans. This message took like wildfire with all the Indians, and immediately after the following tribes decided to go to war: The Cayuses, Walla-Wallas, Umatillas, Des Chutes, Tigh, John Day's River, Pelouse, Isle-de-Pierre, O-kin-i-kaines [Sinkaietk]; and on the east [west] of the Cascade mountains, Nesqually, White River, Dewamish, and Washington Lake Indians....

"The defeat of Major Haller by the Yakima caused these tribes to commence hostilities sooner than they intended."[30][1/A]

In May, the Sinkaietk still took part in the general unrest, according to Craig, at the Lapwai agency (May 27, 1856).

"... There is a cloud of Indians collected in the Spokane country, they say to rub out the few whites and Nez Percés that are here.

"There is very little doubt that the Indians in the direction of the upper Columbia have joined the war party, as they have received their horses as pay for so doing. There are now Cayuses, Pelouses, Spokanes, Okin-e-Kanes [Sinkaietk], Coeur d'Alene, and Colville Indians, a part of each of which are now on this side of the Spokane prairie. They say they have made all the whites run out of their country and will now make all the friendly Indians do the same. They have sent to the Snakes, and a party has already joined them."[31][1/A]

In the same year, Stevens reports,

"The whole interior is ripe for war. One-half of the Nez Percés are about to join the war party. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Colvilles, and Oki[n]akanes [Sinkaietk] have accepted horses as the price of their service. They say to the friendly Nez Percés, join us in the war against the whites or we

[1/A] [For footnote, see p. 83(4), category 116.-- Analyst]

177 648 will rub you out. A portion of the Snakes have joined them."[32] [1]

Here we find that traditional enemies have aligned themselves together to make common cause against the whites.

177 622 619 The relations of Tonasket with the whites illustrates how the whites even in the early days affected Indian political regimes. In the 1850's, Tonasket was a warrior of great repute, and Sersepkin was chief of the Kartar band.

648 These two men while in Oroville talked war against the white people and sent to all the people to gather. The southern Sinkaietk, Nespelem and Sanpoil said, "No." The two warriors called these people "old ladies, but the Sinkaietk did not want things to be changed. They said, "Don't bother us. Don't draw our people into your fight." This must have been 113 or 112 years ago.[33] [1] Those two men fought about one day at McLaughlin's Canyon. The Konkonelp traded horses with the soldiers as they passed.

In 1858, Tonasket fought with the Okanagon who were protecting their territory from the invasion of the many white miners who were searching for gold in the newly reported fields in British Columbia. On one occasion when the Indians were greatly outnumbered, Tonasket employed an old military ruse. Scattering his men to give an appearance of strength, he called upon the whites to be friends and pay tribute, claiming himself to be the chief. The gullible whites paid the tribute, and from that time the whites in the country recognized him as chief of all the Sinkaietk and gave him presents.

The Indians were not so agreeable. Tonasket was not of chief's descent, and the independent people of the autonomous Sinkaietk bands had never accorded authority to any other than their own band chiefs. But through his influence with the whites and the Indians' belief in his possession of great power, he was able to establish himself as chief of a band, which from that time was called after him, the Tonasket band. Although his people disliked him, they obeyed him.

"... They are peaceable among themselves and friendly to the whites.

"To-was-kut, the head chief, has always been a friend to the whites. When his tribe, in 1858, attacked the miners, he was not at home; as soon as he heard of it he returned and stopped the fighting, espousing the cause of the whites against the wish of his tribe, and protecting them in his country."[34] [1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 Cecile Brooks' statement concerning Tonasket is similar to that of all the other 622 Sinkaietk informants. She said,

> 619 "Tonasket was never chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man 648 who beat his children to death, drank and had many women. He under-fed his people who worked for him, but they continued to recognize him as chief."

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

101 The Sinkaietk tribe is composed of four 361 autonomous groups, which have come to be known by the following anglicized forms of 619 their own names: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar and Tonasket bands.

621 In 1854, Stevens wrote,

> "The Okin-a-kanes comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Te-kunr-a-tum, at the mouth; Kone-konep, on the creek of that name; Kluck-hait-kwee, at the falls; Kin-a-kanes, near the forks; and Mil-a-ket-kun, on the west fork."[1]

The last three bands named belong to the Northern Okanagon tribe. Stevens does not mention a band occupying the territory of the present Tonasket band. It may be possible that no band used that specific territory for winter residence in 1854. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858. Perhaps at this time, he acquired followers from other groups and established himself as chief over a newly organized band. Adequate information on this subject is not at hand.

Since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity is probably that of blood relationship. Responsibilities toward members of the family through both maternal and paternal lines are keenly felt. Due to constant intermarriage, and the practise of polygyny, most Sinkaietk people have relatives in each of the four bands.

103 Following is a list of desirable sites which may be chosen for winter habitation. 361 In the summer, band organization breaks up. Thus, summer camps at good fishing stations 619 and food sites are composed indiscriminately of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. In contrast the winter settlements are semi-permanent, band organization is in effect, and the range of each band is normally limited to its own territory.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 84 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

was killed in battle with the Blackfoot. According to information gathered 721
from the Upper Chinook, parties of Salish (probably Columbia and some
Spokane) came down Columbia River in canoes on combined trading and war
expeditions. Some of them went as far as Fort Vancouver, marauding on
the way.

In the Yakima war against the whites, some of the southern Wenatchi 648
bands appear to have helped the Yakima and Klickitat in fighting both east 721
and west of the Cascades. Some of the so-called Yakima chiefs and war
chiefs spoken of as prominent in the war had Wenatchi (Salish) names.
Some of the Indians engaged in the attack on Seattle are said to have been
Wenatchi. Probably bands who joined the Yakima were those who adjoined
the Yakima and had more or less Yakima blood.

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai 000
and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war 648
parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. 727
However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the [181]
Rockies were the *Sɛmtĕ'use*, who are said to have been easy-going
and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them
several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant
of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula.
Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked
again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox
came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of
the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled
among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined 648
with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great [224]
measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had
evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern [178]
part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the [166]
bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lɛmɛn*). [361]
About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them
stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles
country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and [224]
at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the
latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and
Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally
east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of
the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated
most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country
after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps
in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend
d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally
camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both
Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had
begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties
occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with 648
them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the 224
mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and
about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles.
Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne
arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these
forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia,
and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west.
At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes
Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

648 224 d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tună'χe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand [197] in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire 648 guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows: 174 166 167

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatt'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

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[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-Tuna'xe to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-Tuna'xe country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

437 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy
438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led
439 directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy
country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this
point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the
roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down.
The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important
trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away.
From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where
there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower
Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that
continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to
the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia
River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and
south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From
the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane
River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the
Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North
and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the
Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the
region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central
position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to
their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of
Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for
*[171] trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders
they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in
search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to
have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost
● [648] annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went
sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding
trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez
Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day
River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to
trade for cattle.[12] There was not much trade directly north and south
across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to
the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In
early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little
trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur
d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the
Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains
influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up
buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of
the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and
Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

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[12] F. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

000 of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the
Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked
the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off
with considerable loss and never came back.

721 The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago.
Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once
628 the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The
[648] Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number
[184] of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always
friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars
with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time
they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided
down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties
occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast,
and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette.
The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers"
because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the
Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap
and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*. In
very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars
with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about
1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of
[648] buffalo hunting (1880–1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—
the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne,
Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including
the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot,
Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in
the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and
Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came
very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered
as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak;
while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock.
It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western
000 alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment
of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the
eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are
said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow
against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until
after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances
for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each
tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they
been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow
628 would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early
times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not. 628

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly. 726 171* [648]•

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged. [728]

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident 000

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[1] See pp. 125, 236 et seq.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Walla-
walla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[648] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.[1] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight. 000

Wars with the whites.—With the exception of the Spokan and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

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648 •
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[1] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

X4/71
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while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855–56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakɛn*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped 000 to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. 171* All the Salish tribes remained neutral during these wars. 648 They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. 721 By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. [628] They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. [563] This probably included about 100 men of other tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

126 turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

000 [648] In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have 000
escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flat-
head, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a
roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock 171*
war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between fami-
lies were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles 727
claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they [648] •
generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, [628]
especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes.
A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni
captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the
Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms
and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites 177
seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flat- 171*
head (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez
Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was
held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the
Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo
robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to
see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected
that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all 201
the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook
jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the 191
Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the 171*
West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville.
However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook
was not used a great deal, the principal language being French.
Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also
employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the
Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by
the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly
different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been 171*
in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan
tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were 56
no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if 61
there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the 375
Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 000

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokån

4. *Stᴇmᴇmsmᴇmqᴇ'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Skeikei'zᴇlisi'* or *Sxweixweilxᴇlci* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xweixweil*, "plenty"; *zᴇlisi'* or *zelci*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunā'xe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Lᴇmqs'.ke* or *slᴇmqsike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ārli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622 619

1. (Alexander) *Tᴇ'mᴇlhaqtlise'* or *tᴇmᴇlxaxᴇ.lse'* ("No-Horses"; from *tᴇmᴇl*, negative "without"; *haqtlise'* or *xax.lse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcᴇmko's'hwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihisᴇlicē* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwisᴇl*, "plenty"; *slicē'* or *slisē'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunā'xe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Neē'lqᴇn* or *Neē'rlqᴇn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qᴇn* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkoltex.'ē'* or *Nkotilts.ē'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648] ●

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'words* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls kwimi'* or *Kulkuls qoii'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Stᴇm'sᴇmᴇm.xē'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntseka'lks'.* (meaning uncertain) or *Arls'mqᴇn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qᴇn* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Toxqs'qoi* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

David Isaac says that in a raid, some 171
Northern Okanagon people kill captive chil-
dren; others adopt them. He has heard of 727
children being roasted to tantalize the ene-
my. He recounts the capture of a woman in
recent times.

After the whites came a man put red 668 ●
flannel on his moccasins and went among the
tribes leading a religious revival and seduc- 796
ing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo.
His followers from Douglas Lake went up and
avenged him. While there they captured a
nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back.
She married a Douglas Lake man."[1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99(B)

[p. 100 is blank]

796 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house.
They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or
535 immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lzl-zl-zl-zl!*"[3] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 **Current Beliefs, Charms, etc.**—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or
other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad
luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind,
278 poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to
674 a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which
she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another
method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[3] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes 278
also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to
catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging 674●
until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock,
placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The
juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by
the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his
stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. [152]
Woman sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
687 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization
for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

622 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and
681 the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a ver-
dict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of
692 goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment
695 administered by an official lasher.

693 The lasher (sugit'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the
injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agree-
681 ment that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought
before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter
682 immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

304 cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman capable of drawing blood from wounds might [791] tattoo a line of dots from each corner of his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not clear whether the designs had any connection with the power animal or other significance. [681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a person because he was a murderer or thief, as Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin; this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent introduction than the first. It was said to 171 have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce 854 now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered 684
liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, 626
thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge.

If a man kills several people, he 626
achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon.

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest men sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

According to Suszen Timentwa, the 681
present chief, in pre-white days the chief
ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on 304
the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a straight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound.

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

If a chief found in the old days that
p. 93 (B) Indians were killing animals for fun, or
wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

681 304 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 693 797 Punishment of crime has become much more rigid since the advent of the Catholic priests. They are said to have introduced a simple judicial system with policemen (cūlEnka´m), trial (cqwạkwa´lIckIm), witnesses (sIn·mIpa´l^x), a judge, a whipper (cö´ĭtsEm) and a counter of the strokes (tsEka´m).

696 625 The policeman, who carries a stick when summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to the chief. For doing this work, he receives no payment. The only punishment meted out is whipping. The people all assemble in front of the village to hear the trial and to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man as judge to determine the number of strokes to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 696 From fifty to one hundred lashes are given for the first offense of murder, adultery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukorstum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

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1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292. 1

48 Ibid., 293. 1

p. 94 (A)

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction. 342 343 621

CAMP CIRCLE.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes. 482 621 [537]

TRIBAL REGULATIONS.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[288] 622 626 681

WAR CHIEFS.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt, 224 624 728

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[288] b, pp. 244, 245.

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695 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

693 The lasher (suqlt'sa"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627
681 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agreement that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

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682 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

● 682 After a murder, the deceased's family
often kills the murderer for revenge. It
628 may, but more usually does not, develop from
this point into a regular feud of years' du-
602 ration, depending on whether the murderer's
family thinks that the revenge is justified.
If the murderer is from another village two
men will usually go off to find and kill him;
the revenge party is never larger. If a feud
is started, the chief talks, trying to per-
suade his people to stop fighting, but there
is nothing more effective that he can do to
check the feud.

682 Sometimes payment is taken in compensa-
tion for the murder of a relative. The first
628 step is taken by the murderer to keep the
others from seeking his life. He tells the
602 chief that he is ready to make a certain pay-
ment in such things as blankets, provisions
437 and weapons. The payment is usually so
large that the murderer is impoverished for
some time in the future. If the injured
family accepts his offer as made through the
chief, the affair is ended. Should they re-
fuse the payment, it is clear that they in-
tend to kill the murderer. There is no
fixed valuation set on a life.

539 The following Colville tale, told by
Johnnie Louie, illustrates the nature of a
628 feud. While it is Colville and involves
other tribes as well, there is no reason to
suppose it does not also represent the situa-
tion among the Sinkaietk. Despite its
supernatural elements, it was told as an his-
torical happening of the mid-eighteenth cen-
tury.

Quinmusq had a brother-in-law from Cusick, a Spokan man. They decided to go to Cusick for camas digging. Quinmusq, his sister, her husband, and baby went from Kettle Falls to Cusick. Quinmusq left them for several days. His sister went to look for him. When she found him, he had gambled away everything he had. She was angry and told him to come back to camp because they were leaving. He went with her.

Back at camp, his sister was just taking some camas from the pit. He took a hand ful to chew. His sister said, "You eat it, but you wouldn't help get it." She called him a dog and other names. He spat out the camas, threw it down and walked away. He waited around a couple of days. His brother-in-law came back and scolded his wife for scolding her brother. Then he tried to reason with her brother.

They all took packs. About two days out of Cusick they came to a river. Quinmusq told his brother-in-law, "You'd better go and get some crawfish to bake at noon." The brother-in-law went. Quinmusq waited until he was gone; then he took his brother-in-law's bow and arrows. He started after him. His sister saw him and grabbed a big knife. Quinmusq ran to the edge of the river where his brother-in-law was digging crawfish and shot him in the back. His brother-in-law looked up and saw that it was Quinmusq who

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of
other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles.
There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achieve-
ment to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of
formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desir-
581 able marriage possible for a son or daughter. This meant that moral character,
ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration.
584 However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage com-
plex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly
different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an
idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not
permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the
835 parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the
chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the
goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

595 another and live with her for a time. Whenever he desired he could return to his former wife. The concept of "supporting" a wife did not exist and therefore the question of providing for the various wives with whom a man was not living did not arise. An able bodied woman was quite as capable of taking care of all of her personal needs as she was of attending to a part of the requirements of both herself and her husband. She could always trade her roots and berries for salmon or venison. Moreover she was always welcome at the home of her parents or relatives. Nevertheless it was desirable to have a husband in attendance and there was considerable enmity and quarreling between the wives of a man. One or another felt that she had more "right" to the man's presence, or that she was being unduly neglected. Burke said that the reason a man changed from one wife to another was that he soon became tired of one woman and then another seemed more attractive, or quarreled with one and left her for another.

A man resented another's paying attentions to a wife of his even though he were not living with her. Co-habitation was adultery of as serious a nature as though the husband were present. Many quarrels resulted. Even though a man were not particularly interested in one of his wives it was a blow to his vanity to have her accept the attentions of another.

586 A woman was never privileged to leave her husband. However, if her husband stayed away from her for a long period of time, living with another wife, she might refuse to accept him upon his return. If he could not prevail upon her to live with him again, and if the sympathies of the community were with the woman, she became in effect a single woman once more. After a reasonable period of time she might remarry.

In recent times these limited rights of women seem to have been expanded, or perhaps the above formulation was not always enforced in practice. In any event, the first wife of Jim James, qwın'xwa'pi'tsa, left him and returned to her parents because he repeatedly visited another woman, staying away for several days at a time. About a year later she married again. One of the wives of wuq̣api'tkʷ of Roger's Bar left him permanently as the result of a petty quarrel. She gave herself more food at meals than she gave her husband. He called her q̣ami·'la, "greedy, glutton," whereupon she left his house.

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684 If a husband obviously deserted a wife who had borne him children he was sought out and considerable pressure was brought to bear by the chief and others, to get him to return. If a man deserted his wife and was not found his wife was considered free and allowed to remarry after about a year. If her former husband returned at a later time with another woman, that marriage was recognized. If a married woman disappeared with another man a strong effort was made to find them. If the hunt ended successfully the two were returned, the man lashed and the woman sent back to her husband. The latter could accept her or refuse to live with her longer, as he pleased. If he gave her up she was allowed to marry again.

The prevalence of separation and subsequent remarriage even in recent times is indicated by the fact that Burke, who was very widely acquainted, could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime.

573 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the man was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

589 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection
have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable
684 promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time
836 prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared
that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one
village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually
took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during
the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the
girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away.
Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl
soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence
would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her
with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning.
When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all
others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to
return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was
punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The
684 punishment meted out was lashing. Young persons were not the only ones guilty
of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such
837 extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were
married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful
eyes of others.

Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club. 684

When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others. 684 848

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'ləwıt, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s—,[16] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s—, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow: 835 684

> There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing: "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.
>
> One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing,

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[16] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

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leaving the lodge after the others had gone to sleep. The next morning his mother had to wake him again. He wouldn't answer. He kept his face covered up. His mother went over and uncovered his face. She saw on his face some of the paint that she put on the girl each day. She thought, "He must be staying with his sister. She is the only girl outside of the camp." She told the chief, her husband, what she thought. He laughed at her, saying, "The boy wouldn't do that. He knows better." But his wife was sure so the chief told her to watch their son.

That night the parents went to bed; they started to snore. The boy got up and left. A little while later the boy's mother got up. She went to the girl's hut and listened outside. She heard the two inside, laughing. The girl said, "Yes, I love you; I didn't see anyone else who was good looking enough for me. I'd just as soon marry you." Her brother answered, "I felt the same way about it." The woman went back and called her husband. He went back with her and listened. He found out that she was right. When they got back to camp the chief asked his wife what they should do. "That's up to you," she answered. "You are the chief. I like my children, but it's up to you to decide." After a while he said, "All right, I know what I'll do. I'm going to kill my son. The people would laugh if they heard about it." "All right," his wife answered, "it's up to you...."

At daylight they held the burial.... Later the young girl was sent to her older sister with some food... Her sister grabbed her and made her tell her what had happened by telling her that she would kill her if she didn't. Then she told her to tell their mother to send her good buckskin dress, her best robe, and her belt, because she wanted to bathe and return to camp. The young girl told her mother who took the clothes up herself. They were returning from bathing. After they had passed the girl's hut she said that she wanted to go back and leave her old dress. Her mother let her go and went back to camp.

Instead of going to the hut the girl ran toward her brother's grave. When her mother got back the chief asked where their daughter was. "She went back to leave her old dress," his wife said. "No, she didn't," the chief answered. He was feeling uneasy already. He went outside and saw his daughter running, already half way to the grave. He called, "Everyone chase her. Whoever catches her can have her. I want to save my daughter." All the fastest runners, Fox, Coyote, Wolf, ran after her. She got to the cliff and sat down at the top. Just then Fox grabbed her robe. But she untied it where it was fastened at the neck and jumped over. She fell right on top of her brother. Then they both laughed. "We said we'd get together," they said; "now we have, for good. In times to come other brothers and sisters will sometimes do the same thing...."

Another myth, wherein Coyote marries his daughter, ends as follows:

The girl was very much ashamed. She jumped into the river.... Coyote turned to the people and said, "This is not the only time this will happen. Every once in a while, in times to come, men will try to live with their own daughters."

In actuality the punishment of incest was seldom death. Rather, lashing was resorted to, and each of the parties to the incestuous relationship received many blows. Subsequently the persons were not ill-treated, but were often subjected to ridicule. In cases of brother-sister incest, interestingly, the parents were as much in disgrace as the children. One who had been guilty of incest found it difficult to marry for a time, "but people soon forgot." (Burke) It was believed that children born of incestuous unions would be deformed. The children themselves were treated normally.

684 Burke related the story of two Okanogans, A—— and his sister who were convicted of incest. About 1917 when A—— was perhaps thirty and his sister twenty or twenty-five, they ran away together. They had "fallen in love with each other" but were continually kept apart at home. For a whole summer they camped about the hills, finding what they could to eat and occasionally breaking into an isolated house to obtain food. At the end of the summer they were caught and the man was sentenced to state's penitentiary at Walla Walla for one year. The girl was released and stayed in the Okanogan country. She did not bear a child. After being released from prison her brother did not return but married a Coeur d'Alene girl and remained in that country.

An account of father-daughter incest, which occurred about 1912, was also given by Burke. L—, of Roger's Bar took his twelve year old daughter to school each day on horseback. He was aged about fifty years and his wife, still living, was approximately the same age. The distance to the girl's school was about a mile and a half. He would not allow her to walk, nor would he permit anyone else to take her. The trail led through brush and timber nearly all the way. For a year he continued to accompany her, before she became pregnant. During that time he had kept her silent by threats. His wife was aware of what was happening but she, too, was afraid to say anything from fear of her husband. When the girl became pregnant her father forced her to name a certain young man as being responsible. But to her mother and some relatives she told the truth. The government officials learned of the affair and action was taken against the girl's father but there was no one who would testify against him and the case was dismissed. The man was in disgrace for a time. People laughed at him, but he paid little attention to their jeers and slights. He continued to live with his wife. Their daughter, too, remained with them. The child, a boy, was born. About a year later the girl married a Coeur d'Alene named J——. The two reared the child, who was not abnormal, but was never healthy. In 1930 he was still living. Later the couple had a child of their own.

838 Male homosexuality was called snlxpsiwi'xᵊ; female, sntá'xlsu'wam. Burke knew of no examples among mature individuals. He had known of homosexual tendencies among young men and women. The punishment for such indulgences was whipping.

839 Male masturbation was termed stkspatqant'su'ta; female, [illegible]. Boys who were known to masturbate were teased about it but never punished. The schoolmates of a girl, w——, knew that she masturbated. They nicknamed her and chided her.

None of my informants were acquainted with any case of hermaphroditism or transvestitism among the Sanpoil. Burke told of a Coeur d'Alene named G——, who was obviously a true hermaphrodite (stá'mis). This person, whose characteristics were preponderantly female, had much hair on her upper lip and chin. She assumed male dress, however, and associated more with men than women but stayed alone a great part of the time. She was slow in speech, staring at a person for some time before speaking, and talked very obscenely. She did not marry but lived alone most of the time.

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fell down and jumped up. They chased him but could not catch him. They drove him toward a huge fallen tree. They did not think he could jump over it. He could not. He jumped and landed on his stomach across the top of it. They shot him in the back. He fell over on the other side, jumped up and began running again. The Spokan told him, "Come back and be killed. You are shot. You will only die out there anyway." He said, "You haven't done anything to hurt me," and ran for a day until he met some Colville Indians who took the arrow out of his back. He told them the story. So these Colville turned back.

Quinmusq stayed in the sweat house while his enemies taunted him, called him a woman, told him his brothers were dead. He had forgotten about his knife being there, so he sang his power song and leaped. It did no good. His body was full of arrows and spears. When he fell near the river he was dead. They cut him all to pieces and threw him in the river.

They went back to the camp and told the rest of the Colville not to be angry. They said, "If we had killed only Quinmusq, it would have started a lot of trouble. His brothers would have fought then." So the Colville fed them deer meat. Then they packed up their arrows and went back.

Quinmusq lay in the river until everything was quiet again. All his power animals came to him then. They gathered up the parts of his body and put them together. Fishes, mud turtles, grizzlies and all kinds of power animals came and brought him back to life. But he still had the scars all over his body.

He went back to the camp, but everybody had packed up and left there. There he saw his mother dead, and his father. Two brothers were dead at the sweat house, but he could not find the other. Then he thought about his knife. He got it and started after the Spokan. Seeing them, he ran clear around them and waited by a fish trap where they would cross.

Some of them said, "Oh, what it would be if old Quinmusq were across there." They shouted this to plague the dead Quinmusq. At the very time he was opposite them in the brush. The first man started across. Quinmusq whooped and stabbed him. The others all fell in up river and came down against the trap. Quinmusq ran up and down the trap slaughtering them. He killed all but two, whom he sent back to tell their people the story. "The next time you get mad, tell all your fierce men to come to fight."

When these two got back to Kalispel [sic] and told the story, the chief said, "We might just as well make peace now. We'll be friends with the Colville. We can't do anything with Quinmusq." So they made peace.

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No payment is ever accepted as compensation for adultery. If a man is sufficient-

684 626 ly annoyed to do anything about a discovered liaison of his wife, he kills the offender, thus placing himself in danger of blood revenge.

626 If a man kills several people, he achieves fame as a "mean" man, and the people treat him with respect because they think he has great power. Such men are not customarily punished through group action. David Isaac reports the following exception among the Northern Okanagon.

Two Thompson Indian brothers who lived near Lake Okanogan were always being mean to the people near them and occasionally killing someone in fierce fights. They lived entirely alone, away from the other people. Nobody liked them.

One day the younger brother was seen to go off hunting alone, so some of the people got together and decided to kill the older brother. They went to his place in a body, and the strongest men sat closest to him and told him that the people had grown lonesome for him, and wanted him to come back to live with them. Then, when he showed his meanness, they suddenly grabbed him and fought. They stabbed him again and again and finally subdued him and cut his head off.

When the younger brother came back and saw what they had done, he picked up several bows and arrows and walked over to the village. There he told the people that since they had killed his brother they might as well kill him too, that he wished it. But the people said that he must live. They had killed his brother because he was mean and had killed many people for fun, but they decided to let the younger brother live.

This was not long ago. A daughter of the older brother is still living near Oroville.

681 304 According to Suszen Timentwa, the present chief, in pre-white days the chief ordered offenders to be tattooed plainly on the body where it would show: on the forehead, cheek, arm or chest. For stealing, the tattoo was black; for adultery, yellow; and for fighting, red. It might be a circle, a straight line, a bird's foot, or a deer head. The tattoo was made by pressure pricking with a needle and rubbing paint into the wound.

For the first offense the culprit was painted with one mark. If the crime was not repeated, the chief would say, "He is a good man now, better than we are." If the crime was repeated, a second mark was put on. After the third offense, the people said, "He is no good. Send him away," and they cut off his hair before they banished him. If a foreigner committed a crime, his hair was cut off on the first offense and he was sent away.

p.93(8) If a chief found in the old days that Indians were killing animals for fun, or wastefully, he stopped it. The Sinkaietk

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

[1][i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 [538] Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

581 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

884 837 In the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the woman took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or mere casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man: a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. [629] Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after separating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of seperation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

such a one was wi´ówxIna, literally (?) "she 831 don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. 836 There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father [684] found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848 shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847 it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842 brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the 824 Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwūlī´s.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842

p. 119 (A)

597 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[387]

606 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. [837] The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable place. 766 173 Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cxlcxltcé'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[387] a, pp. 326-327.

the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information. 428

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another. 428 428 553

Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power. 428 778 787

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation. 626 685●

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or women.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46] 525 626

This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person. 626

[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206-207.

562 622 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the anaqaie'tkʷ.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. [551] A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkən, was said to have settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (suxwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

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[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*

[8] Walters, *Sinkaietk Social Structure.*

[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

622 chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[39]

623 624 All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections.

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

276 623 Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order.

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

622 692 695 Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect. After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were

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[39] See pages 69-71.

690 681 692 695 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

693 The lasher (suqk'us'"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

627 681 In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the injured person or his family before the chief acted.[16] If there were general agreement that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

627 682 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white men brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[17] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[16] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[17] See page 131.

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens [Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."[47] [1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."[48] [1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

[1] [For footnote, see p. 94(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

628 681 692 695 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

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627 682 When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

681 Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

601 I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

551 A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

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[12] See page 131.

681 304 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

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696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

$\frac{1}{A}$ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292. $\frac{1}{A}$

48 Ibid., 293. $\frac{1}{A}$

chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[illegible] 622
623

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections. 624

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order. 276
623

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect. After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were 622
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[illegible] See pages 69-71.

682 681 692 693 heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

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47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292.[1]

48 Ibid., 293.[1]

696 in strokes, the one who has made the mistake is whipped himself and removed from office.

692 As part of the new system, each week the people confess their misdemeanors to the chief and are given trial for serious offenses. Backsliders in confession are reported by their neighbors.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

181 622 554 "The government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens[Sinkaietk] is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. The chieftainship descends from father to son: it is, however, merely a nominal superiority in most cases. Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives; yet it is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur."*[1]

622 554 In each band of the Sinkaietk chiefs are hereditary and the most important persons in the tribe in regard to moral influence. Chiefs are not necessarily the wealthiest men in the group; this is usually the case, however, because of the many gifts received from the people.

[577] A chief and his family are supposed to exemplify the virtues of the group. A chief should know no fear and should neither lie, steal, nor fight with his own people. It is his duty to exemplify the ethical standards of the social unit, to exhort the people concerning these duties, and to advise them against getting into trouble.

622 "Every morning at the dawn of day, the head chief rides or walks around the camp or village and harangues as he goes: the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of families or individuals. All the movements of the camp, as a whole, as well as hunting and other matters of consequence, are settled by the chief's authority alone; and all weightier matters, of peace or war, are settled by the chief and council."**[1]

[624] According to present informants, this morning harangue described by Ross (and another in the evening) is, and always has been, the duty of the chief's spokesman, the tribal attitude being that it is improper for the chief to address directly the people in public.

622 554 The chief's family is supposedly the best trained family of the band in moral precepts, since this ideal of Sinkaietk virtue is constantly before their attention through

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 94(A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

721 kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'l'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

727 Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

701 624 [787] 791 A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

721 729 173 The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight.[20] [1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116.-- Analyst.]

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tū'c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. [555 787] The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 •701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skölstī'ckūm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwītīatīacūmī'ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa'm) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo, 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cōxqōlōqwe'īlt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

[58] Compare the house leaders.

[59] Ross, Alexander, *Adventures*, 293.1

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting,
and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Wallawalla,
Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[649] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of
Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was
large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their
ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the
Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-
hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly
assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed
the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always
in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60
years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900. 535 171* [177]

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun. 000

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The 796 171* 72 [702]

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting
*171 ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
● [702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according
to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
[778] the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting
796 of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

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Each village was said to have a large sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5] 364

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6] 361 712

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in earlier times. When first dressed, a child wore the same styles as adults. All wore moccasins, including children. All clothing was made by women. 291 [858] [462]

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (_circa_ 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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[5] For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
[6] See Warfare.
[7] Teit, _Salishan Tribes_. 230.
[8] Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

p. 43 (A)

726 duce of the hunts or fishing which they are forced to miss.

712 722 Cecile Brooks, an informant who probably knows more about the Konkonelp and Kartar bands than about the others, says that in the past when at attack was made on the Sinkaietk the men got ready to fight, and the women and children retired to a pit behind a rock barricade. One was built at every village, she affirms, and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

The village where Okanogan, Washington, now stands, is said to have been fortified by piles of rocks behind which trenches were dug; that is, on the camp side. The women stayed hidden in the trenches during battle. Barricades of logs were never built. This refuge was described by Suszen as on the tableland overlooking the present town. Here were trenches for defense and food stored in underground cellars. They would flee up this hill, passing up the steep sides by ladders which were pulled up after them.

562 722 The women do not pray and sing at this time, but they think of their power. If the enemy comes close, a woman with much power may take a bow and arrows from the dead of either side and fight with the men. She shouts while fighting, but does not sing, and comes back to the pit at intervals to rest. In desperate situations even menstruating women help in battle. After the fray, a woman may keep the bow and arrows obtained on the battlefield for her own use, but this is the only way in which a woman can obtain weapons.

726 Mary Carden, now an old woman so crippled with rheumatism that there are days when she can scarcely walk, gave a vivid description of the tactics of the Tukoratum warriors. She stood erect, and with gesticulation and posture enacted each phrase of her description. "In battle some would run down along the river under the bluff and jump out at the enemy. Others would hide behind bushes at a distance with their bows and arrows. The fast runners jumped right into the fray in hand to hand combat. As they fought they would whoop and jump up and down and wave their war clubs. They sang their power songs, and made lots of noise to frighten the enemy."

173 726 The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor. Versions of the following episode were received from two different informents.

A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the Kc-konelp and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and

WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE

The weapons of war appear to have been the same as among other neighboring Salish tribes, and consisted of bows and arrows, and short war-spears with points of bone, antler, and flaked stone; double-edged war-knives of antler, flaked stone, and in later days iron; clubs in one piece of wood, antler, and stone. Club-handles and handles of war-knives were often ornamented with short incised lines, crossed lines, zigzags, and occasionally the tops were carved in rings or animals' heads. Round-headed clubs encased in skin, with wooden handles, and others with only a handle of hide, were used, and also tomahawks or spike clubs. Shields and armor of several kinds were in use. The former were circular, and oblong or oval. I did not learn whether lances for throwing were in use. The Snake are said to have used them, and the Wasco adopted them from the Snake. Low embankments of earth, and trenches, were used in warfare by the Columbia Salish and Okanagon, and probably by other tribes, at places where they could be made with little trouble. Usually they were made on the sides of a canyon or some other commanding place to ambush enemies or shoot at parties passing underneath. Rarely were they made as defenses of villages. Sometimes piles of rocks partly covered with grass, bush, or earth were used for like purpose. Underground passages and pits and forts of logs were used in a few places. 713 712

WARS

As far as I heard, very little regular war was carried on with neighboring tribes, at least during the last century. It seems that the Columbia Salish never attacked the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, Wasco, and Wishram, and only rarely other interior tribes. Occasionally war-parties of the eastern Columbia crossed the Cascades, and attacked and plundered some of the Coast tribes, but the Wenatchi were generally friendly with the latter. Long ago, perhaps about a hundred and fifty years ago, some wars were carried on against the Yakima and Cayuse, and probably the Wallawalla and Palous. On rare occasions war-parties of Nez Percé attacked the Columbia, and Columbia parties went to the Wallawalla and Nez Percé. During the last century, war with the Yakima consisted of fighting between small parties engaged in horse-stealing. It seems that the Yakima at one time were not as well provided with horses as the Columbia. Kweē'tca (Blue-Robe), my chief informant, had scars he had received in fighting a party of Yakima who had stolen some of his father's horses. He killed two of the Yakima, and recaptured the horses. Almost all the Moses-Columbia band went to the Plains buffalo-hunting. They were always well mounted, and were noted as skillful and intrepid fighters. When on these excursions, they had frequent encounters with the Blackfoot and members of other Plains tribes. Kweē'tca's father 721

Armor.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in 714 / 721 vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only [177] one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

Forts and Defenses.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of 712 them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some

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[213] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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War Dress.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[1] 411 713

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses. 712

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwi'x, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwi'x* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwi'x* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwi'x* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwi'x*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwi'x*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwi'x* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwi'x*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwi'x*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwi'x* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies. 726

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[1] Field Museum, 111962.

had a strip of rawhide hanging from one end, 411
and a hole at the other to which a wrist loop was attached. This club was used mainly as a quirt.

Moveable heads were reported on clubs two feet long, perhaps of the type used in the Great Basin.

Little information was obtained concerning stone knives, which have long been out 412
of use. A single type of knife served all 324
purposes (Figure 21). It was of flint, shaped by pressure-flaking along one edge only with a deer-horn implement, and smoothed by rubbing on a whetstone. The horn flaker was rubbed on a rough stone to make it blunt. The pressure was down and away from the body. Flint was obtained from McLaughlin's Canyon. Flint or obsidian was also shaped by heating and then touching with a wet stick along the line to be chipped. Only one edge of the knife was sharpened. The handle might be left unworked and wrapped with buckskin. Mary Carden reported that knives to be used [411]
in warfare were provided with short stout handles so that one stabbed downward. The handle was of peeled service berry wood, two inches in thickness, dried over the fire if wanted immediately, but otherwise set aside to season. At one end a flat place was whittled so that the blade could be set against it. This was joined with pine pitch and a wrapping of a narrow strip of wet buckskin. Pictures of the power animal were incised in the handle, the fine lines being filled with clay or charcoal.

Spears of various lengths were used in 411
warfare and to a very limited extent in deer hunting. A spear about ten feet long with a [224]
bone head was reported by Suszen. The shaft was made of any straight wood, preferably fir, which was peeled and straightened with a large wrench like that used for arrows. The head was either inserted in a socket in the shaft (?) or was inserted in a groove and bound with rawhide. The shaft was decorated with feathers and beads. A shorter spear, from five and a half to six feet long, was reported by Michel. This spear is substantially the same as that just described. The head, of flint, was inserted in a slot in the end of the shaft and wrapped with sinew. Heads of horn, lozenge-shaped or deeply barbed, were also reported.

Spears were not thrown: all were thrust, held at the end of the shaft with the thumb back and the knuckles up, the hand moving forward from over the shoulder. The spear thrower was unknown.

Shields of varied shape and construction 713 ●
were used in warfare to parry arrows and spear thrusts. One type was circular 411
(about three feet in diameter) and convex. It was made of rawhide from the neck of an elk, deer, or horse, or when obtainable from buffalo or grizzly bear hide. The hide was stretched and sewn over a hoop of blue wood, to which a cross of wood was bound. David Isaac, of northern affiliation, reported that

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so 713
that the shield was convex. The shield
was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by
a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of 411
wood were reported by Suszen as the common
type, but no details were obtained.

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments,
and held in the left hand by a man
armed with a club. They could be dispensed
with by an agile man. The ability to dodge
arrows depended on one's power. Boys played [524]
at war with shields and blunt arrows.

Skin armor was made of thick deer and 292
elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One
type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide 713
reaching below the hips with a hole cut for
the head to pass through. This was laced 411
together on each side with thongs. The hide
was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then
it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another
type of armor was made of two pieces,
also from the neck region where the hide is
thickest. These were sewed or tied together
over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being
appropriately cut out to fit shoulders
and neck. This type reached to the waist or
lower. Neither type was decorated. Both
were worn next to the skin under the clothes.
They could not stop an arrow at close range,
however.

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was custom- 726
ary to enter battle wearing only a breech-
clout and with the body painted. 411

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713 There was no helmet or other protection for the head.

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463 It was reported by the chief Suszen that in the manufacture of weapons and other implements, individuals who were particularly adept were often commissioned by the chief to make a number of shields, snowshoes or whatever the artisan's specialty might be, and these were loaned by the chief to those who needed them. This statement is probably colored by the informant's habitual overemphasis on chiefly authority; further, it is doubtful that such specialization in manufacture ever obtained among the Southern Okanagon.

CANOES

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501 Dugout canoes were used to some extent by the Southern Okanagon, but were scarce. Bark canoes were altogether absent, but were common among the Northern Okanagon (that is, from Oroville northward, and on the Similkameen). Rafts, made of logs tied together with service berry or other withes, were also used to some extent by the Northern Okanagon. When the Kartar people went to the Okanogan River for torch fishing, they borrowed canoes from the residents there.

501 The dugouts of the Southern Okanagon were made chiefly of yellow pine; also of cedar or cottonwood. Large cedar trees were scarce, and from them only small canoes could be fashioned. Cottonwood was considered inferior because it warped in drying and fir was too heavy. Canoes varied in length from twelve to thirty feet and were about two feet wide. A large boat held ten to twelve people including paddlers. The canoes were flattened on the bottom. The ends, which were alike, rose upward from the keel line to gunwale at an angle of about thirty degrees. These sloping ends were flat planes which helped to keep the canoe from rolling. The sides were about two and one half inches thick; the gunwales slightly higher at each end than amidships. They were undecorated and no stem or stern pieces were added. In constructing the canoe a log was first roughly hollowed with fire and flint or horn chisels; then it was burned smooth with fire and the charcoal scraped out with the same chisel. Holes were not bored in the sides to ascertain the thickness: this was accomplished by thumping. The canoe was put into still water and balanced by hewing down the heavier side. Two men required about two months of continuous work to complete a good-sized canoe. This was a summer task. [411]

The paddle had a total length of four to five feet, the blade being two feet long by six inches wide, thickened at the center, sharp around the edges, and rounded at the lower end. These were of cedar because it was light. (Double paddles and double-pointed paddles were unknown.) Punt poles were

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 56(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

22 Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 71. 1/

WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE

The weapons of war appear to have been the same as among other neighboring Salish tribes, and consisted of bows and arrows, and short war-spears with points of bone, antler, and flaked stone; double-edged war-knives of antler, flaked stone, and in later days iron; clubs in one piece of wood, antler, and stone. Club-handles and handles of war-knives were often ornamented with short incised lines, crossed lines, zigzags, and occasionally the tops were carved in rings or animals' heads. Round-headed clubs encased in skin, with wooden handles, and others with only a handle of hide, were used, and also tomahawks or spike clubs. Shields and armor of several kinds were in use. The former were circular, and oblong or oval. I did not learn whether lances for throwing were in use. The Snake are said to have used them, and the Wasco adopted them from the Snake. 713 Low embankments of earth, and trenches, were used in warfare by the Columbia Salish and Okanagon, and probably by other tribes, at places where they could be made with little trouble. Usually they were made on the sides of a canyon or some other commanding place to ambush enemies or shoot at parties passing underneath. Rarely were they made as defenses of villages. Sometimes piles of rocks partly covered with grass, bush, or earth were used for like purpose. Underground passages and pits and forts of logs were used in a few places. 712

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6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpo
Colville; Lakes

bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools. 439 487

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior. [438]

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks 411 713 ● [177]

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[1] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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of iron, including the pipe tomahawk. Bows and arrows have already been mentioned.

A number of different types of war clubs were in use. The three kinds with round stone heads used by all the Thompson were common. One kind had a rigid head with rawhide shrunk over it;[2] another kind had a flexible head consisting of a stone enclosed in a bag of dressed skin;[3] and the third kind consisted of a stone enclosed in rawhide, with a short flexible handle of twisted rawhide or a loop of heavy thong. Some of these appear to have been grooved, but most of them were enclosed in hide. War clubs in a single piece were also common. Some of these were of hard wood.[4] Shorter stone clubs, probably of jade and serpentine, of nearly the same shape[5] as the wooden ones, were used principally by the Okanagon. Possibly most of them were obtained in trade from Wenatchi and Columbia. Clubs made of a single piece of elk antler were common. Usually the sharpened stub of a tine at the head formed a spike. The Similkameen claim that his was the most common war club among them. A crooked club of stone and wood, or entirely of either material, was in use. It resembled somewhat the crooked war club of eastern tribes, but had no ball or spike. This style may have been introduced from the plains, but quite possibly it may have been modeled after some of the elk-antler clubs which were of this shape naturally. The crooked club with ball and spike was introduced in later days by the fur traders. Straight wooden clubs set with from one to eight spikes of stone or antler were also in use. Iron clubs came into use after the traders came. They were shaped somewhat like a machete. I did not learn the exact distribution of the various kinds of clubs among the four tribes, but it seems that all kinds were more or less used everywhere. A club with elongated head of rounded stone[6] may have been introduced from the plains. A club with elongated head of flat stone was indigenous.

Cuirasses of rods of wood and of slats of wood were in use among the Okanagon and Sanpoil, and some of heavy hide were also employed. Some of the latter were low, and only encircled the waist. Tunics of thick elk hide were worn by a few men. I did not hear of helmets of any kind, nor of long hide shields.[7] Small shields were universal. Most of them were made of thick hide sewed to a wooden hoop. From one to three thicknesses of hide were used.[8] Some of those of a single piece of hide were rendered arrow proof by a thick coat of glue and sand on one side. Some shields had no hoops. One kind was exactly like the shields used on the plains. All the hide shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[9] 411 713● 712

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[2] a, p. 264, fig. 247.
[3] See Thompson, a, p. 264, fig. 248.
[4] See Thompson, a, 265, fig. 251.
[5] See Yakima, i, figs. 62, 63.
[6] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 312.
[7] See Thompson, a p. 266, fig. 256.
[8] Field Museum, 111041.

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses.

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwī'x̣, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwī'x̣* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwī'x̣* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x̣*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwī'x̣*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwī'x̣* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwī'x̣*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwī'x̣*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwī'x̣* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies. 726

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[9] Field Museum, 111962.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington 000
Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the
Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of
the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan
country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse
at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla,
and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to
Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days
along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713 •
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under 171*
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting
and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed.
Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly
not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. [725]
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The
Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some
of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
73 to skũnqwũnîép to camp with them. One of the Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski´nt. That night when they want to sleep, Lxwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
791 with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or
[834] between two medicine men. There are no sex taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
[727] war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid, but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

p. 80(A)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

ARMOR.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used. 714/721

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. [177] After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened b[illegible]lo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

FORTS AND DEFENSES.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some 712

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[213] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the [302] hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as 292 well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or 776 scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars 173 with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, 728 and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his [777] home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who [166] lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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War Dress.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

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Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

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Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The

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796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting
*171 ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
• 72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according
[778] to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
*171 meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Yε'-ε*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting
796 of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
535 down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 554
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: 622
pacifism and the equality of men. 721

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take
revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 554
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with 829

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Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to 342
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month
called skənˊuˊmən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly
to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which
time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time
the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the
warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were
eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted.
At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by
one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpətctltəˊn, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping
or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing
season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 758
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use. 55/776

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim't'i'kan, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, səγan'xnukan, in memory of his brother and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved. 72/ [773]

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 18/ 72/

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[13] See pages 190-91.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 136.

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cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and [551] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

721 The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[16]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

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Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
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favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the Sanpoil, Colville and snakä'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls (Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (snaʔaie'tkʷ territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

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[16] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."* 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 721

"The natives of the Oakinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms in impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe.""

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

The last time the Thompson came to skŭnqwŭnĭep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One man was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home."

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

"At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow.""

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

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16 Teit, Shuswap, 542.
17 Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, Thompson Indians, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Karter.

7 p. 79(A)

721 kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

727 Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

701 624 [787] 791 A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski´nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

721 729 173 The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski´nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski´nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski´nt, had won the fight." [1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

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[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116. -- Analyst.]

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
73 to skûnqwûnîép to camp with them. One of the Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him end were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski´nt. That night when they want to sleep, Lxwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
791 with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or
[834] between two medicine men. There are no sex taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
[727] war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
[302] paint their whole bodies with red clay and wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

children were killed, except one girl who 173
had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the 726
shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two.[22]

In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa'kálatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

The Nez Percé are traditional enemies 186
of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after 721
interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Percé have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk."

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[22] Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
[23] Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
[24] Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
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Wenatchi

in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper 167
Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration 197
legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants 131
who have changed their language.—F. Boas.]

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tɪnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, in[illegible] country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of
tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached 131
its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large 721
war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[30] At this

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[30] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1925 Southeast Salish
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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards. 167 131 721

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31] 167 131 197

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiä'kɛtux or Stia'kstɛmux. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiē'us or Columbia proper, from which diviion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one. 167 131 197

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[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake. [72] ●

The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time 167 131

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[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'ux̣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72] ●

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

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[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
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place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them. 167 131 101 [72] ●

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls.[60] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekᴇtᴇmē'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison. 551 167 131 101

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[60] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas. 114

WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE

The weapons of war appear to have been the same as among other neighboring Salish tribes, and consisted of bows and arrows, and short war-spears with points of bone, antler, and flaked stone; double-edged war-knives of antler, flaked stone, and in later days iron; clubs in one piece of wood, antler, and stone. Club-handles and handles of war-knives were often ornamented with short incised lines, crossed lines, zigzags, and occasionally the tops were carved in rings or animals' heads. Round-headed clubs encased in skin, with wooden handles, and others with only a handle of hide, were used, and also tomahawks or spike clubs. Shields and armor of several kinds were in use. The former were circular, and oblong or oval. I did not learn whether lances for throwing were in use. The Snake are said to have used them, and the Wasco adopted them from the Snake. Low embankments of earth, and trenches, were used in warfare by the Columbia Salish and Okanagon, and probably by other tribes, at places where they could be made with little trouble. Usually they were made on the sides of a canyon or some other commanding place to ambush enemies or shoot at parties passing underneath. Rarely were they made as defenses of villages. Sometimes piles of rocks partly covered with grass, bush, or earth were used for like purpose. Underground passages and pits and forts of logs were used in a few places. 713 712

WARS

As far as I heard, very little regular war was carried on with neighboring tribes, at least during the last century. It seems that the Columbia Salish never attacked the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, Wasco, and Wishram, and only rarely other interior tribes. Occasionally war-parties of the eastern Columbia crossed the Cascades, and attacked and plundered some of the Coast tribes, but the Wenatchi were generally friendly with the latter. Long ago, perhaps about a hundred and fifty years ago, some wars were carried on against the Yakima and Cayuse, and probably the Wallawalla and Palous. On rare occasions war-parties of Nez Percé attacked the Columbia, and Columbia parties went to the Wallawaila and Nez Percé. During the last century, war with the Yakima consisted of fighting between small parties engaged in horse-stealing. It seems that the Yakima at one time were not as well provided with horses as the Columbia. Kweē'tca (Blue-Robe), my chief informant, had scars he had received in fighting a party of Yakima who had stolen some of his father's horses. He killed two of the Yakima, and recaptured the horses. Almost all the Moses-Columbia band went to the Plains buffalo-hunting. They were always well mounted, and were noted as skillful and intrepid fighters. When on these excursions, they had frequent encounters with the Blackfoot and members of other Plains tribes. Kweē'tca's father 721 was killed in battle with the Blackfoot. According to information gathered from the Upper Chinook, parties of Salish (probably Columbia and some Spokane) came down Columbia River in canoes on combined trading and war expeditions. Some of them went as far as Fort Vancouver, marauding on the way. 721

In the Yakima war against the whites, some of the southern Wenatchi bands appear to have helped the Yakima and Klickitat in fighting both east and west of the Cascades. Some of the so-called Yakima chiefs and war chiefs spoken of as prominent in the war had Wenatchi (Salish) names. Some of the Indians engaged in the attack on Seattle are said to have been Wenatchi. Probably bands who joined the Yakima were those who adjoined the Yakima and had more or less Yakima blood. 648 721

glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange. 439

VII. WARFARE

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WEAPONS.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sɛleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. [526] They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[204] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[205] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[206]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[204] *a*, fig. 246.

[205] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[206] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

411 721 two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.[207] Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.[208] Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.[209]

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.[210]

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.[211]

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.[212] Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whalebone were obtained in trade.

173 411 721 It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

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[207] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

[208] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 290.

[209] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

[210] See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

[211] *a*, fig. 81.

[212] *a*, fig. 251.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

714 / 721 **Armor.**—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding. [177]

712 **Forts and Defenses.**—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some

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[213] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

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bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

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Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[illegible] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing.

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War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, however, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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[illegible] *b*, pp. 262–264.

535 days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all
624 the men danced.

721 When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of
796 chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

535 Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above
721 was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-
796 stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around
on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[33] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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[33] *a*, p. 356.

one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished. 535 727 776

SCALP DANCE.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con- 535 727 776

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and 535
food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes 535
parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs,
in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them 721 ●
before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the
Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men
desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young
men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a
chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these
parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a 535
dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted 727
their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them
on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the
most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like
warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had 535
received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated 776
his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held 535
in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the 583
same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being 535
held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women,
during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that 796
used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than 757
food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the
Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked
the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off
with considerable loss and never came back.

721 The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago.
628 Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once
[648] the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The
Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number
[184] of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always
friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars
with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time
they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided
down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties
occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast,
and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette.
The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers"
because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the
Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap
and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. In
very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars
with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about
1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of
[648] buffalo hunting (1880–1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—
the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne,
Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including
the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot,
Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in
the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and
Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came
very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered
as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak;
while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock.
It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western
000 alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment
of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the
eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are
said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow
against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until
after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances
for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each
tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they
been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow
628 would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early
times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

●721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Wallawalla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[648] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

000 *Wars with the Assiniboin.*—About 1865 a Flathead party of considerable strength was camped at Three Buttes, near the confines of the Gros Ventres northeast of the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana. War was on with the Assiniboin at that time and a war party of them attacked the camp at night. They managed to open a great number of the lodge doors and shot inside, killing in all four men and wounding the Flathead chief and some other people. A woman ran out of one of the tents with a pistol in her hand. The Assiniboin did not kill her as they were waiting for the men to come out. She shot the Assiniboin chief dead and escaped in the dark. The Assiniboin were driven off and at daybreak the Flathead started in pursuit. When they overtook them a running fight ensued and many of the Assiniboin were killed and wounded.

•721 *171 About the same time a large party of Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Upper Kutenai, and some Pend d'Oreilles were hunting buffalo in the Sweet Grass Hills on the confines of the Piegan country. A large party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not far away in another direction. Two or more years before this the Assiniboin had boasted that they would drive all the Salish and Kutenai out of the buffalo country. A large war party of Assiniboin came for the purpose of attacking the camp, but when they saw the great strength of the Salish-Kutenai, they immediately made off without risking a battle. The Salish camp had 225 lodges.

000 *Wars with the Sioux.*—About 1860 a fight took place with Sioux in the country between what is now the Crow Agency and Fort Benton. A Sioux party of 15 or more had gone to steal horses from the Crow, and the latter had killed them all except one man, who escaped. Some other Crow had also killed some Sioux, who were now bent on revenge. A party of 75 or 80 Flathead warriors were traveling near this place, trying to locate buffalo. They had not heard of the recent fighting between the Crow and the Sioux and did not know that the latter were near. They saw a great many tracks which they concluded were made by River Crow, but they were tracks of Mountain Crow fleeing from the Sioux. The Flathead camped for the night. In the early morning they saw several strangers stealing some of their horses and the young men gave chase. These strangers were Sioux, who had discovered the Flathead camp. After a run of about 15 miles the Flathead had killed four of the Sioux and recovered most of their horses, but this had brought them in front of the Sioux camp. The Sioux all came out and the Flathead ran back. The Sioux, being on fresh mounts, caught up with several of the Flathead and killed them. Probably they would have caught up with all of them if their horses had been good, but Sioux horses were generally not as good as Flathead horses. A large number of Sioux took part in the pursuit, and when they reached the Flathead camp they surrounded it.

the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped 000
to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would
be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville,
where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was
anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde;
so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported
his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent
for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and
he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution
his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed
a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No
one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably
it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral 191*
during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they
give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, 648
they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made
treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish
parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been
properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building
of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were
not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?)
and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the
country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet
received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves
had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were
playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant
nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the 721
whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the
Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. [628]
They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their
countries until such time as the Government should settle everything
fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves
and payments before any more whites could enter their country.
The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed
the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories
of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction
there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the
whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That
was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces
of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been
about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other [563]
tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees,
about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by
descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes,
Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the
Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
[727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry [3] was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

726 duce of the hunts or fishing which they are forced to miss.

712 ● 722 Cecile Brooks, an informant who probably knows more about the Konkonelp and Kertar bands than about the others, says that in the past when at attack was made on the Sinkaietk the men got ready to fight, and the women and children retired to a pit behind a rock barricade. One was built at every village, she affirms, and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

The village where Okanogan, Washington, now stands, is said to have been fortified by piles of rocks behind which trenches were dug; that is, on the camp side. The women stayed hidden in the trenches during battle. Barricades of logs were never built. This refuge was described by Suszen as on the tableland overlooking the present town. Here were trenches for defense and food stored in underground cellars. They would flee up this hill, passing up the steep sides by ladders which were pulled up after them.

562 722 The women do not pray and sing at this time, but they think of their power. If the enemy comes close, a woman with much power may take a bow and arrows from the dead of either side and fight with the men. She shouts while fighting, but does not sing, and comes back to the pit at intervals to rest. In desperate situations even menstruating women help in battle. After the fray, a woman may keep the bow and arrows obtained on the battlefield for her own use, but this is the only way in which a woman can obtain weapons.

726 Mary Carden, now an old woman so crippled with rheumatism that there are days when she can scarcely walk, gave a vivid description of the tactics of the Tukoratum warriors. She stood erect, and with gesticulation and posture enacted each phrase of her description. "In battle some would run down along the river under the bluff and jump out at the enemy. Others would hide behind bushes at a distance with their bows and arrows. The fast runners jumped right into the fray in hand to hand combat. As they fought they would whoop and jump up and down and wave their war clubs. They sang their power songs, and made lots of noise to frighten the enemy."

173 726 The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor. Versions of the following episode were received from two different informants.

A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the Ko-konelp and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before 728 which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It [727] is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's 721* defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse, and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority [722] of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one 726 of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington 000
Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of 171*
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting
and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed.
Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly
not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned.
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They [725]
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727]
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

both of the cross-sticks bowed outward so that the shield was convex. The shield was held by the horizontal cross-stick or by a cross-piece of buckskin. Round shields of wood were reported by Suszen as the common type, but no details were obtained. 713 411

Square shields were made of hide or sticks. The hide shields were often bent along the vertical axis so as to present a prow-shaped front, which would more easily deflect arrows. A long stick was built into the vertical crease and the shield was held by a rawhide handle. Whether this shield was fastened to a frame was not reported. The square-slat shields were made of sticks "braided" closely together in a checker (?) weave.

Shields were used mainly as parrying instruments, and held in the left hand by a man armed with a club. They could be dispensed with by an agile man. The ability to dodge arrows depended on one's power. Boys played at war with shields and blunt arrows. [524]

Skin armor was made of thick deer and elk rawhide among the southerly bands. One type was a poncho: a single piece of rawhide reaching below the hips with a hole cut for the head to pass through. This was laced together on each side with thongs. The hide was soaked in water to loosen the hair; then it was shaped and allowed to dry stiff. Another type of armor was made of two pieces, also from the neck region where the hide is thickest. These were sewed or tied together over the shoulders and tied at the sides, being appropriately cut out to fit shoulders and neck. This type reached to the waist or lower. Neither type was decorated. Both were worn next to the skin under the clothes. They could not stop an arrow at close range, however. 292 713 411

Among the northern bands armor was made of eight (?) thicknesses of tanned moose hide. This reached below the hips. Back and front pieces were joined by two ties over each shoulder and four on each side. The ties were strips of skin sewed to the front and back pieces. The informant (David Isaac) did not remember whether there was any decoration.

Both the southern and northern groups had rod armor. This was made of blue wood sticks after the pattern of the moose hide armor. The sticks ran vertically and were probably twined together at short intervals with Indian hemp cords. The rods on the sides, naturally, reached only to the armpits. This armor was not so long as to prevent the wearer sitting down. The shoulder ties were fastened to the twining elements; the side straps to the rods. Both the skin and the rod armor were put on over the head, indicating that the shoulder straps were permanently fastened.

Armor was not common, as it was customary to enter battle wearing only a breechclout and with the body painted. 726 ● 411

527 574 439 others. Then the hosts beat their drums until their gifts are all given away, while men and women dance up and down in place in the street between the camps. Guests then beat their drums and send their presents. When everything is given away, both sides beat their drums while the property is divided among the members who have contributed, each man getting the same amount of property that he had given. The young people are all dancing but each party keeps separate. Then the guests leave without ceremony or drumming.

171 The Thompson, Shuswap and Northern Okanagon give such dances. The following have never given them: Chelan, Colville, Nez Percé Sinkaietk, Spokan and Wenatchi.

KNOWLEDGE OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

439 [726] 619 The Lower Fraser Salish (tlEmslū'GX) were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded. The Lower Fraser people now bring European food to trade for salmon and berries at the mouth of the Okanogan River. Now Tukoratum people also go to Lower Fraser country to trade.

619 ● 726 The Sinkaietk are much afraid of the Thompson (nEkwEtEmI'XQ) because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Sinkaietk surprise them in their attacks.

173 619 There is a tradition of the migration of a branch of the Thompson southward through Sinkaietk territory. The division was caused by a quarrel over a dog. Some went back north, but others went south, where in their new habitat they are called wicxam (Wishram). This is undoubtedly the tradition recorded by Teit." Curiously enough this detached group was called by our informants "Apaches"; in connection with this it is well to recall that Athapascan peoples (Stuwi'x), who later mixed with the Thompson, inhabited the Nicola-Similkameen district not long prior to the advent of the whites. It was also stated that people on the Similkameen long ago, in the days of David Isaac's great-grandfather, spoke a language unintelligible to the Northern Okanagon."

619 [439] SūqwEtI'kEn, "half and half people," is a general name for all people living to the west of the Cascade mountains. Some of these people made red pipes and brought them to the mouth of the Okanogan River to trade for salmon before the whites came. These

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 78 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

11 Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 96 f.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 204 f.
13 The above information is all from Mary Carden, Tukoratum. [1]
14 According to David Isaac, Tunasket. [1]
15 Informant, Michel Brooks, Kartar. [1]

p. 78 (A)

619 people have always been friends. (Michel, however, said that formerly they were fought.) Mary Carden thinks they intermarried with the Tukoratum in the old days, because Tukoratum here have relatives there. The Tukoratum cross the mountains some years. The coast people have strange kinds of fish for sale. The specific people to whom Mary is referring here are probably Skagit, for the neighboring Chelan and Skagit intermarry and are friendly, making annual visits across the mountains by way of Cascade Pass.

The Wenatchi are called npEsqwē'ūs or sInqwI'la. The Columbia (i.e., Teit's Middle Columbia Salish) are called "big river people" (sInselōxwI'I't^{kwūx}), while the Moses Columbia are known by their band name, skūwa'xqtsIn, "build on edge of the river." The Upper Kutenai are skalsI'ūīk.

The sInkaqaI'I'ūs, "between people," are a group composed largely of Tukoratum and Moses Columbia people who have intermarried and live around Coulee City. It is a small group with one chief, and does not belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.

The saI'aq^{ū}tcEn live on the Columbia River below Wenatchee "around Ellensburg and Yakima." The Cayuse, Umatilla and Wallawalla are all known as either the skaI.ūū's or sEnIyē'l.m·n. The Coeur d'Alêne are known as the skI'tsō^{xū}. People around the Dalles in general are called swaI.ya'mpā^{x}, and the Chinook are stcEnū'k. The Snake are called sInxaxō'ō'laūxtEn; the Blackfoot stEqwa'I'IxEn.

[726] During the days of Mary's grandfather, the Spokan (spōka'In^{xū}) attacked the Sinkaietk across from the island just below the town of Okanogan. All the Spokan were killed but one, who swam the river and died on the edge of the island. Since then the island has been called stEpōkanExI'kEn.[3]$\frac{1}{\wedge}$

The Lakes (cInnaI'tckst) still use bark canoes. After the Colville got horses, they traded horses to the Lakes for bark canoes, but the Lakes could not use horses because the mountains in their country are too steep. The Tonasket make their own bark canoes, because it is too far to trade them from the Lakes."[4]$\frac{1}{\wedge}$

The Similkameen (sImIlkamI ^{xū}), who now speak the Okanagon language, live around Penticton and at Princeton, B. C.

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728 The Sinkaietk and Shuswap made a treaty at Konkonelp before 1800 and have never fought since.[5]$\frac{1}{\wedge}$The two tribes are apparently old enemies, for Teit mentions "the Okanagon, of Okanogan River and south, who occasionally

$\frac{1}{\wedge}$[For context of these footnotes, see p. 78(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 78 (B)

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
773 to skŭnqwŭnĭép to camp with them. One of the Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski´nt. That night when they want to sleep, Ixwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman with war power may sing all night and tell
791 what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
[727] war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
● 726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

726 duce of the hunts or fishing which they are forced to miss.

712 722 Cecile Brooks, an informant who probably knows more about the Konkonelp and Kartar bands than about the others, says that in the past when at attack was made on the Sinkaietk the men got ready to fight, and the women and children retired to a pit behind a rock barricade. One was built at every village, she affirms, and also at the summer camps. This is doubtful.

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A long time ago a party of Spokan Indians came to attack the Konkonelp and killed all the women who were out in the fields picking service berries. A guard had been set to watch from a little hill just above Okanogan. He went to sleep and failed to see the enemy coming. All the women and children were killed, except one girl who had the feathers of a swift bird tied in the shoulder-lacings of her dress. As she ran away from the enemy she threw the feathers behind her, and this made her run so swiftly that she seemed to fly two feet above the ground. She passed the sleeping guard and ran to the summer camp where all the men were. The men took their bows and arrows and rushed to the berry fields, too late to save the women, but they killed all the enemy except two."[22]

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In the second version, the locale has moved down the river thirty miles and the participants have changed identities. The reference to boats of the enemy suggests Kutenai, rather than Blackfoot:

In the old days the Tukoratum people camped at sxa´kálatEn, one mile north of Monse. In September, the men were fishing for salmon and the women were drying them. Some women were going to the Columbia to pick thorn berries; they had a watchman along. Late in the day the watchman left. The Blackfoot were there; they had hidden their boats by the island two miles down from the mouth of the Okanogan. The Blackfoot hid in the bushes there. Some scouts saw the Tukoratum women and signalled for the rest of the group. The Blackfoot attacked the women, who started back for camp. The last girl had much power; she wore eagle feathers inside her dress. Her mother had power too, deer power. The old woman pulled up her dress over her head and ran naked, like a deer. The girl put feathers on her head and flew.

The men at camp heard them and came to help. The Tukoratum killed all the Blackfoot men on the flat, but two, and four more that had been left with the boats. At the river, they killed the four men at the boats. The two remaining Blackfoot jumped into the Columbia River and the Tukoratum pursued them in canoes. One Blackfoot finally called, "I am of your own people. I was captured when I was a little boy." So the Tukoratum did not kill these two, but sent them back to the Blackfoot chief to tell him, "Even if you send one hundred men here, just two Okanagon men could kill all of them."[23]

During the days of Mary Carden's grandfather (that is, possibly early in the last century), the Spokan attacked the settlement opposite the island below the present town of Okanogan.

The Nez Percé are traditional enemies of the Sinkaietk. Mrs. Johnnie Louie, after interpreting the following story, said, "The Nez Percé have always been cruel. Even now they think they are better than the Sinkaietk."

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[22] Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.
[23] Informant, Mary Carden, Tukoratum.
[24] Informant, Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

p. 81 (4)

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There was an old woman gathering wood. She looked up and saw a man standing right there. He was a Nez Percé come to spy on the Konkonelp. He stood there and the old woman was afraid to run for fear he would kill her. So she made believe that she did not see him and went on gathering her wood.

Then she went back to the village and told the people, "I saw our enemy. I guess they have come to see what you are doing." And they told her, "Oh, we don't believe you." And they did not believe her. She said, "Yes, I saw him. He had mud all over his head and all over his clothes. He was the same color as the ground, and I could hardly see him."

She had three grandchildren, two girls and one boy. She told them, "We will get ready to leave here." It was about evening. So they left and went far off and sat down. They did not go to sleep. They just sat there.

About morning, all at once the people in the village all went to sleep. The enemy came there and killed everyone. All the women, men, boys and girls; they were asleep when they were killed. The Nez Percé took all the little children, stuck a stick through their throats and strung them up on a pole. They took some food and blankets and left."[1]

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The following tales are of battles participated in by neighboring tribes.

One time the Shuswap came down toward Osoyoos.

Two Northern Okanagon boys and their mother had gone from Oroville to Osoyoos on a ridge and camped there to keep away from the mosquitoes. One of the boys was sick and could hardly move. He was paralyzed; sick for a long time.

In the night the old lady got up to urinate and saw people lying all around watching her. She got up, raised her dress, and scratched herself as if she did not see them. She thought that if she acted afraid they would kill her, and she wanted to warn her son.

She told her boy that the Shuswap had surrounded them. So the boy got ready to fight. As soon as morning came, he jumped out of the tipi and started to shoot the Shuswap and they started to shoot at him.

The sick brother did his best and started to walk away to escape. His mother walked behind him. He tried to climb a hill, but fell back. His warrior brother turned around and started to fight again. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back.

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 81 (A), category 116. --Analyst]

[Northern Okanagon War Dance]

Sinkaietk
Northeast Salish NE12
Northern Okanagon

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The Sinkaietk take no scalps and have no war dance. Mary Carden stated that the Blackfoot, who were met when buffalo hunting, were the only people who scalped.

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The Northern Okanagon, however, have a dance preparatory to war and a scalp dance on their return. A warrior keeps scalps with his power emblem in a medicine bundle: they are kept for display. The scalps are decorated with feathers and porcupine quills strung on the hair. They do not take heads of the slain as trophies.

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For the preparatory war dance, warriors paint their bodies solid red without designs and wear a small breechcloth. All trophies from former skirmishes are brought out. Garments and ornaments from slain enemies are worn at this time. A war leader with an enemy scalp on a short stick starts the dance by stamping the lower end of the stick on the ground when the drum begins to beat. Then all the men, and as many women as choose, dance with the war leader. At intervals during the dancing and singing, each warrior describes his war power, states what his power has told him to do and how many times he has saved his people. At this time power songs are never sung; only war songs are used. Great warriors ask their people to test them for war. These men have so much power that arrows and bullets cannot penetrate them when their people shoot at them. The war dance continues until the last warrior has told his story.

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There is no dancing in camp while the men are away fighting, but when they return they hold a scalp dance. People from many neighboring villages come to dance with the returned warriors. At this time, the warriors one by one relate their deeds in the last fight.

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David says that the Shuswap are the greatest enemy of the Northern Okanagon. Whereas the Shuswap come down to fight the Northern Okanagon every spring, taking advantage of the high water to float their bark canoes, the Northern Okanagon go to Shuswap country to fight every fall. This would indicate a degree of formalization.

RELATIONS WITH THE WHITES

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The Sinkaietk tribe was well disposed to the whites in their first contacts, according to the accounts of white men, as well as their own. Ross Cox found them friendly at the beginning of the last century. Wilkes,[28] in 1845, says, "The Okonagan tribe of Indians are supposed to number about two hundred, and are represented as quiet and

$\frac{1}{\wedge}$ [For context of these footnotes, see p. 83(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[28] Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 434.

[29] Lane, in Message from the President, 170. $\frac{1}{\wedge}$

[30] Shaw, Estimates for Indian Service, 113. $\frac{1}{\wedge}$

[31] Craig, in Indian Affairs on the Pacific, 171. $\frac{1}{\wedge}$

226 789 In the "very old days," long before Suzen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

726 789 In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many me[illegible]ds of employing power in war.

726 773 In a story told by David Isaac, the hero Ktsasikwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." Ktsasikwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still later in the tale, when ktsatsikwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

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them high up in his lodge, and no one, not 726 even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder had told him to make these arrows for use in such an emergency as this. He now explained to the people, "I don't want to fight. I 773 only want to try my thunder power with these arrows. That is why I have never played with them or used them for hunting, but have kept them carefully for so long."

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

When a little bird first came to a boy 726 as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the bird tell him, "These hailstones are like bullets and arrows." 787 This meant that he would be immune from bullets and arrows in war. In the account of Sūlktaskū'sūm given 789 by Suszen, the hero had received his power from a magpie when a child, and no bullets could harm him.

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. SērsēpkIn, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which SērsēpkIn came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies SērsēpkIn and two of his warriors, qōwēcElExkIn and sqElūxtcō, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. SērsēpkIn and qōwēcElExkIn left their guns with sqElūxtcō and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. QōwēcElExkIn's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qōwēcElExkIn recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had 726
deer power, pulled her dress over her head
and ran away naked like a deer; while her
daughter, whose power was the eagle, took 787
some eagle feathers from the inside of her
dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 789

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs 773
us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy.

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding in- 726
stances, the following seems more dramatic
as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys 778
and their mother were camping on a ridge be-
tween Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mos-
quitoes. One of the boys had been sick and 789
paralyzed for a long time, so that he could
hardly move. During the night, when the old 539
woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy.

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Colville; Lakes

shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[1] 411 713

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses. 712

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwi'x, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwi'x* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwi'x* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwi'x* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwi'x*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwi'x*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwi'x* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwi'x*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwi'x*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwi'x* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies. 726 ●

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[1] Field Museum, 111962.

Okanagon. Once a large Shuswap war party from Savona and neighborhood was defeated at *Namtū'stɛn* ("place of ambush") and nearly all of them were killed. Another Shuswap war party had many men killed by falling over a cliff below Penticton. It seems that this war party came over the plateau to the bluffs above the valley, which they reached in the evening. Here they halted to observe some camps in the valley below. They were noticed by some Okanagon scouts, and in the night time were surrounded by a strong party of Okanagon, who shortly before daybreak attacked them suddenly. Many of the Shuswap, not knowing the locality, fell over the precipice in the dark. Some others escaped to isolated rocks, where their retreat was cut off by the steep cliffs, and they were shot there after daylight. A number of others escaped through the Okanagon in the dark, and reached home. Their war chief was killed.

Wars with Kutenai.—The Lake say that they had no wars with the Shuswap, nor with any other tribe except the Kutenai. With the Lower Kutenai they had some small fights and one great war. It is not remembered exactly how it started; but the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake away from Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Slocan River. A number of fights occurred, with advantage sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. At last the Lake held a council, and said, "We better kill all the Kutenai, and then there will be no more trouble." At this time the Lake tribe was very numerous, and men came from all parts of the tribe. A large expedition went up Kootenai Lake and attacked the Lower Kutenai of Creston. They killed a great many people, and after that the Kutenai ceased to attack them. In some expeditions Shuswap helped the Lake against the Kutenai. The Lake say that sometimes independent war parties of Shuswap appeared in the Lake country on their way to attack the Kutenai. The Lake tribe sometimes gave them assistance in crossing the Columbia. It seems that there has been no war between the Lake and the Kutenai since about the beginning of the past century.

Wars with the Nez Percé and Yakima.—The Sanpoil say that according to traditions the Sanpoil and Nespelim led very peaceful lives, sometimes for decades at a time, neither attacking nor being attacked, although meanwhile they heard of many wars among other tribes. Their chiefs always favored peace, although all bands had war chiefs and a certain number of trained warriors. Once, sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century, or at least previous to the coming of the white traders, a large war party of Nez Percé attacked the main camp of the Sanpoil, at a time when most of the able-bodied men were away on a hunting expedition in the mountains. Nearly 200 women, children, and old people were killed. The Sanpoil asked the assistance of the Okanagon and Colville to revenge the massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes 726 had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again.

Wars with the whites.—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokan and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Tcelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

FEUDS.—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not 578 as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon:

Chief Nicolas,[10] who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of 578 Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the 173 Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,[11] who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *Kᴇsaskai'-*

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[10] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267 (4.9).

[11] According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *Kᴇsaskai'lᴇx*.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward. • [726]

000 *The Tunā'χe (or Salish-Tunā'χe).*—The country of the *Tunā'χe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tunā'χe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonā'χa* or *Kutonā'χa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tunā'χe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[30] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'χa*, *Tonā'χa*, or *Tuna'χa*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not. 628

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[30] See note 29. The names *Tuna'χe* and *Tona'χa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktuna'χa*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *aχ(?)* to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktunaχ'nam*.—*F. Boas.*

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly.

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The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged. [728]

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident 000

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[1] See pp. 125, 316 et seq.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting,
and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Walla-walla,
Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628 Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[648 united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of
Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was
large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their
ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the
Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand
fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly
assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed
the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always
in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60
years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

● 726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

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● 726 most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five
guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the
[727] western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Blackfoot
were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Blackfoot
were pursued but made good their escape.

726 Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the
same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were
*171 carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade
with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot
Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few
Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As
they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from
a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot
war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the
party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they
managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got
nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat.
The Pend d'Oreilles called reenforcements, followed the Blackfoot,
[727] who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They
killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The
rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and
made their escape through the woods in the night. After this,
McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at
Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there
were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post.
[103] The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*,"
from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

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into six parties at the different breastworks. The Salish concentrated all their men, and riding out into the open rapidly rushed one breastwork after another, attacking from the sides and driving the Blackfoot out on the open plain. In the onslaught their chief, a Piegan, and several others were killed. The Blackfoot managed to get together and rally. The mounted Salish kept them surrounded and a long-range fight ensued. The Blackfoot were much superior to the Salish in guns, but they ran short of ammunition. They moved along slowly all day, the Salish having them surrounded and fighting them all the time. During the night they broke up into several parties and tried to escape; but in the morning the mounted Salish caught up with the largest party, attacked it and killed all the members. Another detached party when overtaken and surrounded began to sing a death chant. The Salish also rode through this party and killed them all. By nightfall all the Blackfoot had been disposed of except a few of those who had escaped the night before and had not been located or overtaken. They may have numbered 15 or 20 men. It is said that a Pend d'Oreilles party came on them later in the country farther north and killed nearly all of them. Probably not one of this party of Blackfoot ever reached their country. During the first night, when the Blackfoot were preparing to attack the Salish camp, they had managed in the dark to steal two very valuable horses. One was a pinto and the other a brown. When next morning the Blackfoot were driven out of their breastworks two unarmed lads mounted these horses and tried to escape with them. A Flathead on a very fleet horse chased them, and after riding about 6 miles killed them both and recovered the horses. During the two days' fighting the Salish lost very few men and had very few horses shot, but a number of horses and men were wounded. The Flathead who led the attack on the breastworks was killed by a ball and another Flathead (a subchief ?) was shot and killed by a wounded Blackfoot when only about 2 feet away. A Flathead near by struck the latter down and scalped him at once.

Wars with the Cheyenne.—Sometimes the Cheyenne and Salish fought. Once they had a war in which they attacked each other many times and raided each other for horses, but no decisive battle was fought. A number of horses were stolen on both sides, but very few people were killed in either tribe. The most severe engagement was fought a short distance north of the Little Horn; neither side gained an advantage over the other. At the time of the Custer battle, or shortly afterwards, the Cheyenne deserted the country in which they had made their headquarters and moved temporarily into the Crow country, while the Crow moved north to the confines of the Piegan and stayed there for a time. It is said that this migration was due to fear of the Sioux.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.[2] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

171* 648 [726] ● *Wars with the whites.*—With the exception of the Spokan and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

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[2] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them
what they had come there for. They answered that they were
going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said
to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with
you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back
out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when
there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them
and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte,
where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended
to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night
some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors
out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning
the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
[727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have
taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their
pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses,
and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed
over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the
Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place
on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall
of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000
horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan
country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought
four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat
after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their
women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with
them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and
baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians
held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their
chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry [1] was
sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he
could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of
the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses.
The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and
it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them.
The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they
had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition.
Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning,
being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows.
They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of
replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[1] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well 728 supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It [727] is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's 72P* defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority [722] of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one 726 • of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

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turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

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In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared 721 for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were 727 ● never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal 701 such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to 624 wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be [787] able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. 791 He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp 721 on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to 729 defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okan- 173 ogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight."[1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116. -- Analyst.]

721 173 791 fight them, so the people from Kartar went to skũnqwũníép to camp with them. One of the Kartar men went to see where the enemy was. The enemy saw him and were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Ixwaski´nt. That night when they went to sleep, Ixwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 791 There are no prayers for war. A shaman with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or between two medicine men. [834] There are no sex taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. ●[727] The Sinkaietk had no war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 [302] 726 Warriors in dressing for battle usually paint their whole bodies with red clay and wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

p. 80(A)

In war, enemy men are killed and their women 617
taken as wives (sqwē'nExEn, "wife who is cap-
tured"). There is no word in the Sinkaietk 727
vocabulary for slave.

Mary Carden says that the chief some- 622
times cares for wounded enemies until they
are well. Then such men work with the chief's 727
family, joining hunts, etc. If a captive is
a good provider, Sinkaietk parents may ask 582
the chief to let him marry their daughter.
At these marriages, the chief acts as the
captive's father. It is hard to believe that
captive enemies would prove so amenable, un-
less they had been taken very young.

60 See the Dream dance. [1]

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 99 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

David Isaac says that in a raid, some 171
Northern Okanagon people kill captive chil-
dren; others adopt them. He has heard of 727
children being roasted to tantalize the ene-
my. He recounts the capture of a woman in
recent times.

After the whites came a man put red 668
flannel on his moccasins and went among the
tribes leading a religious revival and seduc- 796
ing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo.
His followers from Douglas Lake went up and
avenged him. While there they captured a
nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back.
She married a Douglas Lake man."[1]

[1] [For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99(B)

[p.100 is blank]

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

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SCALP DANCE.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con-

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535 727 796 tinued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.[238] The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535 727 796

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[238] *b*, p. 267.

TSUWIKT DANCE.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[127]

TRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL WAR DANCES.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of [203] war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. Intertribal games took place at the same [524] time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

MARRYING DANCE.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, 796 Yakima, and Klickitat.[128] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[127] *b*, p. 267.

[128] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and 535
food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes 535
parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs,
in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them 721
before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a 535
dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted
their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them 727
on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had 535
received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated 776
his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held 535
in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the 583
same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being 535
held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women,
during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that 796
used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than 757
food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day 161
population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of 162
Indian Affairs, is— 171*

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	596	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	----

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 160). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population
of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish- 165
Tunā'χɛ and the greater part of the *Sɛmtē'use* are said to have been 731
killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by small- 171+
pox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to
nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from [727] •
the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sɛmtē'use*, Pend
d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River.
The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only
slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville,
and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have
been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out.
Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Small- 165
pox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime 731
about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My
grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little 173

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Sɛmtē'usɛ*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

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A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lɛmɛn*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

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The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

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Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a 177
great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the
Upper Kutenai and *Sᴇmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with 582
the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, and
Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage
occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel
had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the
Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with
the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend
d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe.
There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with
other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying
Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse
and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel,
less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes.
Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and
Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other
Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and
Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance [178]
of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes
increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage
now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages
were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little 567
extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and
captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had 727
slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south
of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead
and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* are said to have had a few slave or captive
women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and
Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were
seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed.
After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven 177
for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled
down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently
settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants
of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to
Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet,
Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville,
Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, *Tunā'x̣e*,
Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee,
Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some
half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases
mentioned by him were as follows: *X̣ʌpa'eqᴇt*, an Upper Thompson;
Sonaᴇ'ukᴇn, a *Stlaxai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson,
Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washing- 000
ton Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were
founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts 439
within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) 487
and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the 411
Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and 713
surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under 171*
"Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of
knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk [178]
skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the
introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably
not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were em-
ployed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of [237]
skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days
many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern
tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was
considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but pos-
sibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted [531]
designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp
locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The
coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons
of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some [531]
of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with
ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot. [177]

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring 171*
Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. [725]
All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They
also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they [727] •
related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few 000
wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

726 most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five
guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the
• [727] western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Black-
foot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Black-
foot were pursued but made good their escape.

726 Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the
same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were
*171 carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade
with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot
Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few
Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As
they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from
a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot
war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the
party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they
managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got
nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat.
The Pend d'Oreilles called reenforcements, followed the Blackfoot,
[727] who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They
killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The
rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and
made their escape through the woods in the night. After this,
McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at
Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there
were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post.
[103] The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*,"
from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them
what they had come there for. They answered that they were
going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said
to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with
you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back
out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when
there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them
and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte,
where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended
to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night
some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors
out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning
the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
• [727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have
taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their
pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses,
and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed
over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the
Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place
on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall
of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000
horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan
country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought
four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat
after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their
women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with
them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and
baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians
held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their
chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry [3] was
sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he
could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of
the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses.
The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and
it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them.
The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they
had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition.
Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning,
being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows.
They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of
replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well 728
supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It [727]
is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's 721*
defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority [722]
of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one 726
of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way. 000

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. ~~At least,~~ in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next. 171* 727 648 628

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them. 177 171*

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different. 201 191 171*

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog 171* 56 61 575 000

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'l'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'pstsxmza'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulent'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titlslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Szu'tsxmxxl' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iâleixmt' or *Yôleixmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-
*171 Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles
567 and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war,
consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into
*171 the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of
• 427 them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there
were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did
not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill
rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their
mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is
said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time,
some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from
Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did
*171 not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes
of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform,
have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow
type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes
serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red
[439] and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from
Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in
color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown
kind from the Coeur d'Alène country; and occasionally green, yellow,
white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was
276 common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe
788 was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often
pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the
*171 earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions.
After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool
276 on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking,
*171 probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

1: Hodge E-5 1907, 1910 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

000 **San Pascual.** A former pueblo of the Piro on the E. bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the present San Antonio village (which occupies the site of Senecú), Socorro co., N. Mex. Shea (Cath. Miss., 82, 1855) states that a mission existed there and that it was destroyed during the rebellion of 1680. According to Bandelier, however, the village in all probability was abandoned about 1675, since Senecú, on the opposite side of the river, was destroyed early in that year by the Apache. Consult Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 250, 1892. See also *Piro*.

San Pascual. A former Yuma rancheria on Gila r., Ariz., 16 to 20 leagues above its mouth, visited by Anza and Font in 1775.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 392, 1889.

San Pascual. A village of the Giñanemuk, a branch of the Serranos of s. California, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776.

San Pasqual.—Garcés, Diary, 273, 1900.

San Pedro (Saint Peter). A Yuma rancheria on the Rio Gila in Arizona, 3 leagues above its junction with the Colorado. It was visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699.

S. Pedro.—Kino, map (1701), in Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 360, 1889 (see p. 359). S. Petrus.—Kino, map (1702), in Stöcklein, Neue Welt-Bott, 74, 1726. St Peter.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, map, 1759 (located where San Pablo should be).

San Pedro. A Mohave rancheria, visited and so named by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776; situated on or near the w. bank of the Rio Colorado, lat. 35° 01′, about 8 m. N. W. of Needles, s. E. Cal.—Garcés, Diary (1776), 234, 416, 1900.

San Pedro de los Jamajabs.—Garcés, op. cit.

San Pedro. A Timucua mission on the present Cumberland id., Fla., named in 1688 in an address from the chiefs of the tribe to the King of Spain, a translation of which appears in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., XVIII, 497, 1880.

San Pedro. A rancheria of the Tejas (Hainai), on a stream of the same name, at which the Franciscan mission of San Francisco de los Tejas (q.v.) was founded in 1690. It contained 80 men in 1782 (Bancroft, No. Mex. States, I, 665, 1886). See *Nabedache*.

San Pedro. One of the principal settlements of the Mayo, situated in s. Sonora, Mexico.—Hrdlička in Am. Anthr., VI, 59, 1904.

San Pedro Guasave. A former settlement of the Guasave (Vacoregue) on the E. bank of Rio Sinaloa, about lat. 25° 40′, N. W. Sinaloa, Mexico.

Guasave.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., map, 1864. San Pedro Guasave.—Ibid., 332.

San Pedro Martire (Saint Peter the Martyr). A Dominican mission, founded May 28, 1794, by Father Pallas, about 40 m. E. of Santo Tomás mission, lat. 31° 50′, Lower California.

San Pedro Martyr.—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 50, 1869.

San Pedro y San Pablo (Saint Peter and Saint Paul). A mission established by Fray Francisco Garcés in 1780 among the Yuma on the w. bank of Colorado r., near the site of modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob), 8 or 10 m. below Yuma, in extreme s. E. California. On July 17–19, 1781, the mission was sacked and burned by the natives, about 50 Spaniards, including Garcés, three other friars, and Capt. Rivera y Moncada were killed, and the women and children made captives. See *Concepción*, *Missions*, *San Pablo*. 000

Bicuñer.—Coues, Garcés Diary, 21, 1900. San Pedro-Pablo.—Taylor in Browne, Res. Pac. Slope, app., 51, 1869. San Pedro y San Pablo.—Arricivita, Crón. Seraf., 504-511, 503, 1792; Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 397, 1889; Coues, cited above. San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.—Coues, Garcés Diary, 19, 1900.

San Pedro y San Pablo. A Cochimi settlement and visita in 1745, situated 8 leagues E. of the parent mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, lat. 27°, Lower California.

San Pedro and San Pablo.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., II, 198, 1759.

Sanpet. A body of Ute formerly occupying San Pete valley and Sevier r., central Utah. Powell found 36 on the Uinta res., Utah, in 1873, although they are said to have numbered 500 in 1865. They are now included under the collective name of Uinta Ute. (H. W. H.)

Land Pitches.—Farnham, Travels, 58, 1843. Sampectches.—DeSmet, Letters, 37, 1843. Sampiches.—Prichard, Phys. Hist. Man., V, 430, 1847. Sampichya.—Burton, City of Saints, 578, 1861. Sampuches.—Collins in Ind. Aff. Rep., 125, 1861. San-Petes.—Humphreys in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1859, 361, 1860. Sanpiche Utahs.—Wilson (1849) in Cal. Mess. and Corresp., 185, 1850. San Pitch.—Correll (1856) in H. R. Ex. Doc. 29, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 37, 1862. San Pitches.—Cooley in Ind. Aff. Rep., 18, 1865. Sanpits.—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 5, 1868 (Shoshoni name). Sampiche Utahs.—Wilson in Ind. Aff. Rep. 1849, 67, 1850.

Sanpoil. A body of Salish on Sans Poil r. and on the Columbia below Big bend, Wash. Gibbs classed them as one of the 8 bands of Spokan and also as one of the 6 bands of Okinagan, they being claimed by both tribes. In 1905 they were reported to number 324, on the Colville res., but in 1909 their population was given as only 178, the disparity being attributed to duplication in previous counts. No treaty was ever made with these Indians for their lands, the Government taking possession of their country except such portions as have been set apart by Executive order for their occupancy. 101 761 728

Ginàpolis.—De Smet, Letters, 220, 1843. Hai-ai'-alma.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (Yakima name). Ne-high-e-nim-me.—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 417, 1855. Nihigheninme.—Lewis and Clark Exped., II, 475, 1814. Nihighenime.—Kelley, Oregon, 68, 1830. Ipoilq.—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 736, 1896 (Yakima name). Linpilliah.—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 200, map, 1853. N'pochele.—Gibbs in Pac. R. R. Rep., I, 414, 1855. N'pooh-le.—Stevens in Ind. Aff. Rep., 239, 1854. N'pochle.—Gibbs, op. cit., 412. San Poels.—Shanks in Sen. Misc. Doc. 32, 43d Cong., 1st sess., 8, 1874. Sanpoil.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1901, 702, 1902. Sanpoils.—

619 people have always been friends. (Michel, however, said that formerly they were fought.) Mary Carden thinks they intermarried with the Tukoratum in the old days, because Tukoratum here have relatives there. The Tukoratum cross the mountains some years. The coast people have strange kinds of fish for sale. The specific people to whom Mary is referring here are probably Skagit, for the neighboring Chelan and Skagit intermarry and are friendly, making annual visits across the mountains by way of Cascade Pass.

The Wenatchi are called npEsqwē´ūs or sĭnqwĭ´la. The Columbia (i.e., Teit's Middle Columbia Salish) are called "big river people" (sĭnselöxwĭ'I´t^{kwūx}), while the Moses Columbia are known by their band name, skūwa´xqtsĭn, "build on edge of the river." The Upper Kutenai are skalsĭ´ūĭk.

The sĭnkaqaĭ'I´ūs, "between people," are a group composed largely of Tukoratum and Moses Columbia people who have intermarried and live around Coulee City. It is a small group with one chief, and does not belong to the Sinkaietk tribe.

The naĭ´aq^{u}tcEn live on the Columbia River below Wenatchee "around Ellensburg and Yakima." The Cayuse, Umatilla and Wallawalla are all known as either the skaĭ.ūū´s or sEnĭyē´l.m·n. The Coeur d'Alêne are known as the skĭ´tsō^{xū}. People around the Dalles in general are called swaĭ.ya´mpā^{x}, and the Chinook are stcEnū´k. The Snake are called sĭnxaxō'ō´laūxtEn; the Blackfoot stEqwa´I'ixEn.

[726] During the days of Mary's grandfather, the Spokan (spōka´In^{xū}) attacked the Sinkaietk across from the island just below the town of Okanogan. All the Spokan were killed but one, who swam the river and died on the edge of the island. Since then the island has been called stEpōkanExI´kEn."[13][1]

The Lakes (cĭnnaĭ´tckst) still use bark canoes. After the Colville got horses, they traded horses to the Lakes for bark canoes, but the Lakes could not use horses because the mountains in their country are too steep. The Tonasket make their own bark canoes, because it is too far to trade them from the Lakes."[14][1]

The Similkameen (sĭmĭlkamĭ´^{xū}), who now speak the Okanagon language, live around Penticton and at Princeton, B. C.

619 The Sinkaietk and Shuswap made a treaty at Konkonelp before 1800 and have never
728 fought since."[5][1] The two tribes are apparently old enemies, for Teit mentions "the Okanagon, of Okanogan River and south, who occasionally

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 78(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people."[16] 619 728

WARFARE

The Sinkaietk have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. 181 721

"The natives of the Oakinagan [Sinkaietk] are an honest, quiet tribe. They do not muster more than two hundred warriors; but as they are on terms of friendship with the Kamloops, Sinapoils, and other small tribes in their rear; and as the Columbia in front forms in impassable barrier against any surprise from their old enemies the Nez Percés, they have in a great degree forgotten the practice of 'glorious war,' and are now settled down into a peaceful and rather slothful tribe."[17]

They fought to protect themselves in case of attack by other tribes, and the only recorded instances of warfare outside their immediate territory were those in which the Sinkaietk pursued a raiding party of enemy warriors. On one such occasion the Konkonelp band pursued a Thompson party across the Canadian line. 721

The last time the Thompson came to skŭnqwŭnɫep where Okanogan town now is, they stole everything they could and then set fire to all the tipis and burned a lot of old people and children. Next morning the Konkonelp went after them and followed them across the line to somewhere near lake Okanogan. They found the Thompson in camp, just before dawn. So the Konkonelp started murdering them. One man was left who said he was a relation who had been captured, but the Konkonelp were so mad that they killed him anyway. They cut off their heads but did not bring them home."[18]

Teit mentions a skirmish that is probably the same.

"At one time a party of Lower Okanagon from the American side, south of the Columbia River, lay concealed for two days in order to attack a band of Spences Bridge Indians; but so watchful were the latter, that the Okanagon returned without striking a blow."[19]

The above story is an exceptional instance. They did not usually go to attack in enemy territory even for revenge, but contented themselves with killing as many as possible during the next raid that they suffered. Since raiding seems to have been a chronic misfortune to cope with, the Sin-

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16 Teit, *Shuswap*, 542.
17 Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 206.
18 Information from Mary Carden.
19 Teit, *Thompson Indians*, 269.
20 Information from Michel Brooks, Kartar.

177 439 willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often
177 784 728 bought from the Plains tribes. It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

439 The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets,

[302] 292 771 776 of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

173 728 WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. [777] The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. [166] Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes, 173 728 [166] and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief [216] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. [152] He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

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[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

was the last war with the Spokan. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

Wars with the Kalispel.—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alêne was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.[217]—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alêne territory. The Coeur d'Alêne never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutsna'lqʷ* entered the Coeur d'Alêne country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alêne were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alêne. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not

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[217] The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

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kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alène men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the [115] great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alène. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alène camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[218] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alène marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead [551] returned to the Coeur d'Alène country. Among them was *Qutᴇna'lqʷ*, who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alène the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na*

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[218] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[219] A Coeur d'Alène, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

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and *Citɛmu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutɛna'lqʷ* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alêne at Coeur d'Alêne City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alêne, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alêne City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I can not make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alêne encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutɛna'lqʷ* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutɛna'lqʷ* looked up when he heard the twang of the bow-string, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alêne fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcine'na* was killed. Chief *Citɛmu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alêne divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made

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a great speech, and said that the peace pipe must be filled and smoked. One Flathead said, "No. How can we smoke the peace pipe? The Coeur d'Alêne broke it. There is no peace pipe. How can it be smoked?" The Coeur d'Alêne said they were willing to smoke, as they could make an honorable peace now, for Flathead blood had been spilled as well as Coeur d'Alêne blood. Any peace arranged before would have been one-sided and dishonorable. Many speeches were made, and the conference lasted a number of days. At last everything was arranged amicably, and the pipe was smoked by all the chiefs of these tribes. They agreed that there should be an everlasting peace between them; that none would fight the others and that all would be friends and allies. This pledge has never since been broken.

Wars with the Kutenai.—Coeur d'Alêne parties sometimes went to the Lower Kutenai country and attacked the people there, but the Kutenai never retaliated by invading the Coeur d'Alêne country. Probably the last fight between them happened as follows: At the time when guns were first introduced among the Coeur d'Alêne, two brothers had a gun between them. One day they quarreled about the gun, each wanting to hunt with it. At last one brother said to the other, "Well, you may have the gun as your sole property. I will go and get a gun in war." At that time the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead had a great many guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne had hardly any. The brother arrayed himself for war, and, taking a canoe, went down the river to the lake, where he saw a number of people ashore. He hailed them and told them he was going to fight the Kutenai. Many men said they would join him. At last the party numbered about 100 men, and they held a war dance. They crossed the lake and portaged their canoes on their heads, taking turns carrying them. Afterwards they cached their canoes and went on foot until they reached Pend d'Oreille Lake. Here they made new canoes and crossed the lake. There were many loons on the lake, and they made a great noise when they saw the canoes. Someone said, "Stop those birds from crying!" One man who was a shaman tried and failed. Then another tried and succeeded. When they arrived at the head of the lake they cached their canoes and proceeded on foot. At last they reached a place on the Kootenay River where there was a large camp of Lower Kutenai. The party counseled as to whether they should attack the camp by daylight or wait until early morning. They decided to wait. At daybreak they rushed the camp and surprised the Kutenai, who were unable to put up a fight and fled. Some jumped into the river and swam away; others hid in the water, holding on to bushes, which concealed them; and some reached their canoes and crossed the river. Many Kutenai were killed; and the Coeur d'Alêne captured all the valuables in camp,

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including several guns. In the camp was a buffalo-skin tent, which was thought to be empty, as no one had attempted to escape from it. It was occupied, however, by a sick man who had a gun. A Coeur d'Alêne went to look in, and the Kutenai shot him in the thigh, wounding him badly. The brother who had started the war party then killed the sick man and took possession of his gun.

Wars with the Nez Percé.—The Coeur d'Alêne probably had more wars with the Nez Percé than with any of the Salish tribes, and each invaded the other's territory. These wars, however, were not frequent. Once during a war with the Nez Percé a band of Coeur d'Alêne was camped on Hangmans Creek, at a place about 3 miles west of De Smet, gathering camas. Some Nez Percé had been killed some time before in a fight, and the Nez Percé had declared that they would exterminate the Coeur d'Alêne. As it was war time, the band at Hangmans Creek had partially fortified their camp and were constantly on the alert. A large war party of Nez Percé went there and surrounded them. They assaulted the camp, but were repulsed. The parties fought for two days, many Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne being killed. The headman of the Coeur d'Alêne said to his friends, "The Nez Percé far outnumber us. We can not hold out against their numbers, and probably to-morrow the last of us will be killed. To save ourselves I will try a ruse." He was a strong, athletic man. At midnight he left the camp and ran in the dark swiftly from place to place in front of the Nez Percé lines, giving the war cry "Wa-a-a!" in a loud voice. At the same time the people in the Coeur d'Alêne camp began to shout and to make a great noise. They also called out challenges and insults to the Nez Percé. The chief standing in front of the Nez Percé, but unseen because of the darkness, spoke loudly to them in their own language, saying, "Nez Percé, we do not want to be always bad friends. We will give you a chance to go home; and if you don't go, then at daybreak we shall slaughter you. All the Coeur d'Alêne warriors from St. Joseph's, Coeur d'Alêne City, and other places are now here, and we shall give you battle at daybreak." The Nez Percé held a consultation. They believed that the man had spoken the truth, for there appeared to be great joy and shouting in the Coeur d'Alêne camp. They left that night, and the Coeur d'Alêne escaped.

Wars with the Blackfoot and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.—The Plains tribes had no fixed boundaries. They had their homes in certain places; but they traveled hundreds of miles, looking for buffalo, and changing their headquarters from time to time. The Coeur d'Alêne never visited the real homes of any of these tribes, as they were far to the east; but they often met them when they were buffalo hunting in the intermediate country, and they knew the general direction of what was considered to be

173 728 the country of each tribe. The Flathead knew much more than the Coeur d'Alène regarding the countries from which these tribes came. As all these eastern tribes were encroaching on the western tribes and on one another, there was almost constant warfare between them and the western Indians, as well as among themselves. On the other hand, the western Indians were allies, and did not fight among themselves. The western part of the plains, stretching from the Flathead main camps to the Yellowstone and easterly for a very long distance, was at one time practically an intertribal hunting and battle ground. No one lived there permanently; but all the tribes hunted and fought in it, and tried to claim hunting rights by force of arms. Nearly all parties who traveled or hunted in this region were perforce large, for small parties were liable to be cut off and exterminated at any time. Long ago most of this western strip of the plains country belonged to Flathead and Shoshoni tribes, who hunted there, usually in small parties. The Blackfoot and Crow invaded the country in large numbers, and for a time drove out the Flathead and Shoshoni. Many of the bands of these tribes who formerly lived east of the mountains were practically wiped out, and others retreated to the west and south. The Shoshoni especially were severely handled, and for many years no Shoshoni were seen on the northwestern plains north of the Yellowstone. The Flathead were also much reduced in numbers during these wars, which had lasted many years. Therefore they made peace with all the western tribes, and invited them to join them as partners in buffalo hunting in their former territory. After this the Coeur d'Alène and other western Salish tribes began to go in ever-increasing numbers to join the Flathead in hunting and war. Many Kutenai and Nez Percé also went annually. All these tribes made their rendezvous in the Flathead country, and moved from there eastward, northward, and southward for buffalo hunting in three or more large parties, keeping more or less in touch with one another during their travels. Being equal in numbers, and superior in horses and weapons to most parties of the Plains Indians, they had little difficulty in holding their own. These conditions continued until the buffalo became nearly extinct. The Coeur d'Alène generally went with the Spokan, and both often with the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Sometimes part of them went with the Flathead, and at other times with the Nez Percé. Most fighting occurred with the Blackfoot, who were considered the worst enemies of the Salish tribes, but also with the Crow, and in later days with the Sioux. The Snake, Bannock, and Ute were almost always friendly with the Salish tribes, and were aligned with them against the eastern tribes. Only one short war between the Salish and Shoshoni is remembered. This was with a tribe of Snake inhabiting the Yellowstone country. The final fight in this war was between them and a

large force of combined Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, who, after a fierce battle, captured nearly all the horses, baggage, and buffalo meat of the Shoshoni. So much of the buffalo meat was taken that it could not be transported, and most of it was left there. The Snake who escaped were nearly all on foot. After this some other Snake acted as intermediaries, and peace was made. No Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes, or Shoshoni, ever came to the Coeur d'Alêne country. The Blackfoot and Crow knew little about taking horses and transports through mountains. They were used to traveling with travois in a flat country. When their war parties went into the Rocky Mountains in search of Snake or Flathead, they were always afoot, and as a rule met with little success. Once, long ago, a large party of Blackfoot invaded the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead countries. A battle was fought which lasted two days, and the Blackfoot were driven off. A number of men were killed on both sides. About this time or a little later a party of Blackfoot and another Plains tribe, possibly the Gros Ventres, attacked the Pend d'Oreilles and were driven off with considerable loss. Either this fight or another one occurred at *eniyelemen* (now Mission in the Pend d'Oreilles country). At a still later date a large war party of Crow attacked and defeated the Shoshoni, and, following this up, attacked the Flathead, who, however, routed them and drove them south. Once, at a time when the Salish tribes had many horses but very few guns, and the Blackfoot a good many guns but not many horses, a large party of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, with a few Sanpoil and Columbia, were traveling in a flat country along a large river, possibly the Yellowstone, on their way to hunt buffalo. At the same time a war party of 32 Blackfoot were returning from an unsuccessful raid against the Crow or Shoshoni. They camped on a hill not far from the river, and were tired, for all were on foot. That night one of the party dreamed, and woke up the others before daybreak. He told them, "You must not go down to the river. I dreamed that down there the ground was red with blood, and it was your blood. I saw the sunrise that will come in a short time, and it was very red. In its glow I saw many people, and then I saw your blood on the river." They laughed at him, and all of them went down to the river except the man who had dreamed and his brother. They went farther up the hill, and sat down to watch. It was just daybreak when the 30 left and went to the river at a place where a creek came in. There was a flat near the stream strewn with bowlders and bearing a little timber. The plateau ended in a bluff above this place, and the Flathead and others were in the habit of driving buffalo over this bluff whenever they had the opportunity. The Blackfoot party had just reached the river when the two men on the hill saw many people

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approaching on horseback. This was the Salish party, and they soon noticed the Blackfoot in the hole and surrounded them. The Blackfoot threw up a breastwork of rocks and trees, and a battle ensued. The Salish shot bullets and arrows at the Blackfoot until there was no further response. Then they rushed to the breastwork, and found that the Blackfoot were all *hors de combat*. They drew out all the bodies one after the other, and examined their wounds. One very large man was shot only on the tip of the shoulder, and still he appeared to be dead. They watched him; and when he showed signs of reviving, they killed him with a knife. Some wounded men had crawled under the rocks and into underground passages which had been made there at a former time, probably for concealment. These places were searched and the bodies pulled out. One wounded man almost escaped. A Flathead searcher pursued him, and killed him after a hand-to-hand struggle. They counted 30 bodies. After scalping them and taking all their best clothes and weapons, they left the bodies lying where they were. Among the weapons was a number of guns (perhaps 10 or more), which were considered a great prize at that time. The bones of these Blackfoot remained at this spot for several years afterwards, scattered among the rocks by wolves, and mixed with old buffalo bones. The two Blackfoot brothers who had been watching made good their escape during the fight, unobserved by the Salish, and reached their own country.

Wars with the whites.—The Coeur d'Alêne were on the whole always friendly to the whites. They never made any aggressions against the fur traders and first white settlers. During the Cayuse wars (1845–1850) and the Yakima wars (1855–56) they were neutral. Owing to some dissatisfaction over the treaty made with Governor Stevens, which they claimed the whites had not kept, and probably for some other causes, the Coeur d'Alêne joined the Spokan in the war of the latter (1858). In this war it seems they never attacked any of the traders and settlers, but only the soldiers who invaded their country. In May, 1858, a large force of Coeur d'Alêne, led by their head chief, Saltis, participated with the Spokan and a few Colville and other Salish, in the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's command of 200 dragoons and 30 Nez Percé scouts near Steptoe Butte. It seems that there were no Yakima and Paloos in this battle, as claimed by some authorities. The Indians pursued the remnants of the column to the Snake River. In September of the same year the Coeur d'Alêne were also engaged in two attacks on Colonel Wright's force of about 1,000 men; and they took part in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains, in which the Indians were defeated. In the latter engagement they fought all day, and a few days afterwards again engaged Colonel Wright on his way to Coeur d'Alêne Mission. When the soldiers reached there the Coeur d'Alêne submitted and

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve.

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Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hınwa'xɛne* (full name *Hınwaxɛniw'ctʔ*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłtxʷ* [f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxɛne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxɛne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret*,[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłtxʷ*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxɛne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ*" She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxɛne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxɛne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxɛne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Ciłiłtcsq'wa'iłixʷ* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's 342 lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It [illegible] seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard 621 to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was 482 formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often 621 necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory [537] was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any 622 attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not 626 interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. 687 There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[285]

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had 224 chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first 624 night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was 728 recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt,

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[285] b, pp. 244, 245.

624 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority
728 to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent
war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions.
They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had
distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect,
being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting
in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards
chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief
622 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated
624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He
was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as
an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give
a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the
business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as
805 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days,
moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 Companies.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and
621 the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old
habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization.
The bands seem to have become completely merged in the
tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of
the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country
where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly
well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus
it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations
of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment.
The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the
people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not
463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the
tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special
484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in
traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole,
occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear,
and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not
obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable
body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the
people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men
who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front,
but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo 463 hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally 484 those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle- [728] aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to [554] some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or [177] symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other 202 signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any 484 important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the

again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not. 628

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. 926 171* Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. [648] Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly.

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged. [728] ●

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. 000 Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident

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[1] See pp. 125, 126 et seq.

721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them
what they had come there for. They answered that they were
going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said
to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with
you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back
out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when
there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them
and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte,
where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended
to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night
some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors
out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning
the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
[727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have
taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their
pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses,
and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed
over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the
Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place
on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall
of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000
horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan
country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought
four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat
after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their
women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with
them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and
baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians
held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their
chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry[3] was
sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he
could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of
the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses.
The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and
it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them.
The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they
had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition.
Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning,
being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows.
They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of
replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

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[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well 728
supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before
which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the
Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the moun-
tains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a num-
ber of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should
sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It [727]
is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engage-
ments, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are
not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into
various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur
d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's 721*
defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some
time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them
for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel
called a great council and debated the question for several days.
Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war,
and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies
would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar hap-
penings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One
of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was
Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very
angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people
not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to
fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In
the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and
he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane.
Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the
hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he
was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority [722]
of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British
Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe.
Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the
warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over
to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one 726
of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan
and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the
battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice,
challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him.
They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He
had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of
Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take
the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running
away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack. 721

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

727 Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

701 A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). 624 He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. [787] Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. 791 He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

721 The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, 729 ● a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. 173 They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight.[20] [1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Karter band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116.-- Analyst.]

p. 79 (B)

The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultramontana* Wats., (skukuwi'lp^{e}), which were present in abundance, and which could be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise. 261

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indirectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early part of the nineteenth century.[3] The second was a severe earthquake which came in November, 1873.[4] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows: 173 261 731

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more. 159 173 261 731
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[3] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[4] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

trout would be ascertained before the ice came. 000

Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself. 224 [787]

Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa'ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation. 261

There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites, but it seems to have been frequent before that. 731

How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen: 261

The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it. 776

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1] 771 796

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 224 782

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 731 ● 796 head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is— 161 162 171*

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[1] See Thompson, c, pp. [illegible].

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	----

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunā'χe* and the greater part of the *Sχmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sχmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwē'* ('little

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165 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-
• 731 in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispē'lɛm*, eastern Washing-
173 ton. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead
*[171] suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It
spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."

165 About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The
731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
[757] occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan
tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

194 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, and *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmıtawiya'kı'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 856

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkä'lpᵘ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (χloxloxwi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 137 271 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilpᵘ). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (stəptəpsə'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵘ). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (təptəpəla'a'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [757]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sua'tkulpᵘ). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nqᵘ). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 153.

[20] Identification not certain.

782 796 sticks might have been cast away to avert the end of the world.

796 ●751 The Dream dance prophecies functioned in a special way during the smallpox epidemic. A certain man who, it was specifically stated, had no power, dreamed that he saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog" over the villages, killing people as it passed. Then he sang, though he did not dance, and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to prayers (sk'aūm; compare the word for the "prayer dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days,he said people prayed to Qōlūncōtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these prayers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qōlūncōtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

773 539 The Southern Okanagon believed that the universe had been created by the supreme god qōlūncōʹtn. This idea, however, may have come to them from Christianity. They had no story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale,assumes the existence of qōlūncōʹtn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story,,these beings received from qōlūncōʹtn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qōlūncōʹtn) first finished the world and had made everything in it,nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth. Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought,"I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid

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Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sx̣ox̣omi'x̣). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

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For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible."
(Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so
desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a
large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[8] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[8] See pages 215 f.

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a 775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body without causing death. The native term for this concept was suxapi'uts. When the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the 776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena. It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests. Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as one's sumi'xʷ. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons, evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite 253 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart. ~~775~~ In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness, but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Uncon- 787 sciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not incon- 828 sistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà'ʼt, "dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

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[1] See pages 149 f.

776 possess. Powerful spirits did not always bestow the maximum of their powers upon all to whom they became guardians. The true efficacy of a spirit as a guardian depended entirely upon the message conveyed to the individual at the time of the quest in which certain specific promises and abilities were usually given. The place at which a spirit was seen had some effect upon its strength In the high mountains animal spirits had the combined powers of their natural selves and the mountains beneath them.

Some spirits were conceived as representative of the genera to which they belonged, whereas others were representative of individual animals or things. In the former case many persons might possess the same spirit as guardian; in the latter only one might. Spirits of the general type were more common. As specific spirits, even dead animals or parts of animals served. For instance, one of the guardian spirits of a man named Bear was a certain dead horse which he had seen on the shore of a lake.

Although spirits were never human beings in concept, upon appearing to human beings they always assumed human form. They retained that form until departure, whereupon their true forms were resumed. An attempt was usually made by the spirit to conceal this transformation by disappearing behind the person's back. In any conversation between a human being and a spirit the true identity of the latter was usually revealed. Spirits were not often seen. During quests, in dreams, at the winter dances and at times of trouble they sometimes appeared but seldom at any other times.

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776 The loss of one's spirit always resulted in serious illness and eventually death. If a lost spirit could be found and brought back its owner immediately became as well as ever. It was within the power of a shaman to steal the spirit of anyone less powerful than he, either for himself or for someone else. It was in this manner that spirits were most commonly "lost." A spirit could be brought back only by a shaman more powerful than the one who had stolen it. A man usually lost his spirit or spirits when he became old and decrepit. Spirits were attracted by good looks and a strong body; they deserted one when he lost these qualities. Another manner in which a spirit might be lost was by being buried with a corpse. Spirits, as mentioned above, were strongly attracted to graves. A buried spirit was lost to its owner, who soon died, but followed and tormented the ghost of the person with whose corpse it had been interred.[3]

776 It may appear that in the foregoing discussion of spirits a subjective element—the guardian aspect—has been included unnecessarily in an objective description. It should be said in this connection that spirits were only considered by the native in their function as guardians. It was granted that every animal and thing potentially possessed a spirit. But of those spirits that never became patrons of human beings nothing was known, nothing was said. They were never seen and never caused any of the happenings in the universe. As merely potential beings they were of no interest to the Sanpoil.

The spirit-ghost appears, at least to our present knowledge, to have been a somewhat unique concept. The guardian spirit of the Sanpoil was not a detached

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[3] See page 151.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 756 776 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 431 753 776 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance, might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

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The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterized as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

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Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

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For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

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One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a'tiamx°. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xʷ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (pap̓a'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1] 787

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa'ʼkntən, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3] 776 787

The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life. 776 885

The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutske'lamsásumixʷ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion. 753 756 776

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[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

753 756 776 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'qaman. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 776 778 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance. It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (taki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of waxwa'xa·'lp. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named ilk'x̣ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4] Described on pages 189 f.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with the man who received it and inevitably married him.[19] It was possible to cause the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so. The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans. 756 787 796

A winter dance was in progress at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance. When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life. 753 756 796

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out. After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over to it and pull it out with ease. 756 796

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kolɛ'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[19] See page 142.

an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's 756
howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement 776
were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was t̓əpː'ˀlst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[13]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests some- 578
times arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause 756
another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the 776
injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited.

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of func- 756
tion. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth.

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic 753
specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing pro- 757
cedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[14] A shaman was called to administer in an

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[13] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[14] See pages 215 f.

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757 ailment of this class only if its persistent nature (barring tuberculosis) suggested that complications of an unnatural sort were present.

The second major class, the unnatural illnesses, were those resulting from the volitional acts of men or spirits. They may for convenience be divided into five sub-classes, as follows: (1) injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men; (2) diffuse internal illnesses; (3) afflictions of the mind; (4) spirit illness; and (5) magical "poisoning."

In the first sub-class, injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men, were the serious wounds resulting directly from encounters with such beings as bears, wolves and snakes, but caused indirectly by the spirits of those beings. The ultimate causes lay still further away; they might be non-observance of the dictates of one's guardian spirit, the jealousy of one with the same spirit or mere carelessness.

The diffuse internal illnesses forming the second group included fevers and all the contagious diseases. The immediate cause was intrusion into the body of foreign matter, and its expulsion was necessary to recovery. The presence of the irritating matter might come about in a number of ways such as the breaking of tabus (menstrual, hunting, burial, etc.) or through the action of an unfriendly shaman. A shaman could bring about such illness by pulling a hair from his head or taking a piece of horse hair or sinew, rolling it between his hands and blowing it away in the direction of the person he wished to afflict.

The third type of illness, afflictions of the mind, came about through shamanistic action to which may be applied the common term bewitching. It was essentially a projection into the victim's body of one of the shaman's spirits. Its abnormal presence resulted in a loss of consciousness, delirium, raving and the various insanities. In delirium the person possessed often talked like the shaman to whom the spirit belonged or even claimed to be that shaman. The spirit could be removed only by another and stronger shaman. When the victim was a layman the illness was called sq̣oq̣omawi'xʷ; when another shaman, sq̣e'um.

In the fourth class fell guardian spirit illness which resulted in one of two ways. The first was the desire of the spirit to return either upon the initial occasion or during subsequent winters. This has been described in the preceding sections of this chapter. The second causation was loss of one's spirit. This came about by the spirit being buried with a corpse or being stolen by a shaman.[14] In the former event its return was impossible, in the latter it could be brought back by a stronger shaman.

Magical "poisoning," the fifth category, was a practice of lay women only. Not all women knew the formula, but all knew those who did and whose services could be bought. The procedure necessitated obtaining first a piece of the proposed victim's clothing, a lock of his hair, some of his nail parings or a like object. To this was added a certain dried and pulverized root, red paint and sometimes the dried body of a bat or a bit of bone from a corpse. The mixture was ground together in a mortar and at the same time the name of the victim was muttered with a few words as what should happen to him. Afterwards the concoction was

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[14] See pages 151, 197.

753 757 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

753 756 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inaugural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

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[15] See page 169.

[16] See page 211.

[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

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ułnutcu'łmən	wa'i'łut	ułkunəmu'tət
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)	and sit down
ułnoqalske'łux	tukəmə'ks	tiá·kwi'łux.[19]
and you can call	another	doctor.

ə···xa'i'inki'łux,	sxuxu'xup,	xəli·xi·"	
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why	
qâtsku'łəmstən	inki'łux	kənxlâtspu'xəm	xa'xana···'waiəxa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction. 753
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The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued. 755

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

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[19] One of John Tom's songs.

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of
the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkʷ) that surrounded the
land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753
lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826
had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been
the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777
no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821
dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u'ť. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a quali-
fying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821
by thunder. 844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skaltəmi'xʷ xa'xa'", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ilə'má'skət, "woman's influence." If the
child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821
the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821
tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other 813
sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

342 under the ridge opening, was covered with
grass, spread more thickly around the walls
592 where the people slept. Tule mats might be
laid over this. Fire was placed on the bare
342 space directly under the open ridge. Protection from the fires was given by a line of
354 four-inch poles along each border, held in
place by pegs in the ground. Excavations on
three or four sides of each family's fire
held their cooking baskets. Beds were made
342 up of skin robes spread over boughs and
grass, which was heaped at one end for pil-
513 lowing the head. Michel described the beds
as made on a long platform which ran along
each long side of the house. These were
raised two feet from the ground and were six
● [753] feet wide. Blankets were kept below the
shoulders of a sleeper, for to cover the head
with the edge of the blanket was to invite
blindness.

342 In summer the mat lodge was dismantled and the mats rolled up and stored in trees for use the following winter, or some of them were carried along for use on summer shelters.

171 The Colville were said to have had mat
lodges precisely like those of the Southern
342 Okanagon and to have lacked earth lodges.

The form of the mat lodge differed somewhat in the region north of Tonasket, among the Northern Okanagon. Here the house was built over an excavation about a foot and a half deep, the poles of the frame being set inside the excavation. When the house was completed, pine or cottonwood bark was laid along the outside at the base, bark side in; grass was laid over this, and finally dirt was packed over the whole. This packing covered the walls about three feet above the ground level, and was effective in keeping out moisture. The two end frames here differed somewhat from the southern type. Three

776 784 262 animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

784 776 If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

776 784 753 The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

796 776 787 431 In the dream described above,[1] the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

776 787 574 Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might

[1] [Cf. 142(B), col. [illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

p.145(A)

the papałŏt was very "mean" these treatments 778
did no good and the patient died. David ex-
plained that it killed one by stealing his 787
power away, taking it under water or into
the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

Papałŏt demanded offerings more urgent- 778
ly than did other kinds of guardian spirits.
It might, for example, tell a girl to give
away many blankets, even if she had none, and 787
unless her relatives supplied her with blan-
kets to do this she would die. It liked to 782
see blood; a man might help his daughter or
niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting 431
a cow's throat and letting the blood flow
on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papałŏt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman.

In one account by Suszen, a dead ances- 778
tor's guardian spirit took a more amicable
form. An old person who had never received 787
power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papałŏt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papałŏt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

Power could not be bought or sold; our 778
informants laughed at the idea. But one per-
son could steal it from another if his own 424
guardian spirit was sufficiently strong.
With the stolen power the thief obtained its
song, which he sang when using the power for
curing or other purposes. He could increase
its potency by giving away property to the
people at the winter dances, just as for
power acquired in other ways. Power theft [753]
always resulted in the illness or death of
the victim. A female shaman treating
Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to
this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papałŏt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced, 756 791 cured by blowing and manipulation. The proportion of shamans to laymen varied greatly between villages. Both men and women could be shamans, but men probably predominated.

Though all shamans had some general curing ability, their powers were usually specialized. Thus, spider power and rattlesnake power were employed respectively to treat the bites of these vermin, but power from certain kinds of hawks and other birds which kill snakes also served against snake venom. A shaman with spider power could see a spider-bite, even through clothing, without being told that it was there. When a certain small boy had been bitten by a spider, his father went from the Omak district all the way up to Loomis to procure a shaman that he knew of, only to find that this practitioner could not effect the cure because he had not the spider power.

If a shaman had several powers and did not know just what was wrong with the patient, he tried first one and then another in his attempts to cure. A mistake in the treatment might bring the sickness on himself. In cases of very serious illness, several shamans might cooperate. Four, three men and a woman, struggled to save the life of the woman who had been bewitched by Suzanne. They took turns in trying to draw the sickness out of her, but to no avail.

Sometimes a shaman dreamed that a certain person was sick. On awaking he sang for a while and then went to the prospective patient and offered to cure him. He sometimes had to travel a long distance to his case, even in the days before horses when he had to go on foot. If the cure was successful, he received a small gift; if not, he gained nothing. The amount was not stated beforehand, but was as much as the patient or his family wished or were able to give: as little as a blanket or as much as a horse. The patient never gave his daughter to the shaman as a fee. Lucy Joe said that she would return the fee if her patient died. In recent years, since the white doctors are paid in ratio to the distance which they must come, some shamans require a large payment before attempting the cure. Despite the time they spent in visiting patients, shamans had to engage in the same everyday occupations as did laymen. Only Suszen declared that a shaman who refused to attend patients because of malice might, after due warning, be killed by the "chiefs and the people." They clubbed him to death, hanged him, cut his throat, or bound him, weighted him with rocks and drowned him. Arrows were not used for this purpose because many shamans were immune to them.

753 Aside from the more obvious cases of physical injury, the Southern Okanagon attributed sickness chiefly to the intrusion of a tangible and more or less animate object into the victim's body, to power-theft, to soul-loss, to insubordination to one's power, or to violation of a religious taboo.

Intrusion was the most common cause and was often traced to the activity of a malignant shaman. Cecile related that a certain old man went three times to a family, asking for food, but they gave him nothing. "Well," he thought, "because they are so stingy I'll fix their little boy so they won't be happy all the time." That night the boy fell sick and they implored the old man to come and cure him. He refused, so they obtained another doctor. When the latter drew the sickness from the lad he had to pull very hard; it was so strong that he could scarcely hold it. Soon it became more quiet, and he pulled it out until it was about eighteen inches long. It was soft and as white as paper. They cut it in two and saw it bleed. This killed the old man who had sent it. 753

The intrusive element was sometimes a magical dart, such as I have described above. Nose bleed and headache, as well as local congestion, were symptoms of this affliction.

Rattlesnake bites belong in this general category. The toxic element was sometimes a small object, pointed at both ends, which had entered the body of the patient and caused swelling; sometimes two of these "teeth" entered at once. A rattlesnake shaman extracted and displayed them. The swelling might also be caused by the snake's poison, without the intrusion of the "tooth," and could be healed by the shaman touching or massaging the afflicted part "to kill the poison." He did not suck the affected part. 755

Blowing, massage, and sucking were the most usual means of cure. The word pôxpôxûmêlh for a professional curing shaman refers to the belief that he could, by blowing on or toward the patient, either expel the source of the complaint or project into the patient the later's lost soul. Sick people were heavy, but when doctors blew on them they became "as light as a feather." A shaman might cure "summer complaint" (sunstroke rather than diarrhea ?) and other diseases by blowing on the patient's head. One cured Johnnie's sister of a toothache by blowing on her sore cheek, after which she took from her mouth a little yellow worm. Sickness caused be extreme grief (papasI'lEx) was also amenable to this treatment.

Blowing was often combined with manipulation or massage. Fly power enabled its possessor to cure scrofula by blowing on the afflicted part and subsequently extracting the "worm" by the motion of his hands. This was done also for toothache. When a malignant shaman had blown a magical dart into his victim, the doctor employed for the cure would blow the dart out of the patient, catch it between his hands, plunge it into water to cool it, and afterwards show it to the people. To restore the soul to a person who had lost it by foolishly touching the central dance post, a shaman drew the soul out of the post, probably by manipulation, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back into the patient's body.

756 791 Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

757 Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mARƐmăn. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

164 753 The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entâq'qūī′nīk was dried, steeped in water, 757 and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; if confined to his bed, 278 whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ěntâktâkqwaīn$^{x\bar{u}}$) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. X̣apmē′lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called x̣waīt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds.

Tuberculosis (xqĒxōhōm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed [753] that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning.

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqâlqâlstsī′m, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcăx̣tcŭx-tcq!ēlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci′nŭk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the [787 odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this 825] disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered.

p. 165 (B)

These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome." 152 / 778

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. 754 / 787 Also, the commands given by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit.

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. 787 The fact that a person had obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat.

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulȧ) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow. 756 796

881 The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit.

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater. 754 756 796

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

755 In sucking to obtain the spirit or object the shaman never touched his mouth to the patient's body. A tube was not used but sometimes a sort of tube was made by holding one fist above the other, each slightly opened. Usually the sucking was done an inch or two from the body and simply consisted in deep and vigorous inhalation. In addition, biting movements were sometimes made with the jaws. Sucking was done at the spot where the object had been located. Places commonly selected were the temples, nose and throat.

The sucking procedure was an especially dramatic one. The assistant first fastened a rope or strap around the shaman's body at the waist, then the latter bent over the patient with outstretched arms, being held from falling by the assistant who stood behind him holding the strap. The shaman sucked while the others beat time and sang. From time to time he called for the water basket and released into it the blood that he had sucked from the patient's body.[29] When he finally drew the substance into his mouth he lost control of his actions. The assistant sometimes had to call for help in holding him. After a while he was able to again direct his actions and began beating his sides with his fists, proceeding from his waist to his shoulders, to eject the substance from himself. After driving it to his mouth he blew hard into his hands, thus expelling and capturing it. His assistant helped him carry it to the water as before.

An eliminated object was often disposed of by merely blowing it away. As the shaman took it from the water he rubbed his hands vigorously together "to 754/755 roll it all together," stretched out his arms and blew into his opened palms. The patient cried out in relief. But if the presence of the object had been caused by the action of some shaman the manner of disposal was left to the patient and the audience. They discussed what should be done, with the usual result that the object, and with it the sickness, were blown back to the shaman in retaliation. Or instead it might be blown into the fire or water in which case the malignant shaman was injured by burning or fell into the water and perhaps drowned.

A young Palus boy had married a Spokane girl. He was hunting in the Sanpoil mountains. On the way home with his heavy load of meat he passed an old shaman. The shaman hoped the young man would stop and give him meat and fat. But the hunter didn't; he kept on going. The shaman was angry. He said to himself, "All right, let him keep all of his meat; but when the snow melts on the south slopes next spring he will die."

During the winter the young man became sick. Eight doctors were called in, including one woman, but none could help him. Finally an almost unknown doctor said he knew what the trouble was. He explained what had happened. Then they doctored the boy and cured him. The new doctor took the point of an iron digging stick out of his head. The old doctor had sent it there.

The doctor asked the boy's parents if they wanted him to send it back to the old doctor. The boy's mother said, "Yes." So he had his helper open a hole in the fire and he blew it in. The fire made a little explosion. "Now," he said, "before the summer is over that doctor will go crazy and fall in the fire and burn to death."

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[29] Covington declared that he often had seen Tom redden the water in the basket with blood that he sucked out even though his mouth never touched the sick person. Cf. page 211.

spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than 755
one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prized by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid.

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness 754
in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt 756
proved unsuccessful.

> Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that 756
other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' 776
guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered.

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, 754
although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other 756
shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used.

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

754 755 The next morning the woman's brother picked up his axe and went to the doctor's house. He left the axe outside and went in. He asked the doctor to come outside. When they got outside the brother pointed at the sun which was just rising. "I want you to take a last look at the sun," he said, "never again will you see it and never again will you kill another person." Then he split the doctor's head open with the axe.

Nothing was done to the man who killed the doctor. Everyone thought he had done the right thing. (John Tom)

While sitting in his house one day John Tom's son began to shiver. He turned around toward the door and fell unconscious. When his father came home he found him on the floor. He doctored him but it did no good. Finally he called xuxu'last, another Sanpoil doctor. After examining the boy he said to John Tom, "You were once doctoring inampi't'sa. You took away her power (Salmon) and made her die. Her father (ktampa'akat, 'cloudy,' also a shaman) found out why she died and sent his power to make your boy sick. I can keep him from dying but he will always be paralyzed on his right side."

The boy is still paralyzed. He can walk by dragging his right foot but he can't move his eye or his arm. He is very childish. He is always joking and laughs at everything. His wife left him when this happened. (Burke)

158 755 Chronic mental derangements were treated by shamans with varying results. Permanent cures were sometimes obtained; at other times cases had to be given up. Insane persons who could not be cured were short lived.

qui·qui·ta'lks, Burke's aunt, was an hysteric (stsaiayɛ'sxᵘ). When she was about sixty years old a horse which she prized very much died. After being told about it by Burke, who found the dead animal, she did not speak a word for a whole day. During the night she became ill and did not get up the next morning. Burke called Sam sa'xtula, a Columbia shaman, but he did not help her. For two weeks she remained in bed and did not speak. Then she got up but was never normal. She was irritable, shiftless, and flighty. She wept at the least provocation, recognized her family and friends only a part of the time and was seldom certain where she was. After having a question answered she asked the same thing over again. She lived about ten years longer. (Burke)

An unusual abnormal case was that of sqweá'luq. From childhood he was extremely slow in all his actions. In eating, for example, he carried food to his mouth and returned the implement to his plate so slowly that it took him two or three times as long to finish as anyone else. He spent most of his time gathering useless objects such as sticks and carefully searching for out of the way places to deposit them. He always hesitated a long time before answering questions. After every studied remark he made he laughed uproariously. If reprimanded he burst into tears and then laughed at himself for having done so. He died quite young. (Burke)

snqwa'la was afflicted with a more serious abnormality (sɪtsqoqwa'wa'xᵘ, "crazy"). After difficulties with his wife ending in separation he became subject to spells of insanity. At times he disappeared to the mountains where he ran around like a wild animal. He walked elevated logs, jumped over wide canyons and sat on the very edge of cliffs with his feet swinging over the edge, singing all the while. He would not return from such escapades until caught and forcibly taken back. These attacks continued for about a year. At the end of that time he was cured by a shaman named ƙeosá'luxkan, "two-pointed horn." (Burke) 158 755

John Tom recounted one case of magical "poisoning" which he treated but without success: "I was called to doctor a woman named tamtɑ'lks. I couldn't find out what was wrong with her. Her heart was as if it were in hot water, but I couldn't find out why. I went home and lay awake nights for two weeks thinking about it. Then I decided she had been poisoned. I went back to her and asked her if she could remember when she first got sick. She said she had been visiting up in the Colville country and had stopped at an old woman's house to eat a few bites. Then she had vomited and got very ill. I told her that that is what I had thought, but I didn't want to say so because I didn't want to hurt her feelings. Then I told her that the old woman had put poison (kəni'lumən) in her food. She did it for the mother-in-law of tamtɑ'lks, who did not like her son's wife. There was nothing I could do for her. She died in a little while." 754

A woman shaman whose common name was tcutcuwa'lks, but who practiced under the name she had received from her spirit, ƙəsa'iakən, "bad head," gained a wide reputation for her ability to heal wounds and was well paid for her services. She treated by sucking in the usual manner. She always sucked out large quantities of blood, filling a basket in a short time(!). She finished her treatment by blowing over the wound and her patients seldom failed to recover quickly. 755

Suzanne was another female shaman who was often called by those suffering from serious wounds.

A young man named kwʌlamini'tsa had been stabbed. The wound had been neglected until gangrene appeared and the man had lost consciousness. Suzanne was called. She threw water on his face and then sucked on the side of his body opposite the wound. She drew out a quart of blood (!). Then she blew on the blood and the water and threw it over the sick man. That night he regained consciousness. Within a week he was well.

er animal were sewn on top or front as a decoration. It was stated that if an old man with strong power saw such a cap worn by a young man who lacked the privilege, he would ask his power to kill the pretender. 292 778 [754]

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291

[292 778]

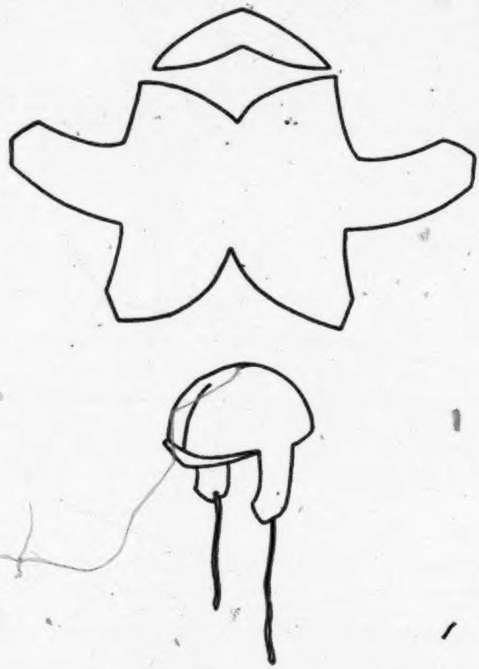

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around. 301 [778]

Feather bonnets were said to have been introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasku'sm (?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé 171 292

411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
531 in natural color on pigment[21]

Arrows for shooting small game were not
411 provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this pow-
778] er to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges
of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal
and the shaft polished with wood shavings or
with "macaroni weed" (Its'I̗stin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
278 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connect-
[821] ed with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called stsÂtsExÛnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
● other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with
the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

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[21] Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-272, 2-273.

159 should cover it up and put it in a basket of water and talk about what to do with it. The old woman said, "My power told me we have to put bullets with the feathers, not pretty girls: he doesn't care about them nor good clothes." So Sulktasku′sum's power went right there and was caught. The Blackfoot knew then what his power was. They cut it all to pieces and killed his power.

The next summer when Sulktasku′sum went there, they had a fight with the Blackfoot. He had one arm shot off. His people said, "Let's go." He said, "I've fought a long time. I will fight until I die." His people left him. The land there is level. His people watched him from a long distance. Soon his leg was shot and broken. Finally he was out of bullets. The Blackfoot cut off his head, his arms, his legs, and his flesh. They did a dance there.

In the evening the Blackfoot left. Sulktasku′sum's people went there and saw him all cut up. His guts moved around until the next day, before they stopped. The Blackfoot danced until his guts stopped moving. Then their doctor said, "He is dead." After that Moses Columbia did not go to the buffalo country because they had no good leader. There were white people at Portland in those days, but the fort had not been built at the mouth of the Okanogan then.

Though this story is not entirely clear, especially as to the way in which bullets were used, it may have some value as an Okanagon's conception of a native hero and of Blackfoot shamanism.

754 In the old days shamans often bewitched people of whom they were jealous, or who refused to give them what they had demanded, such as food. The night following the provocation, the offender's child or wife might become ill and die within a short time. Just before death, the victim was possessed by the shaman, who might say through the victim's mouth, "If you had given me the food I asked for, this would not have happened." A stronger shaman could avert the death if he could "draw out the sickness." After extracting it he held it in his hands and asked the bystanders, "What shall I do with it?" Then he threw it into the fire, and the shaman who had caused the sickness died, while the victim recovered.

Cecile gave the following account: she had known the characters in the story. Joe Leo's mother, Suzanne, had grizzly power, one of the strongest of all. She also had other powers. If anybody got hurt, she could save him. Once, when at Okanogan, she was out of whiskey. There she met a woman from Nespelem, rich and handsome, with gold teeth. Both women were on horseback. Suzanne said to the Nespelem woman, "Give me a little drink. I'm all out of booze." But the other replied, "I don't drink with people like you. I drink with my own kind of people. I'm rich, and I'm good-looking besides. I don't drink with poor people like you."

Then she rode away. But Suzanne called after her, "You won't be having a good time all the time. You won't be rich and you won't be handsome. Before very long you will die." The woman rode back through here (Disautel) to Nespelem.

It seemed as though she did not know what she was doing. At Nespelem the peopl prepared a nice place for a war dance, and sprinkled water all over the ground. No women were supposed to walk on the dancing ground, but this woman walked on it, and they wondered what was the matter with her. They went to her lodge to see her, but she was already dying. They got four Indian doctors: xömas (who is still living at Nespelem), sEnötanik, hEntEpûlamsû, and a woman called tölEmalet. These tried to cure her, but they could not find out what was the matter. They took turns drawing the sickness out of her. While they were doctoring, she sat up and spoke Okanagon, which she had never spoken before. She said, "I thought I was the head of all the Indian doctors: I always did think that." This was just what Suzanne thought of herself. It was Suzanne speaking through this woman. She went on: "What can you folks do with me? You think you are ahead of me [i.e., stronger], but you are not. You could not do anything." She laughed at them; talked and laughed just like Suzanne. The woman doctor asked her, "Well, who are you? Tell me your name." She answered, "I'm from nqaêtqû. I've lived there all my life." She did not tell her name, but they all knew it was Suzanne. She said all kinds of things to them before she died. It seems, added Cecile, that when one is bewitched in this way one speaks a foreign language plainly. (Though this incident occurred only eight years ago, only one of the four shamans is alive, xömas. He is very old, wears his hair in braids and talks like a little old lady.)

They finally got the best of Suzanne; that is how she died. It was a Yakima Indian who did it. He had killed another Indian doctor at Yakima and gone to Similkameen to live. Michel's sister, Nancy, was sick at Similkameen. Suzanne went up there to cure her. When Nancy got a little better Suzanne came back to Okanogan. But she left one of her powers in Similkameen to take care of Nancy. After Suzanne came back to Okanogan, Nancy got even more sick. They called this Yakima Indian to cure her. While he was doing his doctoring he looked up and saw Suzanne's power there. He thought it was somebody else trying to kill Nancy. So he grabbed that power right there. They had a fight, his power and Suzanne's; they flew up in the air fighting. Another Indian doctor saw them. They fought all the way to Okanogan. There they fell into the river, because Suzanne had some power in the water, but the man's power was stronger, so he tore her all to pieces. Then the Yakima shook himself and went back, leaving her there. This was in the autumn. In February she was killed by a train and cut all to pieces. Of course, after the Yakima's power had killed

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the [578] shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 778 791 ting them into his pipe." This probably means that he put their powers there. In one of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 778 Stories of endurance against fatigue, hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, when ice was floating down the Okanogan River at its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the canoe. He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelan became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 754 Some shamans, both men and women, had a special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō′lx. The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 it caused only a painful swelling, which a shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended
754 victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 Power helped people to play games. When players of two tribes came together for a
778 match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while
526 thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

757 278 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

847 278 Abortion was called cxēntst; simple miscarriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sinful, the herbs used in procuring it were kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect.

231 278 Distemper in horses was treated by fumigation with certain roots.

CHARMS

778 789 832 824 Though trees were not classed as male or female, some plants had sex, determined from the shape of the roots, especially sunflower and the plant from which love medicine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted another's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or płaẋ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

● 754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 825 Parents often disciplined their children by telling them that the owl (snēna') or the night-hawk (kwaōwīl) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

[illegible] The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

774 777 priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sinkakIū′s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuēpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests.

774 778 The relation of sInkakIū′s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sInkakIū′s came from qōlūncō′tn (God), and that the sinkakIū′s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former.

754 774 778 A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sInkakIū′s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sInkakIū′s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its 'going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sInkakIū′s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sInkakIū′s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case.

774 787 Each individual had only one sInkakIū′s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost.

775 The land of the dead (stqama′skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of [759] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 ETHICAL CONCEPTS.—Ethical concepts[333] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. 577

CHARMS AND BELIEFS.—I did not learn much about these matters. 778 Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they 789 showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[333] a, pp. 366, 367.

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
554 an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization.
755 The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically unknown.
681 Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these dominating
183 cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not present.
578 Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'ă'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

[531] The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 536 755 776 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
531 the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about
755 three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
776 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew, forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from
arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result
in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some orna-
mentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The
shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292] by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most bighly prized and much effort was expended in their collection.
Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoul-
der and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

784 843 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

255 843 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 842 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltxʷ) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

844 This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846 The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untux̣si'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847 A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

755 845 A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3]

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately. 843

846 Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

524 755 955 861 Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

593 855 Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

[527] Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

515 956 868 The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

462 857 Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

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ulnutcu'lmən	wa'i'lut	ulkunəmu'tət
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)	and sit down

ulnoqalske'lux	təkənə'ks	tiä·kwi'lux.[39]
and you can call	another	doctor.

x··xa'i'inki'lux,	sxuxu'xup,	xali·xi·"
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why

qátsku'lənstən	inki'lux	kənxlátspu'xəm	xa'xana···'waiexa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

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If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction.

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The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued.

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

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[39] One of John Tom's songs.

755 In sucking to obtain the spirit or object the shaman never touched his mouth to the patient's body. A tube was not used but sometimes a sort of tube was made by holding one fist above the other, each slightly opened. Usually the sucking was done an inch or two from the body and simply consisted in deep and vigorous inhalation. In addition, biting movements were sometimes made with the jaws. Sucking was done at the spot where the object had been located. Places commonly selected were the temples, nose and throat.

The sucking procedure was an especially dramatic one. The assistant first fastened a rope or strap around the shaman's body at the waist, then the latter bent over the patient with outstretched arms, being held from falling by the assistant who stood behind him holding the strap. The shaman sucked while the others beat time and sang. From time to time he called for the water basket and released into it the blood that he had sucked from the patient's body.[29] When he finally drew the substance into his mouth he lost control of his actions. The assistant sometimes had to call for help in holding him. After a while he was able to again direct his actions and began beating his sides with his fists, proceeding from his waist to his shoulders, to eject the substance from himself. After driving it to his mouth he blew hard into his hands, thus expelling and capturing it. His assistant helped him carry it to the water as before.

An eliminated object was often disposed of by merely blowing it away. As the shaman took it from the water he rubbed his hands vigorously together "to roll it all together," stretched out his arms and blew into his opened palms. The patient cried out in relief. But if the presence of the object had been caused by the action of some shaman the manner of disposal was left to the patient and the audience. They discussed what should be done, with the usual result that the object, and with it the sickness, were blown back to the shaman in retaliation. Or instead it might be blown into the fire or water in which case the malignant shaman was injured by burning or fell into the water and perhaps drowned.

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A young Palus boy had married a Spokane girl. He was hunting in the Sanpoil mountains. On the way home with his heavy load of meat he passed an old shaman. The shaman hoped the young man would stop and give him meat and fat. But the hunter didn't; he kept on going. The shaman was angry. He said to himself, "All right, let him keep all of his meat; but when the snow melts on the south slopes next spring he will die."

During the winter the young man became sick. Eight doctors were called in, including one woman, but none could help him. Finally an almost unknown doctor said he knew what the trouble was. He explained what had happened. Then they doctored the boy and cured him. The new doctor took the point of an iron digging stick out of his head. The old doctor had sent it there.

The doctor asked the boy's parents if they wanted him to send it back to the old doctor. The boy's mother said, "Yes." So he had his helper open a hole in the fire and he blew it in. The fire made a little explosion. "Now," he said, "before the summer is over that doctor will go crazy and fall in the fire and burn to death."

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[29] Covington declared that he often had seen Tom redden the water in the basket with blood that he sucked out even though his mouth never touched the sick person. Cf. page 211.

During the summer the old man started to act queerly, fell into the fire and rolled over in it. The next morning he died. (Covington) 754 / 755

The nature of the object recovered in the anecdote above is unusual. The material usually was not visible in its concrete form. John Tom declared that the thing removed was never shown to anyone except another shaman and that regardless of its real form it looked like "fog or steam." This applied to spirits as well.

A spirit seldom was returned to its owner unharmed. It might be treated similarly to an object or might be "cut in two."

Henry Covington (Bob's brother) was camping with Jim James on the Columbia river one summer when he fell ill. He called John Tom who came and treated him. He found that the sickness was caused by the spirit of a shaman. He sucked until he got it out. Then he told his helpers to hold him over a fire so that he could handle the spirit. After that he lost consciousness. They held him over a small fire for some time and threw cold water on him. Finally he became conscious and pounded the spirit out of himself and put it in the water. Then he asked what he should do with it and suggested that it be killed. One man said to cut it in two. Tom agreed and ordered a blanket and a white piece of cloth brought. The cloth was laid on the blanket. Then he held his hands over it and spread them apart. "Now bring a knife," he said, "and pull it between my hands. If I am telling the truth you will see blood dropping on the cloth." This was done and everyone saw blood drop on the cloth.

The doctor who had made Henry sick was a Colville who lived at Inchelium. He was dead when he was next heard of. (Burke)

After disposing of the substance the shaman turned once more to his patient. 755 After dipping his hands in the water and carrying them to his lips he rubbed the patient's body slowly from head to feet to "cool him off." He said, "I hope now that I have gotten out all your sickness and that you will be well. In the morning, if you feel hungry, take anything to eat that you like, regardless of what it is. It won't hurt you; it will help you." Or at other times the shaman specified what the person should eat or directed him to paint his face in a certain fashion. The food was provided or the face painted by a relative, for the patient did not leave his bed immediately. Before departing the shaman commanded the sick man's family to call him again on the following day if the patient were not better.

If the shaman were unsuccessful and felt that the reason was a lack of power he asked the relatives of the patient to call another to aid him, naming the one he wanted. Upon the arrival of the new doctor the first told him what he had already done and the two proceeded to work together. Sometimes still more doctors were called to assist, upon occasion as high as seven or eight.[31]

Shamans were paid only after a complete cure had been effected: If the person did not regain his health within a reasonable time no payment at all was made. When the treatment was successful those presents which had been originally promised were carried to the shaman and presented to him. Though the payment was

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[31] But no shamans' organizations developed.

spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than 755
one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prized by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid.

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness 754
in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt 756
proved unsuccessful.

Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that 756
other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' 776
guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered.

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, 754
although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other
shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was 756
also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used.

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

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I (John Tom) was once called to treat another big doctor. The first time I went I could do nothing. The second call I made I found out the reason. The sick doctor was trying to trap me. He wanted to steal my power and make me sick. But he was being careful. He wanted to see how strong I was first. I told him that I would quit doctoring him unless he thought different. When he found out that I knew what was in his mind he gave up his plan. So I kept on doctoring him and cured him.

I (Tom) was once very sick. My nephew came to me. He said, "I know you are a big doctor and I'm only a little doctor. But I'll doctor you anyway if you'll let me. I let him go ahead. Pretty soon he left. A little while later my partner (guardian spirit) came to me and said, "What is the matter? Look at your knees." I looked and there were two big pieces of ice, one on each knee. Then my partner told me that my nephew had done that. "He's trying to make you worse, not help you. Take the ice and shoot it back at him." But he was a young man so I thought I would just let it go. But a little while later he died anyway.

John Tom was ill and crippled for the last two years of his life. During the time he was able to get no other shaman to administer to him. He explained their attitude: "They all think this way: John's partners are all very, very strong. But they stand off away from him and talk to him. They tell him that he is very sick and that he is very old so they can no longer help him. But still if we who have so much less power try to doctor him we're sure to fall into a trap. We would either find that his power is still stronger than ours or his helpers would come to him then. So we had better not doctor him."

After a diagnosis which indicated that a patient's illness was caused by the spirit of a shaman the attending doctor would refuse to go further with the case if the shaman responsible were stronger than he. To have done so would have resulted in failure or worse. The instigator, resenting the interference of a weaker shaman, might make the latter sick as well. To avoid such unfortunate results a stronger shaman was called to assist or the case was turned over entirely to a stronger doctor. Even the strongest of shamans proceeded with caution in cases of bewitching. It sometimes proved that the original diagnosis was deceptive; that the malignant shaman had sent only a portion of his power to afflict the person and was holding the rest in readiness to project as soon as another shaman came to the person's aid.

Cases of witchcraft were relatively easy to detect. The patient had a scared look in his eyes, jumped and twitched and often was delirious. In the latter state he frequently assumed the character of the bewitching shaman.

John Tom's aunt suddenly became ill. Soon she was near death. She began to laugh. "I am monwai'x̣," she said; "I am monwai'x̣." The man she claimed to be, monwai'x̣, was a powerful doctor and a miserly person. The woman's people called that doctor (!). He made three calls but each time the woman only got worse. In the middle of the night the woman called out, "I'm going to leave you, I'm going to die. I'm dying because of that doctor's power." Before morning she died.

754 The next morning the woman's brother picked up his axe and went to the
755 doctor's house. He left the axe outside and went in. He asked the doctor to come outside. When they got outside the brother pointed at the sun which was just rising. "I want you to take a last look at the sun," he said, "never again will you see it and never again will you kill another person." Then he split the doctor's head open with the axe.

Nothing was done to the man who killed the doctor. Everyone thought he had done the right thing. (John Tom)

While sitting in his house one day John Tom's son began to shiver. He turned around toward the door and fell unconscious. When his father came home he found him on the floor. He doctored him but it did no good. Finally he called xuxu'last, another Sanpoil doctor. After examining the boy he said to John Tom, "You were once doctoring inəmpi't'sa. You took away her power (Salmon) and made her die. Her father (ktəmpa'skət, 'cloudy,' also a shaman) found out why she died and sent his power to make your boy sick. I can keep him from dying but he will always be paralyzed on his right side."

The boy is still paralyzed. He can walk by dragging his right foot but he can't move his eye or his arm. He is very childish. He is always joking and laughs at everything. His wife left him when this happened. (Burke)

157 Chronic mental derangements were treated by shamans with varying results.
755 Permanent cures were sometimes obtained; at other times cases had to be given up. Insane persons who could not be cured were short lived.

qui·qui·ta'lks, Burke's aunt, was an hysteric (stsaiayɛ'sxʷ). When she was about sixty years old a horse which she prized very much died. After being told about it by Burke, who found the dead animal, she did not speak a word for a whole day. During the night she became ill and did not get up the next morning. Burke called Sam sa'x̣tula, a Columbia shaman, but he did not help her. For two weeks she remained in bed and did not speak. Then she got up but was never normal. She was irritable, shiftless, and flighty. She wept at the least provocation, recognized her family and friends only a part of the time and was seldom certain where she was. After having a question answered she asked the same thing over again. She lived about ten years longer. (Burke)

An unusual abnormal case was that of sqweá'luq. From childhood he was extremely slow in all his actions. In eating, for example, he carried food to his mouth and returned the implement to his plate so slowly that it took him two or three times as long to finish as anyone else. He spent most of his time gathering useless objects such as sticks and carefully searching for out of the way places to deposit them. He always hesitated a long time before answering questions. After every studied remark he made he laughed uproariously. If reprimanded he burst into tears and then laughed at himself for having done so. He died quite young. (Burke)

anqwa'la was afflicted with a more serious abnormality (sətsqoqwa'wa'xʷ, "crazy"). After difficulties with his wife ending in separation he became subject to spells of insanity. At times he disappeared to the mountains where he ran around like a wild animal. He walked elevated logs, jumped over wide canyons and sat on the very edge of cliffs with his feet swinging over the edge, singing all the while. He would not return from such escapades until caught and forcibly taken back. These attacks continued for about a year. At the end of that time he was cured by a shaman named keosá'luxkan, "two-pointed horn." (Burke) 158 755

John Tom recounted one case of magical "poisoning" which he treated but without success: "I was called to doctor a woman named tamtα'lks. I couldn't find out what was wrong with her. Her heart was as if it were in hot water, but I couldn't find out why. I went home and lay awake nights for two weeks thinking about it. Then I decided she had been poisoned. I went back to her and asked her if she could remember when she first got sick. She said she had been visiting up in the Colville country and had stopped at an old woman's house to eat a few bites. Then she had vomited and got very ill. I told her that that is what I had thought, but I didn't want to say so because I didn't want to hurt her feelings. Then I told her that the old woman had put poison (kəni'lmən) in her food. She did it for the mother-in-law of tamtα'lks, who did not like her son's wife. There was nothing I could do for her. She died in a little while." 754

A woman shaman whose common name was tcutcuwa'lks, but who practiced under the name she had received from her spirit, kasa'iakən, "bad head," gained a wide reputation for her ability to heal wounds and was well paid for her services. She treated by sucking in the usual manner. She always sucked out large quantities of blood, filling a basket in a short time(!). She finished her treatment by blowing over the wound and her patients seldom failed to recover quickly. 755

Suzanne was another female shaman who was often called by those suffering from serious wounds.

A young man named kwлamini'tsa had been stabbed. The wound had been neglected until gangrene appeared and the man had lost consciousness. Suzanne was called. She threw water on his face and then sucked on the side of his body opposite the wound. She drew out a quart of blood (!). Then she blew on the blood and the water and threw it over the sick man. That night he regained consciousness. Within a week he was well.

Good luck followed the catching of a beetle and keeping it. 787

A person sneezed because someone had mentioned his name. Also, the following was sometimes said after one sneezed:

ku'ks snpi'i'lsa xa'lәp; kwāti·'sa χәlә'ks ·pápási'l.
You joy (will have) tomorrow; (you) sneeze because sad.

MEDICINES AND CURES

The Sanpoil made very extensive use of the available herbs and roots for medicinal purposes. An exhaustive list of these would probably include a half or more of the botanical genera (exclusive or grasses) found in the territory. Much of this practical medicine is forgotten today, but the list below includes the more important *materia medica*. Informants did not hesitate to tell what they remembered of native medical practices; cures do not seem to have been the property of individuals, and were not kept secret. Men as well as women shared the lore. 757

Household treatment of ailments seems to have been restricted more or less to the often recurring diseases (sqi'lt) such as the common cold (sa'axa'u'), minor injuries (sχa'no'mt), bruises and skin troubles, and to that one most serious malady, tuberculosis, which shamans ordinarily considered beyond their powers to cure. Minor wounds and cuts were given little attention; the "sores" for which so many medicines were prepared were usually eruptions of the skin, with an internal rather than an external cause. Serious wounds were attended by a shaman. Medicines for use at the time of childbirth were lacking, but contraceptives and abortifacients were common knowledge. Specific treatments were used for the two common venereal diseases. The number of medicines prescribed for the common cold was probably greater than for any other type of ailment, unless it be skin troubles.

In the preparation of a medicine roots were nearly always boiled with water, leaves often so treated, but stems very seldom. Steeping or brewing, infusion, maceration and pulverization were other common methods by which the raw material was handled in the preparation of the medical product.

Patients suffering from illnesses of the class treated by shamans were given special foods, or fasted. In all other cases there was no restriction or modification of the ordinary diet. Isolation was never practiced for illness; only menstruating women were separated from others. Ailing children were carefully attended but bedridden adults were left more or less to themselves.

The sweat lodge[2] was used for the cure of sickness of any nature except the common cold. This exception was explained as due to the harmful effect that water exerts upon the person suffering from a cold.

Snake rattles were carried under one's hat to relieve a headache (ske'lzkәm). 755

The bite of the rattlesnake was curable only by a shaman or an individual whose guardian spirit was rattlesnake. However, if a dog was bitten by a rattle- 757

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[2] See page 179.

755 757 snake, the hair around the point where the fangs entered was singed off. This is the nearest approach to cauterization that I have recorded for the Sanpoil.

757 Surgical practice included removal of growths over the eye by an abrasive process, the lancing of boils and the removal of warts. The operation on the eye was accomplished with the aid of a small piece of bone that had been exposed to the weather for a long period of time and had become porous and rough. Such bone fragments were easily found by searching the fields. After a suitable piece of bone had been obtained it was heated in the camp fire "to kill any insects or bugs that might be in the fissures." A tiny piece was then broken off and used to scrape or abrade the surface of the lens capsule where the opacity existed. The operation required great skill and a steady hand, or the actual lens capsule would have been injured, resulting in permanent blindness.[8]

After horsehair was available warts were removed by holding a long hair taut between the two hands and moving it back and forth at the base of the wart until it cut through. Sometimes a large wart was removed by tying a horsehair around the base and gradually tightening the knot until the hair cut through. Warts were thought to disappear if rubbed with a porous bone until bleeding started.

Boils were opened by piercing with a thorn or a sharpened stick. To hasten healing the suppuration was forced out with a stick broken from the marker over a grave. After being used it was thrown back onto the grave or in the fire.

Limb joints swollen with rheumatism were blackened with charcoal. The rheumatic pains were admonished to "go to someone better off."

A bit of deer horn was placed in the mouth to relieve a toothache.

Bear grease was rubbed on sores, after being chewed and rubbed between the palms of the hands.

White clay from the banks of the Columbia river was mixed with water and drunk to relieve indigestion.

[278] A poison, which caused acute convulsions followed by death, was made from a plant called ini'xʷ by crushing it, mixing with water and boiling.

The following list represents that part of the native *materia medica* about which I was able to get more or less detailed information and specimens. I have not been able to arrange the list according to any consistent system of classification, either botanical or utilitarian, for although in the case of some plants a single part, such as the root, was used, and for a single purpose, many had various uses, and the several parts of other specimens were all used, either for one or more purposes.

A specimen of each type was obtained in the field for purposes of botanical identification. Some of these were identified in the herbarium of the Washington State Museum; the greater number was classified in the herbarium of Washington State College. A few of the specimens were unidentifiable.

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[8] Even with great care, however, it seems that the chances of avoiding serious injury to the eyeball must have been small, to say nothing of successfully restoring the eyesight. But Bob Covington insisted that he had known personally of two operations, both of which had been successful.

Intrusion was the most common cause and was often traced to the activity of a malignant shaman. Cecile related that a certain old man went three times to a family, asking for food, but they gave him nothing. "Well," he thought, "because they are so stingy I'll fix their little boy so they won't be happy *all* the time." That night the boy fell sick and they implored the old man to come and cure him. He refused, so they obtained another doctor. When the latter drew the sickness from the lad he had to pull very hard; it was so strong that he could scarcely hold it. Soon it became more quiet, and he pulled it out until it was about eighteen inches long. It was soft and as white as paper. They cut it in two and saw it bleed. This killed the old man who had sent it. 753

The intrusive element was sometimes a magical dart, such as I have described above. Nose bleed and headache, as well as local congestion, were symptoms of this affliction.

Rattlesnake bites belong in this general category. The toxic element was sometimes a small object, pointed at both ends, which had entered the body of the patient and caused swelling; sometimes two of these "teeth" entered at once. A rattlesnake shaman extracted and displayed them. The swelling might also be caused by the snake's poison, without the intrusion of the "tooth," and could be healed by the shaman touching or massaging the afflicted part "to kill the poison." He did not suck the affected part. 755

Blowing, massage, and sucking were the most usual means of cure. The word pōxpōxūmēlh for a professional curing shaman refers to the belief that he could, by blowing on or toward the patient, either expel the source of the complaint or project into the patient the later's lost soul. Sick people were heavy, but when doctors blew on them they became "as light as a feather." A shaman might cure "summer complaint" (sunstroke rather than diarrhea ?) and other diseases by blowing on the patient's head. One cured Johnnie's sister of a toothache by blowing on her sore cheek, after which she took from her mouth a little yellow worm. Sickness caused be extreme grief (papasI'lEx) was also amenable to this treatment.

Blowing was often combined with manipulation or massage. Fly power enabled its possessor to cure scrofula by blowing on the afflicted part and subsequently extracting the "worm" by the motion of his hands. This was done also for toothache. When a malignant shaman had blown a magical dart into his victim, the doctor employed for the cure would blow the dart out of the patient, catch it between his hands, plunge it into water to cool it, and afterwards show it to the people. To restore the soul to a person who had lost it by foolishly touching the central dance post, a shaman drew the soul out of the post, probably by manipulation, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back into the patient's body.

p. 163(B)

755 A cure involving both manipulation and blowing was described as follows by Cecile. The doctor first sang for about ten minutes, presumably his power song. Then he worked his hands over the reclining patient from feet to head and grasped the sickness over the head in both hands. One or two bystanders seized him "to prevent him from dying or being carried away by the strength of the medicine," and plunged his hands, which still held the sickness, into a vessel of water. When the sickness had become quiet, the doctor took his hands out of the water and "threw away" the sickness by blowing on it. He repeated this process four times, twice working his hands up from the patient's feet and twice down from the head.

For rheumatism the shaman blew on the sensitive place and rubbed it with his hands Then he caught the illness over the patient head, rolled it between his hands, and displayed a slender dark object which he said he had extracted. Josephine, the interpreter for Mary Carden who described this method believed that this object was only dirt which the shaman had rubbed from the patient's skin. But Mary insisted it might have been projected into the victim by an enemy. When placed in water it moved like a worm.

Another method of extracting blood, worms, general illness, poison, or other injurious things was that of sucking. Shamans proficient in sucking blood wore a tattooed line from each corner of the mouth down each side of the chin. Certain guardian spirits gave power for this, notably such blood-sucking insects as the mosquito and the horsefly, and animals which were often shot or speared, such as deer and salmon. The shaman sometimes sucked the patient's blood between his (cupped ?) hands placed over the heart or over the afflicted member. After the treatment he deposited the blood or other cause of trouble in a vessel of water where it would cool down and become quiet, and where people could see it. No visible break remained in the patient's skin as a result of the sucking. Among ailments cured in this way were wounds and hemorrhage, appendicitis, a fish bone in the throat, blood-poisoning, toothache, extreme grief.

Fifteen years ago, when a man called Sam George was at the Omak agency, he suffered a severe internal injury. The white doctor held his wrist for fifteen minutes (fifteen was apparently a "pattern number" for Suszen, the narrator) but Sam died anyway. A shaman then sucked poison from close to Sam's heart and put it in a cup of water. The agent and the white doctor looked at the poison. There was no hole in Sam's skin where the doctor had sucked. Sam got well and still lives. Harry Timentwa and Old Harry's grandson both testified that they had been cured of illness by the sucking treatment.

755
791 Some shamans sprinkled water on a patient as they walked around him. If he show-

755 791 ed no signs of improvement at the fourth round, his case was hopeless. Billy Joe told of a cure performed by his wife, an old Wenatchi shaman, by this method combined with blowing. A man had been stabbed all over his body, and lay motionless and unconscious. His friends sent for Billy Joe's wife, who at once saw that the patient was nearly dead. Singing her power song, she sprinkled water on him as she walked around him three times. Still he did not move. She said, "If he doesn't move when I sprinkle water the fourth time around, he's hopeless." For the fourth time she walked around him sprinkling the water. This time he moved. She blew on him, his friends took him and bathed him in the Columbia River, and he got well.

A shaman with tobacco power smoked his power pipe and blew the smoke on the patient. A girl who had this power kept secretly a little pipe as a power emblem. If she were very ill, her guardian spirit told her to smoke this pipe. She did so, using tobacco and kinnikinnik: the smoke went all through her body as a medicine. When the community heard that she had cured herself in this way, her services were demanded for the benefit of others. Even if she had never smoked before, but was told by her spirit in a dream to go cure a certain sick person by smoking, she took her little pipe to the patient's house and smoked it there. The patient's relatives then understood and offered her money for the treatment. She refused the money, but agreed to perform the cure. This she did by smoking the pipe and blowing the smoke on the patient.

Sometimes in such cases as poisoning of the blood one touch of the shaman's fingertips sufficed for the cure. One old woman with spider power saw a horse bitten by a spider and said, "He's been bitten right by that rib." She then put her hand on the bite and healed it. Rattlesnake bite could sometimes be cured by a rattlesnake shaman in the same simple way, though the poison had even infected the bone.

One old woman who had power from the largest of all the deer could cure a sick baby by simply carrying it about. Johnnie's sister had had several children, all of whom had died shortly after birth. When her last child was born this old woman made a cradleboard and placed him in it and he survived.

To treat a sickness caused by power theft or power loss the power had to be recaptured. We did not obtain specific information as to how this was done. Presumably the shaman who was employed for the cure projected his own power out and enticed the lost power back into its owner.

The tail feathers of a robin, prepared as described for power capture on an earlier page, might also be used in curing. At night the shaman put one of these feathers in his hair. In the morning he found the feather back on the mat. Then the patient recovered.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[3] 771 796

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 224 782

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 731 796

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[3] See Thompson, a, pp. 349, 350.

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nukmu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (ax̣tu'luman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease; or applied dry.

[756] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

226
624 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
784 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
841 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'ləm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

763 783 773 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity after his death.

764 A corpse was never allowed to remain indoors for a moment. Immediately upon determining that death had come the body was wrapped in deer hide and taken to the woods or a nearby thicket where it was deposited in the limbs of a tree or in the brush where it was safe from molestation by animals. If it were left in the house the lonesome spirit or spirits of the man might enter some person present and make him ill. If it were necessary to keep the body overnight before burying it someone stayed up all night in the house to keep the spirits and ghost (disembodied soul) from entering the dwelling.

Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

756 764 Friends and relatives followed the pallbearers. In the company was always at least one shaman. His presence was not solicited—he went of his own accord—but his attendance was necessary to a proper burial. It was one of the unshirkable duties of every shaman to officiate at funerals—and one for which he received no compensation. Upon reaching the burial grounds the body was placed near the open grave. If the digging had not been completed that was done before the ceremony started. The grave diggers remained for the rite.

756 764 776 The interment ceremony was in the hands of some old man, probably a relative. He first called upon some one present to "say a few words." The person designated stepped to the side of the grave and solemnly spoke of the inevitability of death and eulogized the deceased. When he finished he stepped back and the man in charge called for the shaman to perform his part of the ceremony. This consisted of ridding the grave of the presence of spirits. The shaman had brought with him branches of rosebush. With these he swept out the hole and brushed off the corpse. This act was called snake'xulaxum. Branches of the rosebush were used rather than some other brush because the thorns were thought to prick the invading spirits and thereby be more effective in driving them away. While the shaman was discharging this duty he spoke to the assemblage, saying that though he was not omnipotent he nevertheless hoped that his actions would eliminate any spirits which might have lodged themselves in the grave to later torture the ghost. "These precautions should always be taken," he said. "If some stranger were in the vicinity his spirit would be certain to see the grave and jump into it. We don't want that to happen." The shaman never touched the corpse with his hands. As soon as he had finished he threw aside the rose branches (it was not necessary to destroy them for they were only instrumental; the spirits did not lodge in them), and stepped aside for the pallbearers who placed the corpse in the grave (in a sitting position) as quickly as possible.

764 776 With the body were deposited the person's keepsakes, fetishes, and ornaments of dress such as feathers, quills and strips of fur, but no clothing or other objects. No time was then lost in covering the body for every moment that elapsed gave further opportunity for spirits to enter. Flat rocks were laid on the corpse, then smaller rocks, gravel or sand. Sometimes the grave was covered with brush. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks erected in the rocks. Canoes or carvings were never placed over graves.

Occasionally a short speech of consolation to the bereaved followed the interment. It was delivered by someone who had not previously talked. Upon its conclusion the mourners returned to the village.

It is felt nowadays, with the use of deep graves and caskets, spirits are almost certain to remain with the body even though great care is taken to eliminate them. Their presence is attested by the noises heard when the casket is lowered into the grave. On one occasion John Tom was assisting in digging such a grave. As he was finishing the excavation, at a depth of about five feet, he suddenly felt as if something had grabbed him around the chest from the back. He was clutched so tightly that he soon fell over unconscious. He had not been able to cry out. A short time later his companions, who had been a little distance away, came and investigated for they had expected Tom to join them soon. They found him lying in the bottom of the grave, motionless. They called to him but he did not answer. Then they prodded him with a shovel. Slowly he gained consciousness. He got out of the hole and was soon normal again. The spirit had evidently disappeared.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time, the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women 768
who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 756 776 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 431 753 776 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance, might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, 787 and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them.

Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the 756 same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of 787 bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song.

John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the 159 Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. 756 "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or 787 when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird.

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lxʷ, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, ṫaptcani'tkʷ, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an 787 old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance, 787 for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xᵉ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (papa'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1]

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

776 787 Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa'"kntən, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3]

776 885 The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life.

753 756 776 The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutske'lamsásumixᵉ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion.

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[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

753 756 776 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'q̇amən. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 776 778 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance. It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (ťaki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of waẋwa'xa·'lpᵊ. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named ilk'x̣ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4] Described on pages 189 f.

Dances were sponsored either by a shaman, an initiate or one who had been 796
commanded by his guardian to do so. The frequency of sponsorship was in the 881
order named. There was no difference in the performance in the three cases except
that the novice was initiated as a part of the ceremonies if the dance were given 756
for that purpose. However, at dances of shamanistic sponsorship novices were 796
initiated also if seized by their spirits during the performances. Shamans never banded together to give a joint dance. Since each dance ordinarily lasted but two or three nights it was necessary that many be given to fill the ceremonial period. An attempt was made to avoid giving dances, within a considerable radius, that conflicted in time. Every prominent shaman was expected to sponsor at least one dance each winter. Prestige depended greatly upon observing this rule. John Tom often gave two dances during one period. He continued to give at least one until about five years before his death.

Dances were held in any large mat house or in structures built especially for 796
that purpose. Residences were sometimes temporarily enlarged to accommodate unusual numbers. Invitations were never given. News of the occurrence of a dance was spread from one to another and all except children were entitled to attend. It was customary for an entire group to travel from one dance to another throughout the season.

Only shamans or initiates were permitted to give dances without the approval of the chief. Before agreeing to a performnace by another, the chief satisfied himself that the applicant had actually been directed by his spirit to give a dance. He also made clear to the sponsor that he would be held personally responsible for any violence that might be committed. The chief then set the date and the dance was given. Dances sponsored by novices were in charge of a shaman.

In preparation for a dance the place where it was to be given was cleared of everything movable except the mats where the spectators were to sit. Assistants cut a small fir tree, one slightly shorter than the height of the dance building. The limbs and bark were removed for a distance of about eight feet from the base. Above that the limbs were permitted to remain. The base was sharpened. Thus prepared the tree was left outside the door of the dance house. It was to become the center pole. Inside the building poles were suspended about seven feet above the floor, running the length of the house, unless the framework of the building was such as to provide similar poles. These were for holding the presents. Fireplaces were cleaned and quantities of wood gathered, cut and piled near at hand.

The spectators and participants gathered shortly after sunset. The sponsor, shamans, chiefs and other important persons occupied the end of the room farthest from the entrance door. (Only one entrance was used, the other door being kept closed throughout the dance.) Other participants were scattered throughout the audience. Men occupied the side of the room to the right of the entrance; women the left. All not active half reclined on the mats.

The shaman in charge addressed the audience through a spokesman. The latter repeated in a loud voice and with appropriate emphasis that which the shaman spoke in a low, almost whispering, monotone. Several sentences were transmitted to the spokesman before he repeated them.

him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient vomited the food enveloped in blood. 796

Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over." 776 796

The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place. 756 796 881

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

756 796 song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow.

881 The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit.

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

754 756 796 Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater.

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

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the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'lam) or rest period of equal length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two. [534] 535 796

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later. 431 796

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent. 756 796

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (akluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others. 756 787 796

These visions followed a definite form. The guardian spirit of some outsider 756
would appear to the shaman. He would perceive very clearly the location of the 787
spirit and of its owner and the actions and intentions of both. Whenever a spirit
was seen in such a manner it was possible to "steal" it from its owner and appro- 796
priate it for the shaman himself or anyone else at the dance, providing the powers of the shamans engaged in the procedure were strong enough. The following account, given by John Tom, illustrates well the nature of the shamanistic performance:

A dance was being held at Whitestone about 1890. Both John Tom and Bob Covington were present. For two nights they danced without anything happening. On the third night ku'ləmtxənii, the shaman in charge saw the spirit of a hunchbacked gambler. He didn't say anything that night. But on the fourth night he asked the other shamans if they had seen anything. They all answered that they hadn't. "Well, maybe it was only clouds that I saw," the leader said. "Dance again and we'll see. They danced, all of the shamans joining in. After a while they conferred again. "It wasn't clouds you saw," the others said, "it was something all right." Then they prepared a little mat woven of willow twigs. It was about two feet square. They covered it with red feathers from the red-headed woodpecker (kulquila'qən). The fires were all put out. Then the mat with the feathers was held out of the door. The leader held one side. Another shaman, si'pasu, held the other side. With their free hands they motioned with eagle feathers for the spirit to come in. After a while the shamans had the fires rebuilt. "We have the spirit," they announced. The mat was folded up and put away. The following night the leader spoke. "We have the spirit of a hunchback gambler. He is from Colville. He has never been here before, but next summer he will come down during the fishing season in June. He is a great gambler but when he comes here he will lose everything he has. He will come with a gray horse, a gray saddle blanket, a black saddle, gray clothes and a big white cowboy hat. You, Covington, take his saddle, but don't take anything more. You, Tom, take his horse, but just that. (Etc.)" He gave each thing to a different person. Then he said, "We'll let him live, but we'll send him back naked." Then the dance continued.

The following summer the gambler came to Keller. But he refused to gamble. One of his own people who had been at the dance had forewarned him. He went back home after only staying one day. But a short time later he lost all that he owned to a man at home although the latter was a very poor gambler.

The particular type of performance described above was called sklu·γa'γu, "to build a fire on a mat to bring a spirit." It was the most popular way of enticing a spirit into the dance house. The feathers "whispered, stood up and drew it in." Feathers other than those from the head of the woodpecker were sometimes used. The tail feathers of the same bird were also effective. Eagle feathers were used in the motioning because spirits liked them and came after them. Other means of drawing in a spirit were also commonly used. The particular method selected depended upon the character of the spirit and its owner. A gambling spirit was attracted by stick game bones or markers. Pretty young women were "offered" to spirits that were difficult to get. Recently brightly colored shawls often have been used.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with the man who received it and inevitably married him.[16] It was possible to cause the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so. The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans. 756 787 796

A winter dance was in progesss at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance. When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life. 753 756 796

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out. After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over to it and pull it out with ease. 756 796

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kolı'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[16] See page 142.

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were invited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was left only with a breechclout. 431 796

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

756 Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power. Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

554 622 756 Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions of chiefs, for instance.

756 But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

756 776 Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's 756
howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement 776
were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was tapɛ·''lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[12]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests some- 578
times arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause 756
another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the
injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aid of his 776
spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited.

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of func- 756
tion. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth.

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic 753
specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing pro- 757
cedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[13] A shaman was called to administer in an

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[12] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[13] See pages 215 f.

753 757 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

753 756 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inaugural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

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[15] See page 169.

[16] See page 211.

[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

756 be taken as the rule, however. The average shaman attempted to gain as great a return for his services as possible.[18] Moreover, very small offers probably were never made to a shaman with the prestige of John Tom.

Upon the arrival of the shaman and the messenger the former made ready for practice while the latter whispered to the patient the attitude that had been taken by the shaman. If he had been hesitant about coming the patient usually made him further offers to assure that he would use his full powers. If the messenger came back alone he was never returned nor a second messenger sent. In such a rare case a new shaman was sought. Close relatives of a doctor often dispensed with the offer of presents but something was given, nevertheless, if a cure was effected.

Neighbors always gathered at a patient's house when a shaman arrived to practice. Children were permitted to remain but were not allowed to talk or annoy the doctor or walk behind his back. This was simply an extension of the solemnity required of elders. The shaman never punished an annoysome child by making him ill.

The invariable first act of the shaman in the curing procedure was to sit down and smoke for a few moments. Every shaman possessed a pipe but he did not necessarily use his own. If one were borrowed the owner lit it and took the first few puffs. John Tom explained his reason for smoking: "It builds me up strong for my hard work to come." From among those present the shaman chose a spokesman through whom he gave orders and spoke to the audience for the remainder of the procedure. In addition he selected one or more assistants. The spokesman might be anyone present but the assistants were necessarily strong bodied men familiar with the duties. Covington assisted John Tom whenever he was present. Some shamans removed all of their garments except moccasins and breechcloths while practicing. No particular dress was worn to the patient's home but the shaman always brought with him his spirit objects (feathers, claws, power stick, etc.). Face painting at this time was a trait of some doctors.

The shaman seated himself beside his patient and asked his assistant to bring a basket of water. When this was received he washed his hands and the water was thrown out. The basket was taken away, rinsed, refilled and returned to the shaman's side. The shaman placed either one or both hands on various parts of the patient's body, holding them at each spot for a moment or two. This was the manner or diagnosis. At the same time he sang his doctoring songs. The audience joined in the singing and beat time on the floor or a plank with sticks held vertically. In addition, seated persons sometimes beat on a log with short sticks. 539
756 Examples of the songs follow:

uyu··xa···'uyu··xa···ɛnuiuxa'uyu··xa···ɛ···'ɛ···
(meaningless)

tən'umu's	kəntxutumsk	e'lux;	nu''kənlu'təm
I'll just try	to go towards	(the) sickness;	if I fail

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[18] Cf. page 208.

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ulnutcu'lman	wa'i'lut	ulkunamu'tat
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)	and sit down

ulnoqalske'lux	tukuna'ks	tiá·kwi'lux.[19]
and you can call	another	doctor.

x··xa'i'inki'lux,	sxuxu'xup,	xali·xi·[20]
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why

qátsku'lamstan	inki'lux	kanxlátspu'xam	xa'xana···'waiexa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction. 753 756

The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued. 755

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

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[20] One of John Tom's songs.

spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prized by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid. 755

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt proved unsuccessful. 754 756

Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered. 756 776

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used. 754 756

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

778 back to another. The horses escaped, but the maniac was bound, fumigated with xacxac root, and restored to normal life. David, the nar- 776 rator, knew of no other instance of this kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior 791 of Colville bluejay shamans when they went out to find lost things, and the repeated statement that they "turned into bluejays," indicate a much more violent form of spirit possession than occurred among the Okanagon. Johnnie recounted that those with this power turned into bluejays at a dance, which no one was allowed to leave. They would fly out through a crack in the door. They would stay naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyās (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot; reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named q!al'īyā would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papałōt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 Of all the purposes to which a Southern Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, 791 healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tła·kwīlEx̣ designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tła·kwīlEx̣ x̣al'sła'pEm or tła·qwī'lEx̣ xEl sx̣Ex̣Elōs, who cured by sucking; the pōxpōxūmōlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pōxūmōmin, who cured by blowing; and the tła kwīlEx xal'āspūxEm who

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cured by blowing and manipulation. The proportion of shamans to laymen varied greatly between villages. Both men and women could be shamans, but men probably predominated.

Though all shamans had some general curing ability, their powers were usually specialized. Thus, spider power and rattlesnake power were employed respectively to treat the bites of these vermin, but power from certain kinds of hawks and other birds which kill snakes also served against snake venom. A shaman with spider power could see a spider-bite, even through clothing, without being told that it was there. When a certain small boy had been bitten by a spider, his father went from the Omak district all the way up to Loomis to procure a shaman that he knew of, only to find that this practitioner could not effect the cure because he had not the spider power.

If a shaman had several powers and did not know just what was wrong with the patient, he tried first one and then another in his attempts to cure. A mistake in the treatment might bring the sickness on himself. In cases of very serious illness, several shamans might cooperate. Four, three men and a woman, struggled to save the life of the woman who had been bewitched by Suzanne. They took turns in trying to draw the sickness out of her, but to no avail.

Sometimes a shaman dreamed that a certain person was sick. On awaking he sang for a while and then went to the prospective patient and offered to cure him. He sometimes had to travel a long distance to his case, even in the days before horses when he had to go on foot. If the cure was successful, he received a small gift; if not, he gained nothing. The amount was not stated beforehand, but was as much as the patient or his family wished or were able to give: as little as a blanket or as much as a horse. The patient never gave his daughter to the shaman as a fee. Lucy Joe said that she would return the fee if her patient died. In recent years, since the white doctors are paid in ratio to the distance which they must come, some shamans require a large payment before attempting the cure. Despite the time they spent in visiting patients, shamans had to engage in the same everyday occupations as did laymen. Only Suszen declared that a shaman who refused to attend patients because of malice might, after due warning, be killed by the "chiefs and the people." They clubbed him to death, hanged him, cut his throat, or bound him, weighted him with rocks and drowned him. Arrows were not used for this purpose because many shamans were immune to them.

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Aside from the more obvious cases of physical injury, the Southern Okanagon attributed sickness chiefly to the intrusion of a tangible and more or less animate object into the victim's body, to power-theft, to soul-loss, to insubordination to one's power, or to violation of a religious taboo.

p.163(A)

756 • 791 Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

757 Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mARKmən. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

164 753 The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

p. 165 (A)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those 771
of other interior Salish tribes. Shamans were numerous, and some were 756
credited with great powers.

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were
performed. Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced 535
from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done. The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center
around him. It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature 773
myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground. Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish, but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain.

bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with 535
the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything 796
in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather 535
according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made 756
game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could 796
be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[224] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing. 535

War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before 721
going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, how- 796
ever, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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[224] b, pp. 262–264.

Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and 532
half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also 776
busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would "know" the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge.

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered "mystery," and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

SHAMANISM.—Shamans were about the same in character as among 756
the Thompson.[illegible] Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except

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[illegible] See Thompson, a, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, c, p. 603; f, pp. 173, 191.

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of [759] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 577 ETHICAL CONCEPTS.—Ethical concepts[illegible] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

778 789 CHARMS AND BELIEFS.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

[illegible] a, pp. 366, 367.

622 of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x̣* blood[1]); *Saẋkokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x̣* and half Thompson); and Martinus[2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawi'sesqəm* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeū's* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.

555 There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might
622 become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, specially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

624 All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among
● 756 the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were perma-
622 nent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 (4.8).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

775 THE SOUL.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

776 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

● 756 SHAMANS.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

535 DANCES.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of

776 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or
*171 near their sphere of influence.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as
787 among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain
*171 one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course
of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping
vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained
533 one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the
*171 guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not
obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the
[787] novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

778 *171 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 *171 • [756] BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

756 *171 000 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible."
(Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so
desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a
large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually
successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but
weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[1] See pages 215 f.

an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's 756
howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement 776
were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was t'apsˑ'lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[12]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests some- 578
times arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause 756
another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the
injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his 776
spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited.

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of func- 756
tion. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth.

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic 753
specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing pro- 757
cedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[13] A shaman was called to administer in an

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[12] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[13] See pages 215 f.

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ailment of this class only if its persistent nature (barring tuberculosis) suggested that complications of an unnatural sort were present.

The second major class, the unnatural illnesses, were those resulting from the volitional acts of men or spirits. They may for convenience be divided into five sub-classes, as follows: (1) injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men; (2) diffuse internal illnesses; (3) afflictions of the mind; (4) spirit illness; and (5) magical "poisoning."

In the first sub-class, injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men, were the serious wounds resulting directly from encounters with such beings as bears, wolves and snakes, but caused indirectly by the spirits of those beings. The ultimate causes lay still further away; they might be non-observance of the dictates of one's guardian spirit, the jealousy of one with the same spirit or mere carelessness.

The diffuse internal illnesses forming the second group included fevers and all the contagious diseases. The immediate cause was intrusion into the body of foreign matter, and its expulsion was necessary to recovery. The presence of the irritating matter might come about in a number of ways such as the breaking of tabus (menstrual, hunting, burial, etc.) or through the action of an unfriendly shaman. A shaman could bring about such illness by pulling a hair from his head or taking a piece of horse hair or sinew, rolling it between his hands and blowing it away in the direction of the person he wished to afflict.

The third type of illness, afflictions of the mind, came about through shamanistic action to which may be applied the common term bewitching. It was essentially a projection into the victim's body of one of the shaman's spirits. Its abnormal presence resulted in a loss of consciousness, delirium, raving and the various insanities. In delirium the person possessed often talked like the shaman to whom the spirit belonged or even claimed to be that shaman. The spirit could be removed only by another and stronger shaman. When the victim was a layman the illness was called sq̣oq̣oməswi'x°; when another shaman, sq̣e'um.

In the fourth class fell guardian spirit illness which resulted in one of two ways. The first was the desire of the spirit to return either upon the initial occasion or during subsequent winters. This has been described in the preceding sections of this chapter. The second causation was loss of one's spirit. This came about by the spirit being buried with a corpse or being stolen by a shaman.[14] In the former event its return was impossible, in the latter it could be brought back by a stronger shaman.

Magical "poisoning," the fifth category, was a practice of lay women only. Not all women knew the formula, but all knew those who did and whose services could be bought. The procedure necessitated obtaining first a piece of the proposed victim's clothing, a lock of his hair, some of his nail parings or a like object. To this was added a certain dried and pulverised root, red paint and sometimes the dried body of a bat or a bit of bone from a corpse. The mixture was ground together in a mortar and at the same time the name of the victim was muttered with a few words as what should happen to him. Afterwards the concoction was

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[14] See pages 151, 197.

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757 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

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756 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inaugural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

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[15] See page 169.

[16] See page 211.

[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

Good luck followed the catching of a beetle and keeping it. 787

A person sneezed because someone had mentioned his name. Also, the following was sometimes said after one sneezed:

ku'ks	sanpi'i'lsa	xa'ləp;	kwáti·'sa	ɀəlɘ'ks	pápási'l.
You	joy (will have)	tomorrow;	(you) sneeze	because	sad.

MEDICINES AND CURES

The Sanpoil made very extensive use of the available herbs and roots for medicinal purposes. An exhaustive list of these would probably include a half or more of the botanical genera (exclusive or grasses) found in the territory. Much of this practical medicine is forgotten today, but the list below includes the more important *materia medica*. Informants did not hesitate to tell what they remembered of native medical practices; cures do not seem to have been the property of individuals, and were not k[illegible] secret. Men as well as women shared the lore. 757

Household treatment of ailments seems to have been restricted more or less to the often recurring diseases (sqi'lt) such as the common cold (sa'axa'u'), minor injuries (sɀa'no'mt), bruises and skin troubles, and to that one most serious malady, tuberculosis, which shamans ordinarily considered beyond their powers to cure. Minor wounds and cuts were given little attention; the "sores" for which so many medicines were prepared were usually eruptions of the skin, with an internal rather than an external cause. Serious wounds were attended by a shaman. Medicines for use at the time of childbirth were lacking, but contraceptives and abortifacients were common knowledge. Specific treatments were used for the two common venereal diseases. The number of medicines prescribed for the common cold was probably greater than for any other type of ailment, unless it be skin troubles.

In the preparation of a medicine roots were nearly always boiled with water, leaves often so treated, but stems very seldom. Steeping or brewing, infusion, maceration and pulverization were other common methods by which the raw material was handled in the preparation of the medical product.

Patients suffering from illnesses of the class treated by shamans were given special foods, or fasted. In all other cases there was no restriction or modification of the ordinary diet. Isolation was never practiced for illness; only menstruating women were separated from others. Ailing children were carefully attended but bedridden adults were left more or less to themselves.

The sweat lodge[8] was used for the cure of sickness of any nature except the common cold. This exception was explained as due to the harmful effect that water exerts upon the person suffering from a cold.

Snake rattles were carried under one's hat to relieve a headache (sk̓e'lɀkəm). 755

The bite of the rattlesnake was curable only by a shaman or an individual whose guardian spirit was rattlesnake. However, if a dog was bitten by a rattle- 757

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[8] See page 179.

755 757 snake, the hair around the point where the fangs entered was singed off. This is the nearest approach to cauterization that I have recorded for the Sanpoil.

757 Surgical practice included removal of growths over the eye by an abrasive process, the lancing of boils and the removal of warts. The operation on the eye was accomplished with the aid of a small piece of bone that had been exposed to the weather for a long period of time and had become porous and rough. Such bone fragments were easily found by searching the fields. After a suitable piece of bone had been obtained it was heated in the camp fire "to kill any insects or bugs that might be in the fissures." A tiny piece was then broken off and used to scrape or abrade the surface of the lens capsule where the opacity existed. The operation required great skill and a steady hand, or the actual lens capsule would have been injured, resulting in permanent blindness.[3]

After horsehair was available warts were removed by holding a long hair taut between the two hands and moving it back and forth at the base of the wart until it cut through. Sometimes a large wart was removed by tying a horsehair around the base and gradually tightening the knot until the hair cut through. Warts were thought to disappear if rubbed with a porous bone until bleeding started.

Boils were opened by piercing with a thorn or a sharpened stick. To hasten healing the suppuration was forced out with a stick broken from the marker over a grave. After being used it was thrown back onto the grave or in the fire.

Limb joints swollen with rheumatism were blackened with charcoal. The rheumatic pains were admonished to "go to someone better off."

A bit of deer horn was placed in the mouth to relieve a toothache.

Bear grease was rubbed on sores, after being chewed and rubbed between the palms of the hands.

White clay from the banks of the Columbia river was mixed with water and drunk to relieve indigestion.

[278] A poison, which caused acute convulsions followed by death, was made from a plant called ini'xʷ by crushing it, mixing with water and boiling.

The following list represents that part of the native *materia medica* about which I was able to get more or less detailed information and specimens. I have not been able to arrange the list according to any consistent system of classification, either botanical or utilitarian, for although in the case of some plants a single part, such as the root, was used, and for a single purpose, many had various uses, and the several parts of other specimens were all used, either for one or more purposes.

A specimen of each type was obtained in the field for purposes of botanical identification. Some of these were identified in the herbarium of the Washington State Museum; the greater number was classified in the herbarium of Washington State College. A few of the specimens were unidentifiable.

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[3] Even with great care, however, it seems that the chances of avoiding serious injury to the eyeball must have been small, to say nothing of successfully restoring the eyesight. But Bob Covington insisted that he had known personally of two operations, both of which had been successful.

1. Common Sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwinqwinaməni'ɬp^u, "blue brush"). This plant is one of those most commonly found in the territory of the Sanpoil, and perhaps the one most extensively used for medicinal purposes. A tea was brewed from the pulverized leaves and stems and used for the treatment of severe cases of the common cold and la grippe. 137 278 757

   A stronger tea, used in treating indigestion, biliousness and tuberculosis, was made from the tips only of the stems and a few seed pods. Sweating was customary preceding and following the drinking of the potion. Furthermore, these infusions acted as laxatives.[4]

2. Common Sagewort, *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Jeps., (naqənəqati'ɬp^u, "ill-smelling bush"). A few leaves were placed in the nostrils and permitted to remain there for about an hour to relieve a cold in the head or a headache.

   Pulverized leaves of this sagewort were sprinkled on sores to hasten their healing.

3. Dragon Sagewort, *Artemisia Dracunculus* L., (tsitsiaqi'ɬp^u, "squeaking bush"). Roots of this sage were steeped in cold water to obtain a brew which was used in the treatment of colds.[5]

4. Purple Sage, *Ramona incana* (Benth.) Dougl., (snɩk'nɩkɩ'taqi·'n). This was another herb popularly used in the treatment of the common cold, or for any illness of a general nature. The potion was made by boiling or steeping the leaves in water.

5. Antelope Brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən, "grease wood"). The berries of this plant were crushed and mixed with water to form a concoction for the treatment of constipation or hemorrhage.

6. Rabbit Brush, *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (Pall.) Britt., var. *speciosus* (Nutt.) Hall, (papa·'lamɩɬp^u, "buckskin brush"[6]). A smudge produced by burning this brush was considered effective in curing horses of distemper. A few pieces of brush were placed in a container, lighted, and held below the horse's nostrils.

   Also, the branches and leaves were pulverized and mixed with water to form a paste-like substance which was rubbed on horses to protect them from horseflies and gnats.

7. Buckbrush, *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh, (wɛ·'γanɬp^u, koli'tkiɬp^u). This brush was utilized in the preparation of a powder for use on sores or wounds. After removing the bark the sap wood was scraped away, then dried and pulverized. Grease or oil of any kind was rubbed on the afflicted part and the powder sprinkled on top of it.

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[4] For non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 36.
[5] For a non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 76.
[6] So termed because of its use in smoking buckskin.

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8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wȧ·'ləak, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. 137 278 757

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itskən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (χaχa'iip*). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̓ots-q̓otso'iȧ'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.
It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion. [847

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.(12) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [415]

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tubercolosis.

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[9] See page 135.

[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137 278 757

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes.

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sət'si'xənt, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakəni'lpᵘ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (þətsþətsəms'kuł. "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcuəlsi'lpᵘ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (təl'təl'ti'lpᵘ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (x̣ox̣ti'ʔlpʷ, "cut-off bush"). Th roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful part sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultic in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a ha wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (x̣ox̣o'i'ʔlpʷ). The stickers and outer cov ering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split int fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in colo which was used for colds.

[515]

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stəmtəməni'i'ʔlpʷ, "grave bush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snow berry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine It was used alike for men and animals.

    Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

    A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

    The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and th liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

[362]

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

    This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis lingusticifolia* Nutt., (q̣ətsásuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils of either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'x̣pox̣ilpʷ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̣iq̣i'təni'ʔlpʷ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

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30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xloxloxwi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 137 278 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilpᵘ). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (stəptəpsa'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lpᵘ). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (təptəpala'u'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [757]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sua'tkulpᵘ). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nqᵘ). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 153.

[20] Identification not certain.

137 38. An umbelliferous species, (àlâpi'spəs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

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757 39. tcuqtcuqti'lp* (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

40. məsməsain'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. [841] Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[11]

41. tcstcu'sləmilx*, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulquləmi'lp* (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. xa'sxəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[303] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soqe'imən ti'tax*), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'kutən..........	"time that it snows"
ktsa'tsa'lta'n.........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kət...............	"time that it is white"
skənı'γumən.........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpatctlta'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən............	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən.........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[11] Cf. page 134.

778 776 791 back to another. The horses escaped, but the maniac was bound, fumigated with xecxac root, and restored to normal life. David, the narrator, knew of no other instance of this kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior of Colville bluejay shamans when they went out to find lost things, and the repeated statement that they "turned into bluejays," indicate a much more violent form of spirit possession than occurred among the Okanagon. Johnnie recounted that those with this power turned into bluejays at a dance, which no one was allowed to leave. They would fly out through a crack in the door. They would stay naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyás (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot; reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named q!aI´Iyā would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaIōt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 791 Of all the purposes to which a Southern Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tĭa·kwIlEx̢ designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tĭa·kwIlEx̢ x̢al'sĭa´pEm or tĭa·qwI´lEx̢ xEl sx̢Ex̢Elō´s, who cured by sucking; the pōxpōxūmōlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pōxūmāmIn, who cured by blowing; and the tĭa kwIlEx xal'āspūxEm who

756 791 Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

757 Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mĕREmĕn. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

164 753 The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

757 278 For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entâq'qûI'nIk was dried, steeped in water, and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; if confined to his bed, whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ëntăktăkqwaIn^{xû}) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. Xaxaë'lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called xwaIt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds.

[753] Tuberculosis (xqExrōhōm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning.

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqálqâlstsI'm, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcëxtcûx-tcq!ëIt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci'nûk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

[787 825] To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered.

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For "summer complaint" (perhaps sunstroke), called cintca'xqē'n, symptomized by headache and bleeding at the nose, a plant called tEwatē'wa ("wild peppermint" in the local English) was administered.

For stomachache the roots of a plant called t'sIt'sIxa'Ilp were boiled and the infusion drunk. Water in which rock sagebrush had been steeped was also drunk for stomach trouble.

Headache (cqē'lqin) was treated by binding "some kind of a weed" against the temples and stuffing it into the nostrils. Michel said that "any weed" was used for this; Johnnie stated that one sometimes used red willow (ctiktikstcxwI'lph). Also the root of a plant called xwa'It was chewed.

For constipation the following remedies were taken internally: tea made from the grass called xaxalahō'pc, or the bush known as tēptēpcalqūh; water from Omak Lake or Goose Lake.

Swooning, fits and other losses of consciousness or control were treated by burning the root of a plant called xacxac and blowing the smoke on the patient. A fragrant fir bough (mErIīp) was also used to revive one who had fainted.

Nose bleed (ckwatska) was treated by bathing the back of the head with cold water.

To boils was applied the foul juice from a smoker's pipe or a poultice of hot pine pitch.

Sores were treated by applying warm rocks or dirt.

Skin irritations caused by poison ivy were smeared with the milky sap from a broken stem of sumac.

For wounds, a weed called xaRxARIEmA', which was something like pigweed, was mashed, dampened with water, made into a slimy paste, and applied as a poultice. Buckskin bandages were also used. Wounds on the skull were treated in the same way, no trephining or cautery being practiced for them.

Though many shamans knew how to set bones, it was not a professional art and relatives of the patient usually performed it. Flat splints were bound to the broken limb with buckskin bandages. Sometimes the pulp of the inner bark of the red willow or the pine was placed on the limb, which was then wrapped tightly with a small twined tule mat and held in cold water for as long as the patient could bear it.

Sore eyes were bathed in water from Omak Lake.

Toothache (snEk!ēlIc, from k!ēlIc, "it

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6 See Individual Life Cycle.

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called crëntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was crënt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
278 gation with certain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
flower and the plant from which love medi-
789 cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or pɫaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by
the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snëna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaöwil) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

508 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

that telling coyote stories would make snow or cold; and burning 789 lightning wood would make cold weather. However, wood of trees struck by lightning was never burned except by accident, as it was believed that one of the people who burned it or used it as firewood would die. Some people believed that toads had the power of making rain at will.

Medicines.—As among the Thompson, a number of medicines 757 made from herbs were used as tonics, or salves, but I did not have opportunity to inquire into this subject. The scent root called *χasχas* was dried and powdered fine, then mixed with animal grease and used as a salve on sores. As among the Thompson, mother's milk was used occasionally to anoint sore eyes.

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and 535
food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes 535
parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs,
in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them 721
before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the
Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men
desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young
men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a
chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these
parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a 535
dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted 727
their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them
on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the
most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like
warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had 535
received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated 776
his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held 535
in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the 583
same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being 535
held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women,
during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that 796
used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *sîlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than 757
food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

757 *Pentstemon douglasii*, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

Aconitum delphinifolium, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

Philadelphus lewisii; Okanagon name *wa'χawaχəlp;* Thompson name, *wä'χaelp;* leaves used as a soap for washing.

Gilia aggregata; Okanagon name, *χaχalauhä'ps;* decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper, It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

Nicotiana attenuata Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kalkalsmanä'l;* Thompson name, *kä'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum;* Okanagon name, *xelismilp;* Thompson name, *ka'tca*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina;* Okanagon name, *kwarä'uk;* Thompson name, *kolomä'ka*, also *kwalä'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

825 827 CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.[1] The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

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[1] See Thompson (a) p. 373.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

165 creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-
731 in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispē'lɛm*, eastern Washing-
173 ton. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead
*[171] suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."

165 About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The
731 Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths
[757] occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

174 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, and *Sɛmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

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Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary 484
camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skənı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpatctltə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp 342
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 796
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive 476
travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated 735
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 888
with those who had had to remain.

761/776 entity with which occasional communion was held and which at other times led a separate existence. Rather it was an intimately associated part of one's ego which could not be lost without disastrous results and which, though seldom seen, was ever present. It is thus understandable that the fate of one's spirit after the death of the body was as great a concern as the fate of the soul. The belief was that the soul and spirit departed simultaneously from the fleshy body as soon as death came. The spirit became a ghost in form very similar to the ghost of the soul, but in character very different. It is interesting that the after-death form of the spirit was anthropomorphic whereas it was derived from an animal or inanimate object. It is true, of course, that spirits often assumed human form, but they always retained, as spirits, their true natures. The spirit-ghost, on the other hand, was almost completely void of its original characteristics (except for its powers) and used not its original generic name but referred to itself by the term for spirit-ghost or a relationship term applied to the dead person who had possessed it.[4]

776 Spirit-ghosts and soul ghosts were not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There was undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote was a soul ghost or spirit-ghost. A spirit-ghost was easily killed; an arrow shot at one never missed. At the spot where one had been killed there was always found a human scapula.[5] Indeed, the native term for spirit-ghost, papa'ʔut, meant scapula. The following tale accounts for the name:

539 Three men were going along the Sanpoil river near the Columbia one time. They were on a narrow trail between a cliff and the river. The trail led to an open meadow a little farther along. Just at this place, whenever a traveller came along, ghosts of spirits would chase him. It was about sunset and the men were half way from the cliff to the flat. They began to hear footsteps behind them. They got louder and louder. The second man looked back but could see nothing. The noise got louder and they could hear the hard breathing of the ghost. They began to run and soon were away from the place.

But the third man said that he was going to go back and shoot the thing. He picked out his poorest arrow, and went back, just at dusk. When he reached the place he heard the footsteps again. This time he didn't run. He looked around and saw a shadow coming toward him. He stood still and waited until it was right up to him. Then he drew his bow and shot. He heard it hit something with a thud. Then he turned and went back to camp and told them that he had killed the ghost down by the river.

The next morning the men from camp went down to the place where he had shot. On the ground they found a piece of a man's shoulder blade with the arrow straight through it. They took the bone, broke it in two and buried the pieces and the arrow on the hill.

Since that time ghosts of spirits have been called "scapula." (Bob Covington)

776 The spirit-ghost functioned as a secondary power or guardian in the same manner as an ordinary spirit. But its acquisition was a very different and dangerous procedure. Such power was never voluntarily sought and was available

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[4] See page 169.

[5] But cf. the anecdote on page 171.

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

813 821 The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkʷ) that surrounded the land.

823 The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

825 All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they died "they turned into dirt."

753 Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were carelessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

826 Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

777 A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

821 Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less predictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." 821 Rainbows were caused by thunder.

844 The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skəltumi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ilα'má'əlkət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

821 When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at the time of his birth.

821 825 The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad

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[1] 813 Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,'
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinkq his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen village
[361] site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their re-
quests, but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-
digging and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits aban-
doned, the adolescent spent his time learn-
ing techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestab-
lished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some dif-
ferences in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
sition, less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwaIh) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly. 343 773
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their training for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: 515 788 [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa'ksEn qwânēnmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlāūtiksq'ūâl
Let me live to be old,
kūwâ'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]
p. 167 (A)

839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a tumpline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named taxpa·'ikst was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

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775 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

885 554 as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities.

886 It was known that women sometimes died at menopause.

158 Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow.

762 ● Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes."

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids

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[25] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 76.

839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

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783
775 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity after his death.

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Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

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778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from pepaɬōt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the pepaɬōt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

cribed to a reversal of nature which took 776
place at the beginning of the present world
era. On the summit of a mountain between
Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called 823
neamtûc, literally, "set on top of a ridge."
This is the woman who came bringing camas
from the east, over whom the mountains fought
in the mythical times when mountains were
men. Indians sometimes made offerings there.

DREAMS AND OMENS

787 Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow.

Most omens foretold death. Seeing a 787
flying squirrel (sxû'phûp) was interpreted
in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter
once went way up in the hills, cut down 763●
a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground- hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ō'hō'lEm (prairie dog ?,*a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Kartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Suszen was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow.

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*[For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116.--Analyst]

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256 764 776 The interment ceremony was in the hands of some old man, probably a relative. He first called upon some one present to "say a few words." The person designated stepped to the side of the grave and solemnly spoke of the inevitability of death and eulogized the deceased. When he finished he stepped back and the man in charge called for the shaman to perform his part of the ceremony. This consisted of ridding the grave of the presence of spirits. The shaman had brought with him branches of rosebush. With these he swept out the hole and brushed off the corpse. This act was called snake'xulaxum. Branches of the rosebush were used rather than some other brush because the thorns were thought to prick the invading spirits and thereby be more effective in driving them away. While the shaman was discharging this duty he spoke to the assemblage, saying that though he was not omnipotent he nevertheless hoped that his actions would eliminate any spirits which might have lodged themselves in the grave to later torture the ghost. "These precautions should always be taken," he said. "If some stranger were in the vicinity his spirit would be certain to see the grave and jump into it. We don't want that to happen." The shaman never touched the corpse with his hands. As soon as he had finished he threw aside the rose branches (it was not necessary to destroy them for they were only instrumental; the spirits did not lodge in them), and stepped aside for the pallbearers who placed the corpse in the grave (in a sitting position) as quickly as possible.

764 776 With the body were deposited the person's keepsakes, fetishes, and ornaments of dress such as feathers, quills and strips of fur, but no clothing or other objects. No time was then lost in covering the body for every moment that elapsed gave further opportunity for spirits to enter. Flat rocks were laid on the corpse, then smaller rocks, gravel or sand. Sometimes the grave was covered with brush. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks erected in the rocks. Canoes or carvings were never placed over graves.

Occasionally a short speech of consolation to the bereaved followed the interment. It was delivered by someone who had not previously talked. Upon its conclusion the mourners returned to the village.

It is felt nowadays, with the use of deep graves and caskets, spirits are almost certain to remain with the body even though great care is taken to eliminate them. Their presence is attested by the noises heard when the casket is lowered into the grave. On one occasion John Tom was assisting in digging such a grave. As he was finishing the excavation, at a depth of about five feet, he suddenly felt as if something had grabbed him around the chest from the back. He was clutched so tightly that he soon fell over unconscious. He had not been able to cry out. A short time later his companions, who had been a little distance away, came and investigated for they had expected Tom to join them soon. They found him lying in the bottom of the grave, motionless. They called to him but he did not answer. Then they prodded him with a shovel. Slowly he gained consciousness. He got out of the hole and was soon normal again. The spirit had evidently disappeared.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast 768
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

484 439 red salmon, a smaller red salmon, and a white salmon) especially prize the bitterroot of the Kartar.

Before they had horses, Kartar people walked to Kettle Falls to trade, taking about four days to get there. Arm-length bunches of raw hemp, about six inches thick, and buckskin were traded by the women for salmon. A large bunch of hemp was worth a horse. From Kettle Falls, the Colville and occasionally the Sinkaietk went to Blackfoot country after they obtained horses. A Colville expedition of ninety years ago was cited by Johnnie Louie.

321 439 Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange.

171 439 [186] The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagon band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietk territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanogan River beyond Lake Okanogan, about two miles from Enderby, to trade for salmon with the Shuswap. The Sinkaietk have never traded with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about four days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade.

The Inkamip go to the mouth of the Kamloops to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river, and cross to the Kamloops River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about three inches thick and ten hanks in a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries, and bring back only salmon. Tom Martin, my informant, asked, "How should I know the value of things? The old women do the trading."

The Inkamip dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country, but trade for buffalo skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.

[764] ● The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they "had to cut her up" and bring back the remains in a box.

764 The body was then buried in the earth among
stones and was mourned for some time. When
the relatives were once more pure, the proper-
768 ty was divided among relatives and friends,
and, except for perpetuation of the name in
a new individual, the place and soon the
memory of the individual was gone from the
community.

STATUS TERMS

551 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms
to distinguish the place of the individual
in the developmental sequence. They were
561 not the ordinary terms of address. Personal
names and relationship terms were more
601 commonly used as vocatives, and status terms
were used, even as terms of reference, only
when there was some reason for stressing the
status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do they represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	ŏxtI'lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xI'xŏtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqŏcqŏcĕ'
crawling	qElkĕtc'xI'nux
unweaned	wai'q'łxap
running about	xŏxwĕłuc
little child	qwŭqwĕ'ŏ'ma
big child	tĕtExa'p
run about outdoors	qułcqĕ'tcilix
big enough for chores	q'ŏtcqutsqwĕ'lix
boy	t'tŭIt
girl	xI'xŏtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiI'tx
second oldest child	q!ĕ'ŏc
youngest child	ctEĕ'ŏt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEĕ'ltc
several sons of one father	łckŏcĕ
just before puberty	xĕlqĕ'lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxŏ'mxax

as their supernatural favors; chiefs, holding 885
position largely because of birth; all spent
some part of their time in activities not 554
participated in to the same extent or in the
same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities.

886 It was known that women sometimes died at menopause.

158 Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow.

762 Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes."

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids

[23] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

were cut off, according to Lucy Joe, but those of a girl were buried with her "because she would like the porcupine quill ornaments in them." The deceased was then laced in his own blanket (a buffalo hide, fur side in, if he had it), or a buckskin; the sides of the blanket being first laced together over him, then top and bottom turned down and fastened. Should the persons preparing it let tears fall on it, their eyes would "rot" and water as the body rotted. (Johnnie thought his eyes were watering because he let tears fall on his mother's body.)

The burial took place the day after the death. The body was slung by its wrapping of Indian hemp rope from a pole, and carried out either side of the mat lodge, the mats being untied. If it were a tipi, the corpse was taken out at the back, not as a preventative of the return of the ghost, but because the wrapped body was too large to carry through the doorway. Those in the village who were accustomed to take charge at funerals did the transporting. Two men at each end carried the pole on their left shoulders. The body was buried either under a rock slide, or some other place where the grave could be covered over with rocks. The hole was lined with tule mats, or these were wrapped around the bundle. The body was always placed in the hole under the rock slide on its back.

How general was the practice of placing objects with the dead is not clear. At least at the southern end of our territory, according to Mary Carden, personal belongings such as grinding slabs, tanning tools, power objects, bow and arrow, and the like, were placed on the body before the grave was filled with rocks. Among the northern peoples the possessions of the deceased were destroyed at the grave, and the hides of valuable horses stretched over it. Curtis says that valuable articles were actually buried with the deceased, but some of our informants denied this."[1] A peeled cedar pole (or two or three), undecorated, was set up on the grave; cedar because it disintegrated slowly. If the deceased had had much power, his power emblem was tied to the pole. According to Mary the carrying pole was broken in several pieces to be set up at the head of the grave. The same informant stated that branches of rose bushes and Oregon grape were placed not only on the grave, but around the walls of the house and around the mats on which the individuals had died, to prevent the escape of his ghost. There was no canoe burial.

It was stated by Michel that in the vicinity of Arrow and Okanogan Lakes a canoe was left on the grave.

If the death took place in the winter, when there was no means of breaking the ground, the body, properly wrapped with thongs and a tule mat, was placed in a tree

[1] [For footnote, see p. 127 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

● 764 out of reach of marauding animals to await the thaw. Once it was properly buried it was never touched again, as interfering with a grave was believed to bring dire conse-
[769] quences, particularly bringing storms and cold. For this reason all burial places were avoided as much as possible.[26]*

Children were buried by their own parents, but in other ways their burial corresponded with that of the adults. (Cecile said that there were no food tabus for the
[834] parents.) The parents were not forbidden to sleep together and might have another child during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped together, the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare exemple of non-burial.[27]* Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

* [For footnotes, see p. 128 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Salish**
Columbia
Wenatchi

(Blue-Robe), used also by Okanagon and Thompson. According to the 551
Indians, persons having the same name are of a common descent, and the 611
name must have been inherited through one line or another from the same ancestor. On p. 109 is given a list of a few names, probably Wenatchi, with translations.

BURIAL

The Columbia interred their dead in the earth and in rock-slides. Earth 764 ●
burials were in knolls, low mounds, edges of sandy terraces, and generally wherever digging was easy. Graves were lined with mats, pieces of bark, and slabs of stone, where these were convenient. Nearly all earth burials were covered with a heap of stones or encircled with a ring of stones, and further marked by a small pole. It seems that tents were not erected over graves, except occasionally among the most southern bands along Columbia River. Canoes were hauled up on the top of the graves by some people, but this does not seem to have been general.

Rock-slide burials were common. A place was cleared at the bottom of the slide for the body, a pole was stuck up at the head of the corpse, and the latter covered to a depth of three or four feet by pulling down the slide-rock on it. Sometimes a place was cleared of rock, or a shallow hole made in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the slide, the body placed in the cleared space, and covered to a considerable depth by pulling the rocks from the slide over it. This formed a little rocky mound at the foot of the rock-slide. Poles or sticks were erected at all graves. In small bluffs near the larger camps, burials were sometimes made in the slide-rock in tiers from bottom to top of the slide. Graves were made at irregular distances in a row at the base of the slide. When all the available room had been used up there, rocks were pulled down and levelled off over the old graves, and a new row made above; and so on as far up the bluff as required or as was possible. Thus the rows of graves formed narrow irregular terraces on the side of the bluff. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting, and usually buried on the side. The method of interment depended on the environment. If slide-rock was at hand, it was used, and if not, burial was made in the earth. Some articles were placed with the dead, chiefly necklaces, pipes, and the like. Some things were buried in the graves, while others were suspended from the grave-pole. The Indians say that the piling of rocks above a grave was to keep animals from digging up the corpse, which in some places was buried rather shallow.

587 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[307]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The
[837] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alène disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable
766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and
173 bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cxlcxltcô'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alène hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[307] *a*, pp. 326–327.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeûr d'Alene

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a party had camped there. 766 When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains.

764/766 When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in poor skins, or in mats.

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.[illegible] If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. [428] It seems that it was not placed facing in a particular direction. Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses

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[illegible] a, p. 328.

764 belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.[309]

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who 764 428 volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

768 After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,[310] but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Heirochloa odorata*) and an unidentified plant called *maré'mɛtstata*(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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[309] a, p. 330.

[310] a, p. 332.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse 768
for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment
from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally
neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved.
There was no paying-off ceremony,[311] as no one received payment for
any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present
day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks
after all the funeral arrangements. Before and after the burial, 765
most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying
and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the
same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump
over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young
to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[312] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[313] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled 177
very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differ- 764
ences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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[311] See Thompson, e, pp. 334-335.

[312] e, p. 333.

[313] e, p. 333.

177 nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse
769 much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

773 Conception of the World.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[334] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

773 In mythological days the climate was different from the present.
821 According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[335]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people be-

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[334] a, pp. 337-342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqEn Es*, see p. 184.

[335] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Shahaptian tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawā'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

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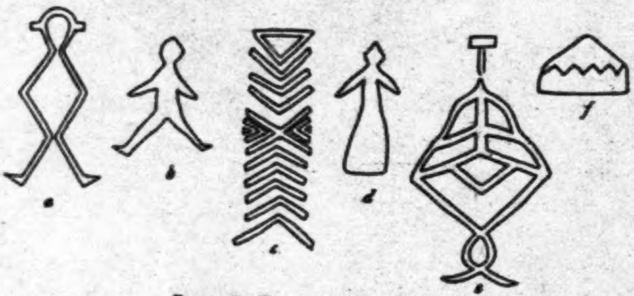

FIGURE 23.—Figures incised in bark of trees
a, Girl; b, man; c, perhaps ribs; d, woman; e, perhaps an animal; f, perhaps a woman's cap.

841 **Customs Regarding Women.**—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semiunderground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

● 764 **Death and Burial.**—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, a, p. 321.

[11] See p. 228.

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous 532
down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom
of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in 764●
the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a
line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson
and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia
influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. 764
Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed,
wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried
on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a
custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies
were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the
Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying"
ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year
after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are
then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The 765
property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly
after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject
to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed
and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeū's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

CONCEPT OF THE WORLD.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding 773
the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very
closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

304 856 *171 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 *171 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 595 *171 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 *171 [606] MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 148 *171 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

• 764 *171 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 *171 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials
were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast 768
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

● 765 783 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

765 784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Burke) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The 302
clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped 765
off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore
another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide)
buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not re-
moved until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the
length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient
food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food
that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some 765
time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work
very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been
a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar
formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was 587
customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time 765
had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and
remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted
to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-
in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary
period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new
spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking
the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling
resulted.

For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. 551
Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," tamtəmani'. A woman whose hus-
band has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as
siu·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The
objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause
words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

805 together for two hundred, three for three
hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied
on to represent a thousand days. While the
device is indiginous, being known also to
neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earli-
er existence of the higher counts (see also
[843] Religion). It was also said that women kept
track of the passage of the nine lunar
months of pregnancy by making a knot for each
month, counting from the first failure to
menstruate until one month after the birth
● [765] of the child. Old people were said to keep
track of how long their children had been
dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt
this. Knotted string records were call-
[211] ed catca'sq!. They were not used as memor-
anda sent with messengers who carried invita-
tions.

p. 70 (B)

622 765 Normally a new chief is appointed at the death of the old. The person selected is always a son, brother or near relative of the deceased. When the chief dies, people wait about a year, until his wife ceases mourning, before choosing another. Then the relatives of the dead chief send word to everybody in the band to come to a meeting on a certain day, usually in spring when there is plenty of food. Some relatives who live nearby arrive two or three days early to help gather food and get ready. There are no games nor dancing on this occasion.

623 [584] On the appointed day, all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief. They always choose the dead chief's eldest son, if he is grown. The son may refuse, saying he does not feel old enough for the responsibility. Apparently it is good form to refuse and be coaxed by the people. Then the council may appoint an older man, usually the dead chief's brother, if one is living. When it is decided, the new appointment is announced to all of the band. The young people present have no voice in the matter. They utilize the occasion to carry on flirtations. As a finale, everyone eats together; the food being provided by the chief's family.

622 The selection of a new chief by the Sinkaietk band offers an interesting illustration of discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual may be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office. The following successions of band chiefs indicate this clearly.

173 622 These recorded lines of succession for the Tukoratum, Konkonelp and Kartar bands of the Sinkaietk tribe and for the Chilowhist band of the Methow tribe were obtained from Mary Carden. They go back to approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continue down to the break-up of the political organization of the individual bands. These records would indicate that the office of the chieftainess was not of as great impart in the political organization of the bands as that of the chief, for woman officials were eliminated before the latter.

CIyá'qwEkEn was chief (yIlamI'xŭm) of the Tukoratum band during the days of Mary Carden's great-grandparents. He married a Tukoratum woman and was succeeded by keketEmána'ŭs, his son, who married first a Nespelem woman, and after her death, a Chelan woman. He was succeeded by kŭx̣kŭx̣tá'skEt, a younger brother, who married two Tukoratum women who were not sisters. He was the last of the Tukoratum chiefs. He was killed in approximately 1860, when his sons were still too young to be chiefs. The band has been guided since by reservation chiefs appointed by the Government.

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await
the thaw. Once it was properly buried it
was never touched again, as interfering with
a grave was believed to bring dire consequences,
[769] particularly bringing storms and
cold. For this reason all burial places
were avoided as much as possible.[26]

Children were buried by their own parents,
but in other ways their burial corresponded
with that of the adults. (Cecile
[834] said that there were no food tabus for the
parents.) The parents were not forbidden to
sleep together and might have another child
during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped together,
the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial.[27] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

765 lodge, and wore bound around her ankles and wrists strips of buckskin which she was not to change or remove. On rising in the morning she went to the grave alone to wail for a few minutes; every day at first, but with dwindling frequency. If her home was too far from the grave, she wailed just outside the house. Her posture while she was so engaged was crouching with her feet flat on the ground, while she bowed her face in her palms. A widow would mourn in this fashion for about a year, when she might think of remarriage. [587] Should she marry too soon her abdomen would swell until she died: her husband would not be able to hunt successfully, would lose his power, and would sicken and die. For a month after the death other mourners, on meeting, wailed: "as soon as they saw each other they would cry." None of the mourners might eat fresh meat or salmon lest they endanger the supply. If a newly bereaved woman picked berries it was sure to ruin the crop for all. A man in mourning could not hunt for a month after the death, for the animals would be frightened of him.

768 Sometimes when a person died the house of death was razed, its poles burned or abandoned. A whole village might be abandoned at this time. Destroying the house was not always done, but was said to have been a matter for the family to decide. It was not done in severe weather. Instead, the house was surrounded with rose bush or Oregon grape branches, and the spot where the deceased had lain covered with fir boughs, or surrounded as was the house. The boughs were changed as often as they became sear, until, when they remained fresh, purification was known to have been accomplished. This was a precaution against the return of the ghost, which was dreaded. Alexander Ross' account gives the razing of the house as the only proper pattern.[1] The old women of the camp came together to wail and to burn the mats on which the dead person had slept, and such of his oldest clothes as were not wanted.

There was little property to be disposed of. There were clothes and, for the man, his weapons, horses, dogs; for the woman, her blankets, mats and household utensils. Under the supervision of the mother, the brother, or other close relative, the strictly personal property of the deceased, such as was not in common use by all the household, was divided on the day of burial. The undertaker's helper (for whom there was no particular designation) was usu-

[1] [For footnote, see p.128(C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

year after the death, when things are given away at a large gathering and feast. 768

Cecile's account of this was as follows. About a year later a second feast was held by the dead man's people. This was a feast held so the people would pray for the dead. The man giving the feast selected a man to pass around the gifts (baskets, dishes, tools, etc.) after they all cried. They cried for the particular dead person for whom the rite was held, but they also thought about their own dead. After this the chief rose and spoke to those about to receive gifts: "No matter if these things are not good, when you take them don't throw them away, because the dead want you to pray for them." This is apparently the paying ceremony described by Teit. 765

If this pattern did exist among the Sinkaietk in the old days it was about the only formal recognition of deceased members of the community by the survivors, except the occasional immediate reuse of a name, or inheritance of a power. Even persons who had played unusually important roles during their lives would probably be remembered only by the immediate descendants of their contemporaries, for there was no pattern for the careful retelling of historical tales, or even such purely mechanical formalizations of history as genealogies. 173 765

p. 129 (B)

[p. 130 is blank]

The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse 768 for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,[311] as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. Before and after the burial, 765 most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[312] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[313] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled 177 very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differ- 764 ences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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[311] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 334–335.

[312] *a*, p. 333.

[313] *a*, p. 333.

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom 532
of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in 764
the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. 764
Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying" ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The 765 ●
property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeā'e* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

CONCEPT OF THE WORLD.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very 773
closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast 768
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await the thaw. Once it was properly buried it was never touched again, as interfering with a grave was believed to bring dire consequences, particularly bringing storms and cold. For this reason all burial places were avoided as much as possible.[76]† [769]

Children were buried by their own parents, but in other ways their burial corresponded with that of the adults. (Cecile said that there were no food tabus for the parents.) The parents were not forbidden to sleep together and might have another child during the period of mourning. A mother and child dying in childbirth were wrapped together, the child in the woman's arms. [834] ● 766

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial.[77]† Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

† [For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 128 (A)

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[26] There is some difference of opinion among us as to the Sinkaietk attitude toward the dead and their graves. Miss Mandelbaum had originally written that the horror was such that it was unlikely that mourning widows visited the graves, as described below. Miss Walters took exception to this, noting by way of illustration that recently young men of the Tukoratum band have helped local amateur archaeologists exhume the skeletons of their own ancestors. The older people were fully aware of this and did not express their disapproval. – L.S.

[27] It is not known whether the reference is to women dying away from home or while gathering these seeds specifically. – L.S.

[28] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 321.

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 128(A), 128(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 128 (c)

592 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[illegible]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. [837] The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 173 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Calcaltcō'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

[illegible] e, pp. 326–327.

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a party had camped there. When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains. 766

When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in poor skins, or in mats. 764 766

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.[illegible] If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. It seems that it was not placed facing in a particular direction. Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses [428]

[illegible] a, p. 228.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for
he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting,
and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk
or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Walla-
walla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot,
[628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a
[649] united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting
buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of
Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was
large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their
ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the
Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-
hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly
assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed
the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always
in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just
[766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried
him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60
years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening
*171 of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women
148 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*171 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
● 766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
*171 country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable
distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 766 171*

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

RELIGION.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 000

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkm* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amts'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkm's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amts'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkm*, but not to *Amts'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amts'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkm is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkm's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that 775 souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of [823] death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, 773 and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains 171* and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero.

GIANTS, DWARFS, ETC.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain 776 lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. 171* Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

285 the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This
[illegible] door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or
342 mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

342 The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway
351 was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid
352 on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

342 A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house
352 from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor
354 space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces
591 were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

285 At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses
342 were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and
422 would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

342 If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the
768 house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

342 When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

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The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law.

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

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> There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now.

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

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After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

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The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

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601 Customarily, the Sinkaietk use the vocative form in direct address and the non-vocative, which is formed by the use of a personal pronoun and the kinship term, when speaking in the third person.

[171] This kinship system is characteristically Mackenzie Basin type,[43] in that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings, addressed as older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister. Parents are man's father, woman's father, man's mother, woman's mother, and children are son and daughter. Nomenclature for paternal and maternal affiliations is bifurcate collateral in the parent and grandparent generations. Maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are differentiated by four terms, which are also applied to their cross and parallel cousins and cousins-in-law. There is one general term for grandchild. Then there are four reciprocal terms used between the four classes of grandparents and grandchildren, the distinction being based on the sex of the affiliating parent.

In all other generations, the male and female relatives on either side are merged into a single reciprocal term which designates generation alone. This generation terminology with reciprocity is typically Salish.[44] There is only one term for niece and nephew. This is used also to indicate wife's and husband's siblings' children.

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587 After a death, forms of address toward certain relatives change. A widow and her husband's brothers use a new reciprocal term. The parents of a deceased mate and the living spouse use a new reciprocal term, and a special term is used for a deceased parent's siblings.

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[43] Spier, Kinship Systems, 76.
[44] Spier, idem., 74.

601 The term castĕm, directly correlated
with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
768 orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
587 brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
in-lew living in the same house and rela-
602 tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
592 ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

601 In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEłpŭqtsI´nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna´lŭks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa´sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (łkI´ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi´st, Michel Brooks' father, who was her first cross cousin. He was married to tsŭmatĕ´lŭqs, a Konkonelp woman.

621 Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwałk-
Enma´lŭxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwałk-
Enma´lŭxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

764 768 The body was then buried in the earth among stones and was mourned for some time. When the relatives were once more pure, the property was divided among relatives and friends, and, except for perpetuation of the name in a new individual, the place and soon the memory of the individual was gone from the community.

STATUS TERMS

551 561 601 The Sinkaietk used a great many terms to distinguish the place of the individual in the developmental sequence. They were not the ordinary terms of address. Personal names and relationship terms were more commonly used as vocatives, and status terms were used, even as terms of reference, only when there was some reason for stressing the status of the individual concerned.

561 These terms do not, however, represent an absolute scale. In no sense do they represent formal age grades. Many of them are not mutually exclusive, and might have been used toward one individual to emphasize various aspects of his position. Thus, a man might have been pointed out as the father of many children, a married man, or an old man, as might suit the point to be made by the person talking of him.

The following is not an exhaustive list. There is no absolute limit to the number of these terms possible, for the flexibility of the language and of the categories involved allows for the compounding of new forms. It is possible that other distinctions might have been expressed in terms as acceptable as those listed here. Unfortunately we had no linguistic check on the terms given us and so could not be sure that they were all formally equivalent.

infant	ōxtI'lat
baby girl [new-born?]	xI'xōtEm
baby boy [new-born?]	cqōcqōcē'
crawling	qElkētc'xI'nux
unweaned	wai'q'łxap
running about	xōxwēłuc
little child	qwūqwē'ō'ma
big child	tētExa'p
run about outdoors	qyłcqē'tcilix
big enough for chores	q'ōtcqytsqwē'lix
boy	t'tūIt
girl	xI'xōtEm
oldest child of a family	cxiI'tx
second oldest child	q!ē'ōc
youngest child	ctEē'ōt
several daughters of one father	stumtumqEē'ltc
several sons of one father	łckōcē
just before puberty	xēlqē'lt
girl [and boy?] at puberty	słiłxō'mxax

765 lodge, and wore bound around her ankles and wrists strips of buckskin which she was not to change or remove. On rising in the morning she went to the grave alone to wail for a few minutes; every day at first, but with dwindling frequency. If her home was too far from the grave, she wailed just outside the house. Her posture while she was so engaged was crouching with her feet flat on the ground, while she bowed her face in her palms. A widow would mourn in this fashion for about a year, when she might think of remarriage. [587] Should she marry too soon her abdomen would swell until she died: her husband would not be able to hunt successfully, would lose his power, and would sicken and die. For a month after the death other mourners, on meeting, wailed: "as soon as they saw each other they would cry." None of the mourners might eat fresh meat or salmon lest they endanger the supply. If a newly bereaved woman picked berries it was sure to ruin the crop for all. A man in mourning could not hunt for a month after the death, for the animals would be frightened of him.

● 768 Sometimes when a person died the house of death was razed, its poles burned or abandoned. A whole village might be abandoned at this time. Destroying the house was not always done, but was said to have been a matter for the family to decide. It was not done in severe weather. Instead, the house was surrounded with rose bush or Oregon grape branches, and the spot where the deceased had lain covered with fir boughs, or surrounded as was the house. The boughs were changed as often as they became sear, until, when they remained fresh, purification was known to have been accomplished. This was a precaution against the return of the ghost, which was dreaded. Alexander Ross' account gives the razing of the house as the only proper pattern."[1] The old women of the camp came together to wail and to burn the mats on which the dead person had slept, and such of his oldest clothes as were not wanted.

There was little property to be disposed of. There were clothes and, for the man, his weapons, horses, dogs; for the woman, her blankets, mats and household utensils. Under the supervision of the mother, the brother, or other close relative, the strictly personal property of the deceased, such as was not in common use by all the household, was divided on the day of burial. The undertaker's helper (for whom there was no particular designation) was usu-

[1] [For footnote, see p.128(C), Category 116.--Analyst]

ally asked to hold up articles, saying who they were for, and make the presentation. Much of the property went to the family. The mother of the deceased, especially if she disliked her daughter-in-law, or some other close relative, might take the lot. But while it was usual to keep most of it, some was given to relatives and friends. Such articles or animals as were reused had first to be purified by a sprinkling of rose-leaf water. The fir bough test was used with these too, to discover when the process was completed. (Cecile Brooks stated that while a dead man's property was washed in rose-leaf water, that of a dead woman was cleaned only in clear water.) As has been mentioned above, some people destroyed some of the property at the grave. This tallies with the account which Ross gives. His description of burial of property, and Teit's of the use of canoes and effigies on the grave,[29] were not recognized by some of our informants.

Michel said that the property of the deceased was sometimes given away to non-related members of the community and to strangers. The purpose was said to be that of ridding the family of any reminders of the deceased. The older informants insisted that this had but newly been taken up by the Sinkaietk. This they said also with reference to the ceremony now practiced about a

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[29] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 288.

768 year after the death, when things are given away at a large gathering and feast.

765 Cecile's account of this was as follows. About a year later a second feast was held by the dead man's people. This was a feast held so the people would pray for the dead. The man giving the feast selected a man to pass around the gifts (baskets, dishes, tools, etc.) after they all cried. They cried for the particular dead person for whom the rite was held, but they also thought about their own dead. After this the chief rose and spoke to those about to receive gifts: "No matter if these things are not good, when you take them don't throw them away, because the dead want you to pray for them." This is apparently the paying ceremony described by Teit.

173 765 If this pattern did exist among the Sinkaietk in the old days it was about the only formal recognition of deceased members of the community by the survivors, except the occasional immediate reuse of a name, or inheritance of a power. Even persons who had played unusually important roles during their lives would probably be remembered only by the immediate descendants of their contemporaries, for there was no pattern for the careful retelling of historical tales, or even such purely mechanical formalizations of history as genealogies.

p.129 (B)

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764 belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.[309]

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who
764 volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food
428 for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

768 After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,[310] but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Heirochla odorata*) and an unidentified plant called *mare'mxtstatst*(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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[309] *a*, p. 330.

[310] *a*, p. 332.

768 The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,[311] as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. 765 Before and after the burial, most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[312] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[313] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

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764 The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were

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[311] See Thompson, a, pp. 334–335.

[312] a, p. 333.

[313] a, p. 333.

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await
the thaw. Once it was properly buried it
was never touched again, as interfering with
a grave was believed to bring dire conse-
● [769] quences, particularly bringing storms and
cold. For this reason all burial places
were avoided as much as possible."[1]

Children were buried by their own parents, but in other ways their burial corresponded with that of the adults. (Cecile
[834] said that there were no food tabus for the
parents.) The parents were not forbidden to
sleep together and might have another child
during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped together, the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial."[2] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

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* 26 There is some difference of opinion among us as to the Sinkaietk attitude toward the dead and their graves. Miss Mandelbaum had originally written that the horror was such that it was unlikely that mourning widows visited the graves, as described below. Miss Walters took exception to this, noting by way of illustration that recently young men of the Tukoratum band have helped local amateur archaeologists exhume the skeletons of their own ancestors. The older people were fully aware of this and did not express their disapproval. – L.S.

* 27 It is not known whether the reference is to women dying away from home or while gathering these seeds specifically. – L.S.

* 28 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 321.

* [For context of these footnotes, see pp. 128(A), 128(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

p.128(c)

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 177 The Dream dance complex, at least so far as it incorporates elements derived in recent decades indirectly from Christianity, seems to have taken a less consistent form than that of the indigenous cult.

● 769 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

769 539 787 The following account of such an experience dates from the days of Suszen's great-grandfather. Suszen, who related this and couched it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded. Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

1/[For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. 1/

● 769 These things are at the side of the
road. A little way beyond some dead people
there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I
never heeded them, just followed the road. A
787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and
woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn
child in the woman's belly. These two can
never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840"[1] a substance resembling "dry
snow" (m·qwaw xlöqülahü, "snow dirt") fell
796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the
ground to a depth of several inches. Deposits of this may still be seen in the
821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much.
There is a question whether this led to the
performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy
Joe said, "The people just danced and danced
until they had nothing stored away for the
winter." This was the only summer dance of
which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil
or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to
him, prophesied the coming of the white men.
He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as
the later prophets did. Shortly before he
died, God promised him that he would receive
him. This seems to be our earliest hint of
the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a
775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that
which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "parti-
tioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body
without causing death. The native term for this concept was sauxapi'uts. When
the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land
of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was
that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as
existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena.
It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests.
Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could
not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as
one's sumi'x^{a}. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disap-
pear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation
from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken
by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a
secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final
category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons,
evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus
was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with
the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
753 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Uncon-
787 sciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not incon-
828 sistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness
was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà·'t,
"dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

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[1] See pages 149 f.

771
776 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

787 Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[5]

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787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'lkutən, "time that it snows"; ktsatsaltə'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[6] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (staxka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[5] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[6] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

POWER

771 776 778 The religion of the Okanagon expressed itself in the affiliation of the individual man or woman with a material object or class of objects, usually with an animal, bird, or insect. Their word sūmix refers to this relationship, as well as to anything which functioned for a person in this way, and to the physical and spiritual potency which one possessed by virtue of this affiliation. When speaking English, the Okanagon translate sūmix as "power." I shall use the word "power" for each and all of the different meanings of sumix; and, to avoid tedious repetition, shall often refer to the source of power as the "guardian spirit."

776 Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. When it manifested itself in his power-song, his whole body shook. One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or the mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid. Mary Carden explained that though the power remained with its possessor, its "spirit" wandered far. She called this "spirit" of the power, however, by the same word as the power itself, sūmix. The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.

The guardian spirit seems to have been an individual rather than a class; a single beaver, for example, who built his dam on a certain stream in the woods, rather than all beavers embodied in the power vision as one. Numerous instances support this idea. Our informants explicitly stated that the same individual animal or object could endow with power several different people. But this individual usually represented the class to which it belonged, and the duties and privileges which it conferred on its human protege extended to his relations with all members of its class. A man who had power from a rattlesnake regarded all men and women who had rattlesnake power as his friendly associates. His affiliation with one visionary rattlesnake affected his attitude toward all rattlesnakes: he was immune from their bite; he could cure other people who were suffering from it.

In dreams and visions the Okanagon saw the guardian spirit more often in human than in animal form, and heard it speak their own language and sing their style of songs. In a conflict between guardian spirits, the lat-

RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those of other interior Salish tribes. 771 Shamans were numerous, and some were credited with great powers. 756

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were performed. 535 Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done. The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center around him. 773 It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground. Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish, but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain.

773 His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

MYTHOLOGY.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

776 VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

●771 PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the
796 Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 136, 141-161.

6: Teit E-3 ([illegible]-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1] 771 796

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 224 782

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 731 796

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[1] See Thompson, a, pp. 349, 350.

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539 born to teach the world. The Indians have been searching all this time for the baby, but did not know it was Christ until the priest told them. That is why we believe the priest because he knew about this baby which was in the story and whom we have been looking for all this time. The Indians thought the baby might have been born in their land. In the story the baby is white. That is why when the white people came we thought that maybe they were people from the baby. That is why we first called all the white people qwūlēncōltēn, because we thought they were from God.

The law-making activities of the animals during the mythical period was one of the leading traits of Suszen's mythology. God had given Coyote three chances to make the right law, and Coyote had "missed the law" twice. God then banished him to a house in the clouds in the north, informing him that he, God, would return to the world once again to superintend the making of new laws, and that this would be Coyote's last chance. If Coyote "misses the law" the third time, the world and humanity will disappear; but if he conforms to God's will, the world will be as it was when first created, before Coyote had "missed the law": that is, there will be no more work or hardship, and one will be able to achieve anything by merely thinking about it.

● 772 The Okanagon believed that the earth was flat and surrounded by a body of water called cōẑq or cēūlxkw. Of this water, the Pacific Ocean (cqElpItlEmētqū) formed only a part. The world itself, said Michel, had four corners and four legs "like a table." Michel had no ideas about the sky or the subterranean regions. Suszen claimed that the Coyote of the myths was left in his new house up in the sky, which he reached by going out into the ocean; that if Coyote should fall off the "sidewalk" which surrounded his house he would drop away into nothing, without touching land, water, or clouds.

The word xēatlnūx meant either sun or moon; to distinguish between the two, the substantive "day" or "night" was prefixed. The sun and the moon were originally two sons of the mythical Coyote. Michel told the following tale about their transformation.

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539 Long ago, before there was any sun or moon, it was dark all the time. The Indians all gathered and said, "We're going to make a sun and a moon." They chose the sun for the daytime and said, "We'll get Crane for the sun." So they made Crane the sun. When this sun was coming up, his beak came over first. When his beak had come up, it would be noon before his feet came over. A little after noon his beak was out of sight and his feet were still in the middle of the sky. It took a long time to get dark; the sun was

1/^ [For footnote, see p. 178 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

16 This is the formal ending of a tale. — L.S. 1/^

p. 178 (A)

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 764

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 772 ●

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkɛn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkɛn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkɛn*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkɛn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkɛn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero. 776

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting, tory, was probably the most important fishing site on the Columbia river above The Dalles. Due to the proximity of the falls and the friendly attitude of the people, many of the Sanpoil camped there during the fishing season. The large trap constructed by the Spokane Indians near the mouth of the Spokane river was also of importance to the Sanpoil since many whose winter homes were nearby moved to this site for the duration of the summer.[7]

Several types of weirs (stəmu's), funnel traps (xuxuli·'kən), and the basket traps (t'səli''), and a unique elevated trap (papani'p) were used, the choice of type being determined by the exigencies of the location.

COMMUNAL TRAPS

The weir was really a composite affair, consisting of two weirs (sntapi'us) and one or more traps. The principal forms assumed are described below. A variant, with a single weir, was used for small fish. Weirs were employed where the water was shallow and the stream bed firm. The most common salmon weir-trap (Figure 9) was composed of two parallel weirs extending entirely across the stream at right angles to the bank, and separated from each other by eighty or a hundred feet. In one of the inside corners formed by the downstream weir and the bank was placed a small rectangular trap into which the salmon were driven before they were removed from the enclosed area. Open willow fencing formed the weirs. The fencing was held in place by supports (sq̇uaiaxwa·ə'lukʷ) built in the form of a tripod and connected to each other by long poles (qæma'nki'łutən). In constructing the upper weir two or three of these tripods, depending upon the width of the stream, were first assembled. The size of the poles used in building the supports was determined by the depth of the water at the site where they were to be used, but averaged ten or twelve feet in length and six to eight inches in diameter. Only poles of cottonwood were used in the construction of the weir foundation.

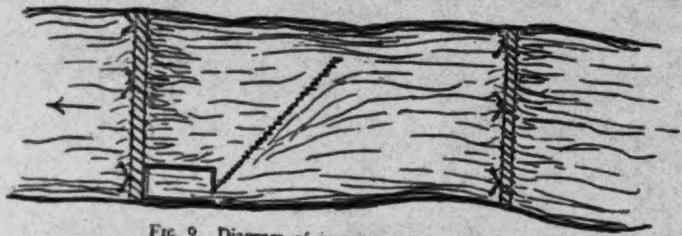

FIG. 9. Diagram of common salmon weir-trap.

This restriction, as related in the mythology, was dictated by Coyote when he first introduced salmon into the Sanpoil country.[8] Of the completed supports,

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[7] See page 19.

[8] Cottonwood and willow were practically the only trees growing on the banks of these streams. Moreover, cottonwood was easily felled, and light to handle.

226 539 773 796 Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[18] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amazement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[18] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger 226
than I have ever seen." 539

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be
dreaming." 773

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said. "You had
better come down and see." 796

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the pro- 226
gram set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of 624
the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of 796
the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately
preceded it in time.

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use. 551/776

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim't'i'kan, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, sɔγau'xmukan, in memory of his brother and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved. 721 [775]

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 181/721 which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wandered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognized none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment. 776 / 778

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[13] See pages 192-94.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 138.

Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (snəqaie'tkʷ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself." 539 / 773

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6] This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7] Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

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Beings in mythological times resembled the spirits of the subsequent period in that they had the physical and psychological characteristics of animals, but for the most part existed in the form of men. Mythological beings did not seek spirit power; they had it inherently. They could change from their man-like forms to their animal forms as freely as spirits themselves. Indeed, "when people came on earth" the mythological beings *became* the spirits.

Like other Plateau peoples, the central figure in Sanpoil mythology was Coyote, the trickster-transformer. Bob Covington explained in narrative style the place and characteristics of Coyote in the mythology:

> In the beginning, a long time ago, Coyote was a man. He went about helping the people. He was interested in their fortunes and he did a great deal to make life better on earth. It is hard to tell what a miserable place the world would be now if Coyote hadn't changed things as he did.
>
> Fox was Coyote's friend and adviser. Whenever Coyote was in trouble he called on Fox to help him, and usually he did. Coyote nearly always took the credit though. He would say, "Oh, yes, I knew that all the time."
>
> Coyote was sometimes tricky and sometimes foolish. Most of what he did was for the best, though. He made several trips up the Columbia river, usually starting from Astoria. Many things happened on these trips and there are lots of stories about them. On the last trip, when he reached Kettle Falls, he was just an ordinary animal coyote.

Raven, the trickster-transformer of the Northwest Coast appeared in a few myths. But he retained only a faint suggestion of the character that enshrouded him on the coast. He was a great chief and shaman but not a culture-hero.

Certain mythological beings consistently possessed shamanistic powers. The principal ones so endowed were: Badger, Skunk, Ground Hog, Otter, Bull Frog, Sucker, Grizzly Bear, Wolf, Wildcat, Lynx, Raven, Eagle, Owl and Chicken Hawk. It will be noted that this group coincides at many points with that of the most powerful spirits.

Many of the geographical and geological features of the country were determined in mythological times. Coyote was usually responsible. He made Kettle Falls, the rapids throughout the length of the river, and changed the course of the river from the Grand Coulee to its present channel. Two beings fighting over a girl turned to mountains, Mt. Chopaka and the adjoining one.

The presence of death without possible reanimation in the world of human beings was the outcome of a struggle between a great chief and Raven. Each wanted his own children to come to life again after dying, but neither would give in to the other.

After a council among the mythological beings it was decided that a sun and moon should be made. Many beings offered to serve, but none was satisfactory until two boys, one made of a stone chip and the other of roots, were tried. They were selected.

Grizzly Bear, Ice, Blizzard and Steelhead Trout (female) were dangerous beings in mythological times. Coyote subdued each one by trickery and changed their characteristics to those they now possess.

mon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power. 000

Women and children were not supposed to eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but when the people were ready to leave the river, they would grow careless and eat dried heads and tails, which were not as dangerous as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, they would become strict again. 226 796 784 825

These tabus did not apply to other fish; in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of trout and squawfish. 262

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon creation myth, in which the first weir is said to have been built by two bird sisters, far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women? [773]

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ôq'ômû´s) were taken during both of their annual runs, upstream in early May and downstream in August, when they sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the larger catch was in May, when traps were set at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old men: women dried the catch which was traded with those who had spent this time digging roots. A pole would be set horizontally in the rocks so that the surface water fell directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur- 226 [462] [887]

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqûntEmI´····n	sEnqEqÛlÛxtsI····n
Help me	Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

çenqEqûntEmI´····n	sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me	Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881 825

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote."

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as
to allow these to fall out. This sets the 881
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

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[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 111 (B)

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10 Compare the myth of this area concerning the people who had no mouths, who ate by sniffing. — L.S.
11 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
12 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 282.
1/1

1/1 [For context of these footnotes, see p. 111 (B), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 111 (c)

when they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object. 776

Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects. 776 778

Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite. 776 825

A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa'qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa'qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInühwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power. 776 773

Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants. 776 826 825

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 The following story, told by Andrew
773 Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.'[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right! " Then I came back.'[1]

789 The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to
796 be cut in two," in which a shaman with special pow[illegible]ut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among
[184] the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElsIū´ɨ (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqōlI´tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

Sinkaietk

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[2] Some say that Fox was Coyote's partner when he danced, others say that Porcupine was. This is the first time that Johnnie Louie [the interpreter] has heard that Porcupine was Coyote's partner. Margaret [Sereepkin ?] says that Fox was always Coyote's partner.

[3] This is the conventional ending of a tale. – L.S.

[4] Compare skalsi´ulk, the name given the Upper Kutenai by the Okanagon groups according to Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 202. – L.S.

±[For context of these footnotes, see p. 152(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 152 (c)

226 789 In the "very old days," long before Suzen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

726 789 In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many methods of employing power in war.

726 773 In a story told by David Isaac, the hero ktsasIkwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." KtsasIkwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still later in the tale, when ktsatsIkwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

them high up in his lodge, and no one, not even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder 726
had told him to make these arrows for use in such an emergency as this. He now explained 773
to the people, "I don't want to fight. I only want to try my thunder power with these arrows. That is why I have never played with them or used them for hunting, but have kept them carefully for so long."

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

When a little bird first came to a boy as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the 726
bird tell him, "These hailstones are like bullets and arrows." This meant that he 787
would be immune from bullets and arrows in war. In the account of Sülktaskü'süm given 789
by Suszen, the hero had received his power from a magpie when a child, and no bullets could harm him.

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. Sërsëpkin, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which Sërsëpkin came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies Sërsëpkin and two of his warriors, qöwëcElExkIn and sqElüxtcö, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. Sërsëpkin and qöwëcElExkIn left their guns with sqElüxtcö and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. QöwëcElExkIn's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qöwëcElExkIn recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

p. 161 (A)

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had 726
deer power, pulled her dress over her head
and ran away naked like a deer; while her
daughter, whose power was the eagle, took 787
some eagle feathers from the inside of her
dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 789

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs 773
us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy.

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding in- 726
stances, the following seems more dramatic
as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys
and their mother were camping on a ridge be- 778
tween Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mos-
quitoes. One of the boys had been sick and 789
paralyzed for a long time, so that he could
hardly move. During the night, when the old 539
woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old women and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy.

p. 161 (B)

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanXwaIa) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly. 343 773
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their training for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: 515 788 [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa'ksEn qwânēnmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlâūtiksq'ūâl
Let me live to be old,
kūwâ'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167 (A)

782 796 sticks might have been cast away to avert the end of the world.

796 751 The Dream dance prophecies functioned in a special way during the smallpox epidemic. A certain man who, it was specifically stated, had no power, dreamed that he saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog" over the villages, killing people as it passed. Then he sang, though he did not dance, and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to prayers (sk'aūm; compare the word for the "prayer dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said people prayed to Qōlūncōtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these preyers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qōlūncōtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

773 539 The Southern Okanagon believed that the universe had been created by the supreme god qōlūncō´tn. This idea, however, may have come to them from Christianity. They had no story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale, assumes the existence of qōlūncō´tn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story, these beings received from qōlūncō´tn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qōlūncō´tn) first finished the world and had made everything in it, nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth." Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid that he was bound to sleep. So he thought that he would take little sticks and prop his eyes open. He did this. As soon as he had put these sticks on his eyes he went to sleep with his eyes open. As soon as it was getting daylight, Fox came along and saw him sitting there. Fox was a great friend of his and thought he would wake him up, but decided not to do this, for it is dangerous to awaken people. So Fox went to God, and God told him, "You can go through the world and fix anything you want." He was the first thing that got a name: xwaĕ´lōx, the fox. The second one that got there and got a name was the grizzly, kelaûna. All the other animals then came and got names. [The narrator enumerated them one by one.] When Coyote got there, there were only two names left. He asked to be chief, but the Great Man said, "You can't be chief because it's already been given out. There are only these two names left, 'Coyote' and 'Sweat House'." Coyote said, "No, I won't have either name." The Great Man said, "Coyote would be a good name for you. If you take the name Coyote, I'll give you power to be a powerful man, to be smart in every way. I'll give you power in your faeces. Now I'll show you how and you can try it for yourself." After Coyote had let it out [defecated], the Great Man said, "Now turn around and talk to it." And just as soon as he spoke to them, the faeces asked him, "What do you want?" There was a mountain there, and Coyote told them, "I don't want that mountain to be where it is: I want it to be over there." His faeces answered, "Look at that mountain and make a motion with your hand to move." And just as soon as Coyote looked at the mountain, the mountain moved with the motion of his face [hand?]. Just as soon as he had done that he thought that he was greater than this Great Man. As soon as Coyote thought that, the Great Man told him, "No, don't think that. I'm just giving you this power so that you'd have more power than anything else." Then Coyote said, "All right, I'll take the name Coyote." Fox was a long way ahead of him [more important]: he was supposed to be chief. But Fox did everything that wasn't fit to do. He was killing people and doing things that were not right — the chief! Fox was going along and making man-eaters: that is what Fox was doing as he was going along. There was only one name left, so old Coyote started out on his journey. Great Man told Sweat House, "You're going to be liked by all people, and be in one place. Wherever there are Indians; you'll be there. That'll be your name, 'Sweat House.'" That is the reason that there are sweat houses all over the world among the Indians. [The conclusion of the story relates the banishment of Fox and Coyote, and the end of mythical times. I give it below.]

Thereafter came the mythical era, the "story times" (tsepEtl´qt, lit., "stories"), in which the animals lived as Indians and did the things recorded in the folk tales. In this alcheringa (to borrow a familiar Australian term) at least one kind of every ani-

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mal existed, though there are not stories about them all. There were many deer, who lived together in a long house; five wolves, four brothers and a sister; five grizzlies, a mother and four cubs; one eagle; and one coyote (sĭnkElĭ'p). Coyote had a gopher (pōtlūa^{xū}) to wife whose personal name was pĔlĭahalks and had four sons, called in descending order of age keɫtEt!a'ɫal^{qū}, sEngagaĭe'ɫ^{xū}tEn, patskɫqwa'ūst^{ɫE}n, ts!atsĭ'nixEn. They held power dances, each animal with its own kind or family, used sweat houses, hunted, and lived in other ways just as Indians. They were visualized in no stereotyped forms. More often they were thought of as human in shape, especially when performing human activities, but some incidents require them to assume their animal guise.

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How the creatures of the myths were thought of is indicated by the following statements of Suszen. They looked like animals when the story speaks of them as such, but when making laws for the people-to-be, they looked like humans. In the tale of Coyote bringing salmon, wherein his face was stretched by Wolf and Fox, he had not been a man before that, but something like a coyote-like animal with a somewhat human face. But when he transformed himself into a little boy, he was a boy. The two bird-sisters who dug camas by the first salmon trap were human like women today, but were thought of as birds. They were birds: they had power no Indian women would have.

Chilowhist Jim said that qōlūncō'tn put the creatures and man on earth at the same time, and Suszen brought Adam and Eve, Christ, and other humans into the mythology; but the aboriginal versions, with few exceptions, admitted only animals and other non-human characters, all of whom, however, are generally referred to as "people" in the stories. The story of the origin of camas from the east, though ascribed to mythical times, apparently belongs in a different category from the rest of the tales, for the principal characters are a woman and the mountains who do not occur in the other myths. Another exception was given by Cecile, who believed that during mythical times, "when Coyote was alive," some people turned into rocks which can still be seen.

Some are east of Nespelem, Michel said. People were trapping fish there when two women began fighting. "Something happened to the world" and they with their people were transformed into rocks. Again, between Tonasket and Riverside, are two rocks which were a man and woman lying together: these are called kitliqōlōtpĕ'cxIm, "lying by a rock."

Coyote was the most prominent figure in the mythology. As we have seen, he played a comical part in the naming myth, and occurred in other tales as a trickster and buffoon, whose wiles and audacity often led him into absurd situations. Sometimes the Okanagon claimed him as their ancestor (nxa'tsIn), just as they said that the Canni-

p. 177(A)

bal-woman (spała) was ancestress of the Wenatchi and Dog the ancestor of the Nez Percé. 773
Coyote's old house-pit can still be seen near Penticton.

At the end of mythical times and the begining of the present epoch, "the world turned over;" the animals assumed their present forms and multiplied and from them human beings were somehow generated. Andrew's ac- 773
count of the end of the mythical period, told as the conclusion of the naming myth, proceeds as follows: 539

Coyote and Fox got together and went all over the world. The Great Man told them, "Well, you've come back. Did you fix everything that you wanted to fix?" He put Fox on a log or a boat or something, took him towards the north and put him right in the middle of the ocean. Then he took Coyote and set him on another boat, took him south and put him in the middle of the ocean. He told the Sweat House that he, Sweat House, would be with the people all the time until he himself, the Great Man, came back to this world that he was leaving. So this Great Man before he left turned the world inside out and the things that he had named turned into animals. He told Coyote and Fox and Sweat House to stay where they were until he came back, when he would give them all power.

According to Lucy Joe, Coyote had been chief of all the animals and had travelled all over the country. When "the one before him" (probably qôlûncô´tn) saw that Coyote was powerful enough to move mountains, he deprived him of the chieftainship, reduced his power, and banished him to a place in the ocean for all eternity. Then the "new people" came in. The discrepancies between the two versions are obvious, but we did not obtain enough folklore to determine whether they are cultural or only personal.

Suszen's account of the history of the world was so unique that it may best be presented in his own words, or as nearly as is possible from the notes.

God created the world. There were no oceans then; just rivers, lands, and little lakes. After Adam and Eve did wrong, God took away one land from the top and put it to one side for the Indians-to-be. God took the laws with the Indian land and left the other land without laws. Then God built an ocean to separate these lands: one land was for the Indians, another for the white people. Indians did not need books because they knew things in their minds that they learned from the creatures. About the time of Christ, God made the creatures. This was before Christ was born, so that Christ could preach about the other land. Then Coyote and two birds made a mistake just like Adam and Eve. After the world was burned with fire, the people were made. When the first baby was born, the creatures had to teach it. When the white people came to the Indians here, the priest told the Indians what they had forgotten. Christ was the baby that was

● 773 539 born to teach the world. The Indians have been searching all this time for the baby, but did not know it was Christ until the priest told them. That is why we believe the priest because he knew about this baby which was in the story and whom we have been looking for all this time. The Indians thought the baby might have been born in their land. In the story the baby is white. That is why when the white people came we thought that maybe they were people from the baby. That is why we first called all the white people qwûlêncôltên, because we thought they were from God.

The law-making activities of the animals during the mythical period was one of the leading traits of Suszen's mythology. God had given Coyote three chances to make the right law, and Coyote had "missed the law" twice. God then banished him to a house in the clouds in the north, informing him that he, God, would return to the world once again to superintend the making of new laws, and that this would be Coyote's last chance. If Coyote "misses the law" the third time, the world and humanity will disappear; but if he conforms to God's will, the world will be as it was when first created, before Coyote had "missed the law": that is, there will be no more work or hardship, and one will be able to achieve anything by merely thinking about it.

772 The Okanagon believed that the earth was flat and surrounded by a body of water called côłq or cêûlxkw. Of this water, the Pacific Ocean (cqElpItlEmêtqû) formed only a part. The world itself, said Michel, had four corners and four legs "like a table." Michel had no ideas about the sky or the subterranean regions. Suszen claimed that the Coyote of the myths was left in his new house up in the sky, which he reached by going out into the ocean; that if Coyote should fall off the "sidewalk" which surrounded his house he would drop away into nothing, without touching land, water, or clouds.

The word xêatlnûx meant either sun or moon; to distinguish between the two, the substantive "day" or "night" was prefixed. The sun and the moon were originally two sons of the mythical Coyote. Michel told the following tale about their transformation.

773 539 Long ago, before there was any sun or moon, it was dark all the time. The Indians all gathered and said, "We're going to make a sun and a moon." They chose the sun for the daytime and said, "We'll get Crane for the sun." So they made Crane the sun. When this sun was coming up, his beak came over first. When his beak had come up, it would be noon before his feet came over. A little after noon his beak was out of sight and his feet were still in the middle of the sky. It took a long time to get dark; the sun was

1 [For footnote, see p. 178 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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16 This is the formal ending of a tale. — L.S. 1

773 539 too long. There were long days and short nights. Newly married people did not like this: they wanted to go to bed, but the sun was still up. So they took Crane down and put Coyote in his place. Coyote was an awfully good sun: he did not make a very hot day and he did not make a very cold day. He was just right. But just as soon as he had come over the hill, he started to tell everything about the people that he saw on earth. There was nothing hidden from Coyote nor from the people on earth: anything that went wrong, he told it. They got tired of that. Coyote also made a long day because he had a long nose, long ears, and a long tail. So the people decided they would take Coyote down and put somebody else in his place, because he made a long day and told too many scandals. They took him down and put Woodpecker up there. He was the sun. Just as soon as he came over the hill, it would be so hot the people could hardly stand the heat. They would go to the river to bathe, but the river would be so hot from the sun that they could hardly stand the river. So they took Woodpecker down. He was too hot: the people could not stand it.

Coyote had two nice looking sons. They were strangers there, and did not know to what tipi to go. A big female Frog saw them. She thought she would make it rain [to force them to come into her tipi]. It rained awfully hard, and everybody else's tipi was leaking just as if it was outdoors. These two fellows went to every tipi, but it was just like outdoors. They tried every tent they could see, but there were none dry enough for them to stay in. Finally they saw a little tipi quite a way from the others. They thought they would go into it. When they looked in, they found it nice and dry inside, so they went in. It was Frog's tipi. As soon as they entered, Frog told the younger to sit across on the other side, and told the elder to come and sit beside her. He did not want to sit by her; he wanted to sit by his brother. But she would not let him. She leaped up and bit him on the cheek and hung there. He tried to get loose from her, but he could not do it. After it had stopped raining, the Indians tried to cut her off with a knife, but they could not cut her loose. They finally decided to make the moon out of him. They made the younger brother the sun throughout the day. The people were then satisified with the sun and the moon. The sun was not very hot through the day and the moon was not very bright at night. Michel and I [Johnnie, the interpreter] expected to be the sun and moon ourselves, but we could not, so we came back."[1] [Johnnie later said that the incidents of this story took place at Brewster Flat. One can still see the Frog hanging on the moon's cheek.]

821 An eclipse of the sun or moon indicated that the weather would turn cold. Weather

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[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 178(A), Category 116.--Analyst]

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TALES

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[p. 196 is blank]

ABSTRACTS OF TALES

The Origin of People

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God creates the world and animals. He is to return in a year, when he will name the animals and create humans. Coyote desires to be the first named, hence leader, but falls asleep and is named last. God puts an object in the water, which becomes Beaver. In the future, humans will arise from twelve pieces of Beaver. Coyote is left in charge of the earth. When God returns, Coyote asserts he has the most power. Coyote is challenged to move mountains by pointing: he succeeds once but then fails. Coyote, having lost the opportunity to make humans, is placed by God in a house in the sea. God is to rejoin Coyote in the future.

Four wolf brothers prepare spears to kill Beaver. The youngest wolf uses his three brothers' spears, but they break. He pierces it with his own spear but is dragged down the Columbia, despite his clutching at plants on the way. Beaver is killed. The beaver is cut into eleven parts, instead of twelve. The animals take these portions and the blood, which serves as the twelfth part, to various localities. They breathe life into the so that each part becomes an Indian tribe. The humans are shown what is food and told to pattern their utensils after certain pictographs.

The Naming of the Animals
(First Version)[1]

God is to name the animals: the first to arrive is to be chief. Coyote decides to be first, and tries to keep awake by falling on a stake and by propping his eyes open, but he falls asleep. Fox arrives first and is named chief. The animals are named. When Coyote arrives, God offers him the choice of the names, coyote and sweathouse. God offers him power in his dung. Coyote tests his dung, which enables him to move a mountain by the wave of his hand. He imagines he is more powerful than God. He accepts the name coyote.

Fox, as chief, commits wrongs. God sends Coyote to right them. God, naming the sweathouse, tells it to be wherever there are people. Coyote and Fox travel over the world. God places Fox on a log in the northern ocean, Coyote on one in the southern ocean. God turns the world over and the creatures become animals. Coyote is still

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1 Explanatory elements are underlined.
2 See Religion.
3 See Religion.

P.250(A)

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in the ocean and will return to destroy the whites.

The Naming of the Animals
(Second Version)

A chief calls all the animals into his house to be named. Coyote wants to be first in order to get the best name. He tries to keep awake by first leaning against a stake, and then by propping his eyes open, but the chief's power makes him sleep. The chief names each animal and directs it to its proper home. When all are named, Coyote wakes and asks for the names of powerful animals. The chief gives him the only remaining name, coyote, together with power.

Origin of the Sun and Moon'[1]

In the beginning it is dark: people decide to have a sun and moon. Crane is chosen as sun, but his body is so long, that the day is too long. Coyote is chosen in his place, but he gossips about what he sees, and he, too, is too long. Woodpecker is chosen, but he causes great heat.

Frog-woman causes a rain to force Coyote's sons into her tipi. Frog clings to the face of the elder: she cannot be cut loose. They decide the elder son shall be the moon, with Frog on his face, and the younger the sun.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(First Version)

North Wind is preparing a sweathouse. Coyote comes prying and impudently goes into the lodge. North Wind throws the hot stones inside: Coyote suffocates. Fox revives him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. They see no signs of the sweathouse.

Coyote calls on his power for help. Following instructions, Coyote goes into North Wind's house of ice where are the latter's wife and son. Coyote's power causes heat; the house, melting, tumbles down and kills the woman and boy. Coyote decrees that the north wind will be able to kill only those who are insufficiently clad.

Coyote Destroys North Wind's House
(Second Version)

Coyote sees North Wind preparing a

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[1] [See p. 250(A). -- Analyst]

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sweathouse. He says that he too would sweat but North Wind refuses to answer. North Wind removes his clothes and enters the lodge. Coyote, in anger, kills him as he comes out and dons his clothes of ice. North Wind revives. The ice clothing freezes Coyote to death. North Wind recovers his clothing. Fox steps over Coyote, reviving him. Coyote pretends to have been asleep. [Incomplete.]

The Contest of the Winds

There are four North Wind brothers and four South Wind brothers. The former have a black bird as a relative, the latter Crane and Insect. The wife of the youngest South Wind is pregnant. Half the world is cold, half warm. The North Wind brothers kill people.

The oldest North Wind challenges South Wind to wrestle on the ice to decide whether the whole world will be cold or warm. Oldest North Wind wrestles with the South Winds in turn and kills them. Youngest South Wind, knowing he is to die, hangs up a bow and a digging stick. One of these will fall, informing Crane and Insect whether his wife has given birth to a boy or a girl. Youngest South Wind accepts the challenge and is killed. The whole world becomes cold. The wife returns to her home in the south.

Black Bird uses Insect's head and Crane's legs to clean himself after defecating. The animals are cold and starving. Each sings to bring back warmth and food, but fails. Duck sings and it becomes warmer.

Crane sees the bow fall: he knows a son is born to South Wind. North Wind is kept in ignorance of this. The boy grows rapidly and goes north to challenge North Wind. Young South Wind puts obsidian blades on Insect's head and Crane's legs. When Black Bird cleans himself, he is badly cut. Young South Wind instructs Insect to prepare soup to pour on the ice to assist him when wrestling.

Crane calls a challenge to North Wind. Young South Wind wrestles with the North Winds in turn and kills them. Each time Black Bird pours cold water under their feet to make it slippery, but Insect pours the soup, helping Young South Wind to win. Each time a North Wind is killed it becomes warmer.

Young South Wind pursues Black Bird, who escapes over the ice. Young South Wind decrees that Black Bird will always stay in cold places. He decrees that the North Winds will not remain dead, that he will bring summer, they will bring winter, and they will kill only those humans who mock them.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(First Version)

Big Deer was chief of animals inside a mountain. The four wolf brothers went to

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kill Big Deer for his horns. The youngest brother sings to make snow fall, sending the oldest out at intervals to report how much has fallen. He purposely reports less than the true depth. Finally the second youngest reports the truth. Youngest Brother then sings to make rain, and then to freeze a crust on the snow, with the same false reports. Youngest Brother makes snowshoes for his brothers.

They open the mountain: all the animals inside run out. When Big Deer comes out, Youngest Brother pursues him. Their footprints can now be seen. Deer takes refuge with Old Man, who has two fish daughters. Old Man hides him beneath a canoe and throws his gloves to an island to become deer. When Wolf arrives, Old Man denies seeing Big Deer. Wolf sees the deer on the island and swims toward it. Old Man and Big Deer pursue Wolf in a canoe. Big Deer kills him. Because they think all hands are against them, wolves are now killers.

Old Man gives his daughters to Big Deer as his wives. The animals are ashamed for Deer because his wives are ugly. A woman under the water wants to marry Deer.

Old Man and his daughters go fishing each night. When Deer takes his place, he is warned against going downstream. He does; the underwater woman seizes him and throws his wives back to their home. His fish wives give birth to two sons. A son is born to the underwater wife, who exactly resembles Big Deer.

Big Deer is made chief under the water. His followers agree to sending the third son to Big Deer's parents in the mountain. The boy goes, telling his two half-brothers to join him. They dawdle, eating pine nuts. The boy throws them into a tree, where they become a certain kind of bird. The boy arrives at his grandparents' home in the mountain and becomes chief of the animals there.

Youngest Wolf Brother and Big Deer
(Second Version)

Four wolf brothers live with their family. Whitetail, chief of all the deer-like animals, takes their sister for his wife. The wolf-wife makes moccasins for their son in the form of wolf paws, while Whitetail wants them made like deer hoofs. When she complains to the wolves, they decide to kill all the deer.

The wolf-father has the oldest son sing to bring snow. The son sends the father out to report: each time he returns with a misleading report that it is not deep enough. The son then sings to cause a thaw and then to freeze. Whitetail takes all the deer through the air and distributes them over the country. Whitetail fleeing comes to the Columbia and calls on a fish to carry him over. The fish refuses to heed when addressed as a blood relative. He accedes when addressed as father-in-law because he

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wants Whitetail to marry his daughter. The fish throws his coat into the river to look like a swimming deer.

When the oldest wolf brother arrives, he demands that the fish take him across. The fish decrees that humans shall not ask for ferryage to take revenge. When the wolf is swimming after the mock-deer, Whitetail shoots him. They take his body ashore. The second wolf brother arrives and is similarly dispatched. The youngest wolf brother arrives and after several false starts, gives up the attempt and goes home. Whitetail magically causes his wolf-wife to become blind.

Whitetail has three children (birds) by the fish's daughter. He sends them to join his son by the wolf-wife. On the way the two youngest birds decide to stay in the trees. The oldest, Woodpecker, reaches the wolf-son, who decides Woodpecker can live on grubs in the trees. The wolf-son becomes a bird, never seen, which causes animals to become dormant with the cold. Whitetail throws his fish-wife in the bush, where she becomes robins, always crying. He puts the fish in the river.

The wolf-father fails to cure his daughter's blindness. He appeals to the birds, who refer him to their chief. The chief bird tells him to enumerate all the rivers and to break the beaver dams on Yakima River to release the impounded water. Coyote warns Wolf to spear only the third, the oldest beaver; a man-eater. Wolf allows the first two to pass and spears the third beaver. He cannot release himself from the spear shaft. Beaver drags him toward the Columbia. Each bush tells Wolf to hold to it, but the bushes break. Wild hops repeat this advice: their root system is long and tangled. He holds to them and is saved. The wolf-father and Coyote kill the beaver. They use the beaver's entrails to cure blindness in the wolf-wife.

Killing the Water Elk

Elk lived in a lake. The wolf brothers want to kill him, to use his horn for a spear. When Elk comes out and sleeps, the youngest wolf brother cuts off his head. The three other brothers run up a hill with the head, but are pursued by the rising waters of the lake. The youngest brother has them surround themselves with grass, which the water cannot pass, so they are saved.

Fisher and Marten
Cut off the Sea-Monster's Head

Fisher's wife goes swimming and seats herself on the sea-monster's horns, mistaking them for roots. The sea-monster steals her for a wife. Fisher and Marten, his brother, track her to the river edge, where Fisher's little son is crying. To soothe him, Marten makes a fawn in a cottonwood grove by using his power: Fisher provides bow and arrows. The child plays at shooting the fawn.

Fisher and Marten see two girl birds

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(sisters of the sea-monster) approaching in a canoe, which they make move by wriggling. Fisher orders them ashore, but they refuse. Fisher and Marten have their power in canes. Fisher makes his cane long: it jumps into the canoe and brings them to shore. Fisher questions the girls, who are seeking food for the sea-monster's wife. He learns where they sit at home and how they carry out the wife on a mat to defecate.

Fisher kills the girls. He and Marten don the girl's skins. Marten tears the skin at the eye, so his eye waters. They set off in the canoe, propelled by their wriggling. Their canes take them ashore.

When in the house, the sea-monster suspects. In the evening they carry out the wife on a mat and reveal themselves to her. When the sea-monster sleeps, Fisher and Marten take off their disguise. Fisher cuts off the monster's head. The three flee in the canoe, taking the head. They cannot get away because of the monster writhing. Monster's people pursue them: they throw the head overboard.

Coyote volunteers to dive for the head but fails. Turtle dives and locates the head, but complains his shoulders are open to the cold. A shaman closes Turtle's shoulders. Turtle brings up the head, which the people place on the monster's shoulders. He revives.

The sea-monster causes a flood to pursue the three up the highest mountain. To save them, Fisher sets up his cane, which they climb. When the flood reaches Fisher, Marten sets his cane on top: it reaches into the sky: he boasts of his superior power. They climb this, but do not wish to go to the sky. When the water recedes, Fisher and Marten decide to stay in the mountains, where they will always live. (Evidence of the flood is seen in a cottonwood log high on Moses Mountain.)

Skunk Takes Revenge

Skunk and Fisher are bachelors: Fisher is a good hunter. Rabbit sends two granddaughters, chipmunks, to marry Fisher. They hide under Fisher's pillow. When Skunk arrives, the younger chipmunk laughs, so that Skunk discovers them. He hides them under his own pillow. At Skunk's request, he and Fisher put food under their pillows. Skunk's food disappears, so Fisher discovers that Skunk has taken the chipmunk girls.

Fisher goes hunting while Skunk stays with his wives. When Skunk goes out, Fisher returns and takes the girls. They burn the tipi and go off in the smoke, so that Skunk cannot discover their tracks. Skunk returns, but cannot find their tracks. Building a fire, he sees the tracks in the smoke. He follows them.

Looking into the water, Skunk sees a reflection of them perched in a cleft of a cliff. He squirts his fluid at the reflec-

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tions to kill them. When they laugh, he discovers them in the cleft. He squirts his fluid up but fails. Going to the top of the cliff, he squirts it down, killing Fisher. Skunk goes off with the chipmunk girls. At night they camp in a cleft in the rocks. The girls cause the cleft to close on him, while they go away.

Skunk frees himself by putting his body outside piecemeal. Raven steals his anus. Skunk reassembles his body and stuffs grass in his open buttocks. He goes on to a group of people who are playing at rolling his anus. He sits where it falls, so that it rolls into his buttocks.

In revenge, Skunk has them assemble in a tipi to hear his story. On the pretext that he does not want his story to escape, he has them close every crack. He tells the story of his adventure, and then, squirting his fluid, kills them. Only those who could not crowd into the tipi are saved.

Raven and His Brother's Widow

Raven desires his brother's widow. He announces a dance and sends the people for wood for the fire. Devil fish goes upriver, where he discovers Raven's sister-in-law and her grandson in embrace. He returns where the people are gathered. They whisper the scandal among themselves: Mouse overhears it. At the dance, Mouse cries out the scandal. Raven goes to take revenge on the grandson. The grandson shoots Raven and the others, decreeing that thereafter the letter will be a raven. He shoots Sucker and Chub; his arrows are their bones. He decrees they will be in the lakes; he will be a rock bird

A Brother and Sister Commit Incest

A brother and sister have sexual relations while their parents are away. When the sister is pregnant, the brother sends her into the mountains to live alone. He finds she has borne a daughter there. Later he discovers the daughter knows that he is her father, so he kills her. The sister's digging stick breaks so she knows something has happened. When she finds her daughter dead, she smears herself with the blood and goes to the village. She kills all the inhabitants by making them look at her. Her brother will not look until she has cleaned herself.

They dig a pit to bury the bodies. She induces her brother to enter it to straighten the corpses and attempts to bury him with the bodies. He induces her to take her turn and buries her alive. He returns to the village and eats all the pretty things, whereon he becomes small, ugly, and bloated. He wanders along the frozen river but no one will have him because he is ugly.

Two Louse girls take him home to their grandmother. He vomits the pretty things, and in the process again becomes full size and handsome. He warns his wives, the Louse

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girls, against going to the burial pit. He does not know that his sister has escaped. The older Louse girl wanders where the sister is living and is killed by her. Then the brother kills his sister.

The Origin of Death

A chief has a son and two daughters, the older of whom is in a menstrual lodge. The son goes out at night, sleeping by day. The mother discovers that the son has intercourse with his sister in the lodge. The daughter puts paint on her unknown lover to identify him. In shame, the chief kills his son and places him in a canoe at the foot of a bluff. The younger daughter is warned against telling her sister what has become of their brother, but she disobeys. The older sister escapes the surveillance of the younger and flees toward the cliff. Fox catches her, but she frees herself and jumps down into the canoe, where she dies.

The chief wishes his children alive again. At a meeting, he insists that the dead shall always revive, but the people declare against it. Soon Raven's daughters die. Raven asks the chief to reverse the verdict, but the chief declares the dead must remain dead.

The chief sets his wife down at the waterside to become a sweatlodge. People are to come to it to sweat when ailing. He tries making places in which to stay; at last he is satisfied. He is called qElEnsöltEn.

Coyote Liberates Salmon
(First Version)

Two sisters have a weir near the Dalles which prevents salmon ascending the Columbia. Coyote transforms himself into a bowl and floats into the weir. The sisters take the bowl in which to keep salmon. Coyote eats the salmon, so they decide to burn it. Coyote reveals himself as a little boy, who they adopt. He eats voraciously until he is strong. He tears down the weir and liberates the salmon.

Coyote takes the salmon upstream. When he wants to eat them, he falls asleep. Wolf and Fox eat them, smearing fish on Coyote's face. He repeats this: Wolf and Fox stretch his body into coyote-shape. He finds these two roasting duck eggs. He steals and eats the eggs, smears the remains on Wolf and Fox, and stretches them into their animal forms.

As he passes up the Columbia with the salmon, he calls together the creatures on each river in turn. He offers them a perpetual annual supply of salmon in return for their prettiest daughters. Salmon runs are established on those rivers where they accede. Where they refuse he builds dams to prevent the salmon ascending, thus establishing the present distribution of salmon. He shows how to build traps, use the spear and gaff hook, to teach humans their use. He makes certain pictographs, a sliding rock, and pothole.

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Coyote Liberates Salmon
(Second Version)

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[The first part is identical with the whole first version, except for the omission of the instructions for fishing, the pictographs, sliding rock and pothole.]

A daughter is born to Coyote. When she grows up, he desires her for a wife. He pretends to die after instructing his wife to store food at his grave and telling her that a Kutenai will come to marry the daughter. When the food is gone, he calls on his power [faeces?], which becomes a canoe and clothing for him. He arrives as a Kutenai: Mouse acts as interpreter. He is given the girl to wife.

His daugher sees Coyote's hair on herself. Prairie Chickens know the truth and call out his name. The Kutenai (i.e. Coyote) protests, but they tell that Coyote has married his own daughter. Coyote runs off: the daughter throws herself in the falls. She [evidently as a star] is in the south: Coyote tells her to turn to the north.

Theft of Fire (First Version)

The animals debate on how long night and day shall be. The bears and other big animals insist on a night of six months, in winter: Frog and others demand short nights so they will not starve. Frog begins repeating "Tomorrow;" Black Bear, "One year." When winter comes, the bears hibernate; Frog stays in the water, croaking "Tomorrow."

The animals decide to procure fire for the humans of the future. Coyote tells them it can only be gotten in the sky, where there are people. He tells them to make an arrow-chain. The animals try but fail to hit the sky.

Coyote meets a little bird who has a very strong bow. He scouts the bird's ability to bend it and induces the bird to shoot at him to prove it. The bird shoots and Coyote falls dead. Fox revives Coyote who maintains he has only been sleeping.

The bird shoots at the sky and forms an arrow-chain. The animals climb it. Grizzly Bear is left to guard the chain, but he destroys it trying to climb up. That is why he is now angry at all animels. The animals make holes into the sky-land.

Frog and Watersnake are sent to spy on the sky-people. Watersnake accidentally tastes Frog's foot, eats him, and returns. Dog and Faeces are sent. Dog eats Faeces and returns. Beaver, Eagle and Woodpecker are dispatched to steal fire from the sky-people.

Beaver lies as dead in their salmon trap. They skin him. When the skin still adheres only at the mouth, Woodpecker alights nearby to create a diversion. The sky-people try to shoot him. Eagle flys over and

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they try shooting him. When others fail, those skinning Beaver leave off to try. Beaver steals fire, hiding it under his finger nail. He escapes into the river. The three return to the animals with the fire.

The arrow-chain having been destroyed, the animals must jump down to earth. The birds fly down: the animals and fish jump but are killed. Sucker jumps with squaw fish in his quiver. Coyote transforms himself into a rock and falls. It goes too fast, so he tries being a tree. Again too fast, he becomes a down-feather, but this floats upward. He turns into a leaf and drops to earth without harm. Coyote resuscitates the animals. Sucker lost his mouth: Coyote repairs it with bear grease. So now Suckers have no mouths [and the mouths are greasy]. The squaw fish had pieces of arrows stuck into them so that now these fish are boney. Black Bear is only half revived. Certain berries sing a song which revives him. So humans now sing this to revive the bears they kill.

Beaver puts the fire from under his finger nail into trees he gnaws. Hence beavers now gnaw wood for food and humans make fire with wood.

Theft of Fire (Second Version)

Coyote wins all of Chickadee's arrows at a shooting match. He offers to return them if Chickadee can hit him at a great distance. He goes off, forgetting his agreement. He mistakes the whistling of Chickadee's arrow for the wind, and is killed. Fox revives Coyote by stepping over him: Coyote pretends to have been asleep.

They join people who want to get fire from the sky. Everyone has failed to make an arrow-chain. They scout Chickadee's ability. He shoots his own arrows into the sky, then everyone else's, forming an arrow-chain.

Only Dog and Dung, Beaver and Woodpecker go to the sky. Dog and Dung are sent to spy. Dog, lieing behind Dung, laps it up, and returning, can only report, "Licked him."

Beaver pretends to be dead and floats into the fish trap. The sky-people skin him, except for the corner of his mouth, which he holds in his teeth. Woodpecker, to create a diversion, flies about. When the sky-people rush to shoot Woodpecker, Beaver siezes fire, and the two escape to earth. Chickadee pulls down the arrow-chain to get his own arrows.

Grizzly, as chief, decides that fire should be distributed over the earth. Horsefly and Hummingbird are dispatched to distribute it.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves (First Version)

The Shuswap descend the Kettle River on a raid. They massacre the Colville, captur-

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ing two sisters, while the two brothers of these women are away hunting. The brothers are preparing a sweatlodge. One of them is warned of the massacre by his power. He throws water on the fire: the steam which rises is thought to be fog by the Shuswap. The Shuswap go north with the women. They see the brothers in pursuit. The latter turn back, changing themselves into wolves. One of the sisters escapes. The Shuswap, with the other, camp in a swamp. The powerful brother turns his grizzly-head cap so that he can smell their tracks by his grizzly power. They free their sister, seize the enemy's weapons, and slay them with their own spears. Three Shuswap are spered to carry the tale home. The powerful brother plunges into the river where he is caught on a submerged root and nearly drowned. He is released by his frog power.

Two Brothers Who Changed into Wolves
(Second Version)

The Shuswap come raiding, slaying everyone, and capturing the sister of two brothers who are away hunting. The brothers prepare a sweatlodge. The enemy mistake its steam for a cloud. His power tells one of the brothers of the disaster. The enemy see them in pursuit: the two turn into wolves to deceive them. The enemy camp in a swamp. The powerful brother transforms himself into a grizzly to find their tracks. They free their sister and slay all the enemy except two, who are sent home. The powerful brother dives into the river but is caught on a root. He calls on his frog spirit, who comes and frees him. The bones of the slaughtered Shuswap can still be seen.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife
(First Version)

The youngest of four wolf brothers steals Salmon's wife, Mourning Dove, and takes her to his home at a spring. A year later Salmon goes there and hides in the mud in the spring. He ambushes and kills three of the wolves. He takes his wife back to the Columbia, pursued by the youngest wolf. He cannot be shot because his skin is slippery. Rattlesnake sees Salmon in the air fighting. He throws his teeth at Salmon, hitting him in the back of his head and killing him.

Two river birds pour water on Salmon until he revives. They make a raft for him. Salmon and his wife go downstream on it. Salmon tires of his wife weeping and throws her ashore. He decrees that when salmon run upriver Mourning Dove will sing for her husband.

Next summer he comes upstream again. He finds some fishes who are disparaging him for not coming to feed people. Salmon makes them spit in water to show much fat they have: he spits more fat, showing he is greater. He throws them into the river, decreeing that they shall live in the eddies where people can spear them for food at any time.

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He reaches Rattlesnake's house. Rattlesnake is dancing and singing in triumph over Salmon. When Salmon enters, Rattlesnake wets his eyes and pretends to have been weeping over Salmon's death. Salmon closes the house and sets it afire. He decrees rattlesnakes will live among the rocks and be only able to bite people when stepped on.

Further upstream he hears others talking of him. Truculently, he asserts he is the better food for people. He throws them on a tree, declaring them moss which will be eaten after salmon. He similarly throws prickly pears, wild cherries, and service berries where they should grow, and declares them food to be eaten after salmon.

The Theft of Salmon's Wife
(Second Version)

When Salmon's wife becomes pregnant, he sends her to her relatives. After the child is born, the three wolverine brothers steal her. Salmon ambushes and kills the first two wolverines. He cleaves the third in twain: half escapes to the mountains. Salmon takes his wife and son down the Columbia. Although he defeats other animals, Rattlesnake kills him. He lies drying by the river. Two birds revive him by pouring soup over him. Meanwhile the three wolf brothers steal his wife. He goes to the ocean to stay a year and returns to kill the wolf brothers.

Salmon Ends Rattlesnake's Destructiveness

Fox makes certain animals fierce, Rattlesnake among them, until Coyote stops him. Rattlesnake kills Salmon, whom Coyote revives. Salmon paddles to Rattlesnake's den, where he hears his song of triumph. Rattlesnake pretends to have been crying in sympathy for Salmon. Salmon burns the den. One of Rattlesnake's eyes bursts and becomes an owl. Salmon decrees it will be harmless, but used to scare children. The other eye bursts and becomes a rattlesnake (?). Salmon decrees that Rattlesnake will kill people only occasionally.

Rattlesnake and Micaui

Rattlesnake and Micaui (a root?) are both handsome. Micaui wants Rattlesnake for her husband, but he refuses because she stinks. She decrees rattlesnakes will always be among the hot rocks, while micaui will always be in cool, green places.

The Mountains Fight for a Wife

The mountains are men. The handsome daughter of a Kalispel chief goes to marry Mount Chopaka, taking camas with her. The other mountains in jealousy fight Tcipaka, their blows making the gullies on that mountain. Tcipaka wins and stepping over the others, becomes the tallest mountain. The woman, disgusted, goes home, throwing the camas to Kalispel (so there is none in [illegible]anagon country now). She becomes a stone

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which is still there and at which Indians leave offerings.

The Rock Who Wanted to Marry Moses Mountain

The wife of Moses Mountain dies and leaves him holding the baby (a pinnacle?) in his arms. A rock goes to marry him, carrying various plants. He refuses her and she turns back. At various places she eats the plants, throwing away the remains, so that the plants now grow in these localities.

Coyote Kills the Cannibal Woman

A cannibal woman has a dog who kills visitors: she eats them. Coyote visits and is beaten by her dog. She throws his body away. Fox revives Coyote by jumping over him: Coyote pretends he has only been sleeping. Coyote calls on his three powers to help: they bestow strength, invisibility, and certainty to kill. The invisible Coyote kills the dog and says he will be forever docile. He fights and kills the cannibal woman and decrees she will be a woman, no longer fierce. Hence there are women and dogs.

Owl Cannibal Woman

A couple have two children, a boy and a girl. The father deserts the family. The mother orders the boy to fetch water: he is lazy and disobeys. The mother decides to abandon them. She covers herself with crow feather and flies off, although the boy hurries to fetch the water.

Cannibal Woman keeps children in her house, to whom she feeds humans. When she hears the deserted boy and girl crying, she comes to steal them. The girl tries to hide her brother and herself, first by an unsuccessful transformation into sticks, then by transforming into worms under the fire stones. Cannibal Woman carries off the stones and worms in her basket. They are retransformed into children.

The little girl tells her that her children are on fire. As Cannibal Woman hurries, the pair make the basket heavy. Cannibal Woman suspends the basket in a tree and hurries home. The children cut the basket rope with a flint concealed in the boy's mouth and escape.

They run from Cannibal Woman, who finds she has been hoaxed. She repairs her basket and pursues them. They call across a river to a man to rescue them in his canoe. When the Cannibal Woman arrives, the man persuades her to wade after them. The water insects drown her. One of her eyes flies out and becomes an owl. It will no longer kill people: parents will frighten their children with it. Her teeth become ducks, which people will cook and eat.

Chipmunk and the Cannibal Woman

Cottontail Rabbit makes soup for her

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granddaughter, Chipmunk. The latter wants something to eat with it, so climbs trees, uttering a cry which makes the berries ripe. Cannibal Woman (Spatła) comes to entice her down, by saying that various relatives want her. Each time Chipmunk says they are long dead and refuses to come down. When Cannibal Woman says Chipmunk's grandmother wants her, Chipmunk agrees provided Cannibal Woman covers her head with a basket. When Chipmunk descends, Cannibal Woman grasps at her, but she escapes.

Rabbit hides her in a shell, but Chipmunk's heart beats too loudly. Robin advises hiding her among the cast-away bones. When Cannibal Woman arrives, Robin tells where Chipmunk is hidden. Cannibal Woman eats her.

Cannibal Woman asks how Rabbit became so white. Rabbit pretends she used hot pitch and sends Cannibal Woman to gather it. Meanwhile she revives Chipmunk by stepping over her and sends her for forked poles. Rabbit prepares a pit to melt the pitch. She shows Cannibal Woman how a drop of hot pitch leaves a white spot and induces her to lie in the flaming pit. She and Chipmunk hold Cannibal Woman down until she is dead. They then cover the pit with dirt.

The three sisters of Cannibal Woman arrive and think the pit contains food. The two oldest eat their sister's flesh; the youngest recognizes it and abstains. When these two go to the lake to drink, their teeth become ducks, although the two became owls.

Coyote and the Cannibal Sisters

When the cannibal sisters are coming, Coyote asks his four powers for aid. They become a house, pitch on its walls, people, and a song. The sisters arrive. Coyote invites them inside, deceitfully saying that the pitch which will spatter on them is only the spittle of their admirers. The youngest sister does not enter. [Incomplete.]

A Boy Kills Cannibals

A chief's son shoots a raven. Seeing its blood on the snow, the boy wishes he had a wife with red cheeks. He goes travelling until he finds a man being killed by dogs. The people stop this at his request. He buries the body. He reaches the ocean where a little boy stands. The latter wants to accompany him. After protesting, he accepts him as a younger brother. He is carried across the ocean on the back of the younger brother while keeping his eyes closed. The younger brother then reveals he is the man who fought dogs and offers help.

The younger brother warns him not to accept the human flesh offered by the cannibals. At the first cannibal's house, the boy is challenged to throw a huge rock with which the cannibal plays. In his stead the younger brother throws it. They take a shirt from this cannibal. A second cannibal

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challenges the boy to replace a mountain he moves. In the boy's stead, the little brother makes the mountain into a plain. They take a knife from this cannibal.

The little brother puts on the shirt and takes the knife. In a few steps he is back at the boy's house. Returning to the boy, he reports the boy's relatives well.

They reach a third cannibal house; the cannibal's wife has red cheeks. The younger takes the knife; the older the shirt. Inside the house, the younger cuts off the cannibal's head, but each time he does so, it flies back into place. Cut off again, the older puts the shirt over the cannibal's neck, whereon the head and body sink into the earth.

They whip the woman with rose bushes, until she is purged of the child inside, a frog. The boy then has her for a wife. The younger brother then rises in the air, to return a year later.

The couple have a girl born to them. A year later the little brother appears again and demands half the child as payment for his help. In anger the boy chops the little brother in twain: half remains standing, half sinks into the ground. The little brother then says the child is safe; all three will go to heaven when they die.

The Son of the Giant

A giant carries off a wife. Each night when he goes out, he fastens the door. A son is born, who asks his mother where she comes from. He asks his father for his big coat: the father brings him a grizzly bear coat.

The boy tries to open the door at night so that he and his mother can escape. When he grows strong enough, they steal out. They carry off the giant's best things, which the boy makes small by rubbing. He overthrows the giant's power-pole. When the giant returns, he sees the uselessness of pursuit. On the way the boy turns into a grizzly when he puts on his coat.

When the son disappears in the morning, the mother wakes in a richly furnished house.

Coyote Tricks Cougar into Providing Food

Coyote and Fox are hungry. Fox asks Coyote to provide food. Coyote seeks help of his dung, which changes him into a handsome girl. Fox leaves in disgust.

Coyote goes to the village of cougars. The chief, Cougar, has no wife. Cougar's sisters take the disguised Coyote to the woman's work-house, where he excells at basketry. Cougar agrees to take her as his wife. When Cougar desires intercourse, Coyote insists on his waiting until meat has been carried to his fictitious parents for four days. Each day Coyote and Cougar's sisters carry meat to Coyote's home, which he

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forbids them to enter. His power answers as though his parents, misleading the sisters. The prairie chickens are aware of Coyote's deception. When the men are sweating, they tell Cougar he has Coyote for a wife. Coyote runs off, howling in derision. He has the meat to himself.

Coyote Attempts to Capture the Deer

Coyote's son sickens and dies. Coyote becomes ill. He asks his dung (his power) why this happens: it is due to the son's power. His faeces provide him with a song, a dance-pole, an audience, and power to know what is going on outside.

When Coyote sings, the largest deer asks his children, who has given Coyote the song? Not one admits having done so. The big deer sends Bluejay to kill Coyote. Coyote knows he is approaching: when Bluejay perches on the tipi, Coyote points his power-stick at him so that he falls dead. Bluejay revives and reports to the big deer. The latter again asks his question. The smallest deer admits having told Coyote.

The deer go to sing with Coyote. The dung tells Coyote to stop only when the largest deer has entered the tipi. The deer enter, smallest first. When a big deer enters, Coyote thinks it is the largest, and stops singing. All the deer escape, except the smallest.

Coyote is Tricked Eating Duck Eggs

Coyote is roasting duck eggs. Fox and Wolf cause him to fall asleep and eat the eggs. They stretch his ears and nose, paint him yellow, and smear the yolks on him. When Coyote wakes he is hungry and thinks he must have eaten. He is frightened by the reflection of his new face.

He pursues Fox, who pretends to be holding back a rock. Coyote, forgetting the quarrel, goes to his help, and is left holding the rock.

Bungling Host

Coyote, hungry, visits Kingfisher. Kingfisher sends his son for four sticks, which he warms and twists together. Then Kingfisher flies up through the smoke-hole with the sticks and perches on the roof. He flies through a hole in the river ice and returns with the sticks covered with fish. Coyote is served half and given the remainder to carry home. Coyote invites Kingfisher to come next day to take back the dish.

Kingfisher visits Coyote. All the Coyote family have their forelocks tied up in imitation of Kingfisher's crest. Coyote sends his son for four sticks. He warms and twists them. Then he struggles up through the smoke-hole to the roof. When he attempts to fly, he falls to the ground and dies. Kingfisher takes the sticks and repeats his first feat. Coyote revives.

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Coyote and Porcupine Dance[4]

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Coyote's son, Muskrat, gives a power-dance. Porcupine warns Coyote to respect his son's power. Coyote, scornful, joins the dancing maggots and calls on them to feed on him. They eat away his flesh. Porcupine following in the dance, shakes them off himself. He resuscitates Coyote, who pretends that he has been asleep.

Coyote and the Water Monster

Coyote's son marries Water Monster's daughter. When the young couple want to return to the wife's parents, Fox attempts to dissuade Coyote from accompanying them. Coyote is frightened when their canoe goes over the falls. They pass a rattlesnake door into Water Monster's house in a rock. Coyote is repeatedly warned against making a noise. Fox puts Coyote, his son, and grandson in his pipe for safety. Water Monster tells his daughter to feed them, by putting refuse in the fire to burn. Coyote keeps repeating that he is enjoying this, so they burn more, but they fail to suffocate the visitors. [Incomplete.]

Coyote and the House of Women

Coyote asks his power what to do. The power warns him against various groups, gamblers, drunkards, and soliciting women. He reaches a house in which is a chief on each side. His power warns him against the chief on the left side. The chief on the right reveals a room full of women, of whom Coyote may have his choice. Coyote, in a quandary because they are all alike, selects one at random.

He is warned against having intercourse with her until reaching home. On the way he refrains until the fourth night. In the morning the woman has disappeared (to return to the house of women) and Coyote fails to find her.

Coyote Seeks a Wife Among the Dead

Coyote, wandering, reaches a river, across which are many people (the dead). He shouts to them to fetch him across, but they pay no heed. Tiring, he yawns, which to the dead is a shout. They fetch him to their side. The chief of the dead gives him a woman, but warns against intercourse with her until reaching home. Coyote refrains until the last night of the journey. When he tries to have his will, the woman disappears. Coyote returns to the land of the dead. The chief refuses him another woman, saying that had it not been for his disobedience, humans would have been able to bring back their dead.

Buffalo and Coyote Capture a Girl

Buffalo and his people, on the warpath,

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[4] See Religion.

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are seen by Coyote, who fears for his life. He evokes four women helpers by his power: one becomes many warriors, a second becomes a drum, the third bow and arrows, and the last becomes a pipe and tobacco.

Buffalo announces that he is going to fight; to get a girl by bringing her over the mountain. Coyote says that is exactly what he intended to do, so they combine forces. Coyote is appointed leader.

They come to a lake; on the far side lives the girl (Sun) with her people. The two paddle across and seize her. Her people pursue them up the mountain. Twice, when Buffalo tires, Coyote creates a fog, in which the enemy kill each other. They escape over the mountain without loss of a warrior.

Buffalo and Coyote each insist that the other, as leader, take the girl. Coyote takes her as a wife. They part and Coyote's warriors disappear. The girl, discovering her husband is Coyote, makes a fire and goes home in the smoke. Coyote fails to find her.

Crane and Louse

Crane lives alone with his grandmother. He is a good hunter, so people send their daughters to marry him. He has intercourse with a girl, but is not satisfied with her, so his grandmother sends her home with a present of meat. This is repeated. [The story is incomplete: Crane finally marries Louse.]

Coyote's Long Penis

Some girls entreat Coyote to give them what is in his pack. It contains his penis. He floats it down river, where it enters one of the swimming girls. She cannot free herself. The children fail to cut if off with a stone. Coyote keeps copulating with her. He bids them fetch rip-grass with which they cut it free. But the end remains in her, making her sick. Coyote freed, goes upriver.

While Coyote sleeps, Fox and the animals cut up the penis and distribute it among them all. Coyote, having no penis, goes to get the portion left in the girl. The shamans have failed to cure her. Coyote arrives, pretending to be a Kutenai and to have dreamed a cure. Mouse acts as interpreter. They prepare a sweathouse for the cure. Coyote, pretending to cure, embraces her and his penis is restored. He rushes out, striking Mouse's nose. He runs off, jibing at the people for letting a shaman sexually initiate their daughter.

Turtle and Eagle Race

Eagle wins races with all the animals, who thus become his slaves. Turtle and Muskrat alone do not race with him. Turtle dreams he is to race Eagle and win, setting

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the animals free. The two go to Eagle's camp, where Turtle challenges Eagle. Eagle agrees, boastfully letting Turtle set the conditions of the race. Turtle has Eagle carry him high in the air and drop him. The dropped Turtle reaches the ground before Eagle, thus setting the animals free.

Crawfish and Fox Race

Crawfish challenges Fox to a race. Fox, who outruns all other animals, scouts Crawfish's ability. He tells Crawfish to go first: the latter refuses. They start together; then Crawfish holds to Fox's tail. Crawfish continually prompts Fox to run faster. As they cross the goal, Fox turns around to look back, so that Crawfish finishes the race first. Crawfish decrees Fox will be only a fox and no longer a racer.

Frog and Turtle Race

Frog has a long tail. Frog always wins his races with others because he can jump. Turtle dreams he can win. He wagers his life against Frog's tail. Turtle stations his three brothers along the race course. When the first Turtle is outdistanced, he hides, calling to his brother ahead to continue the race. This is repeated by each brother in turn; Frog unwittingly racing with all four. Thus Turtle wins and bites off Frog's tail. Now Frog has no tail.

The Man Abandoned on a Ledge

The older of two brothers has a wife. They go for eaglets, the older brother being let down a cliff by a rope to get them. The younger brother, who coverts his wife, cuts the rope, leaving him on the cliff. The younger brother takes the wife and goes to a place named "House burned down."

The older brother captures four eagles and ties them to each wrist and ankle. They carry him down from the ledge in safety. He frees the eagles, taking only a feather from each.

He follows his younger brother and his wife to "House burned down." He kills them heaps their belongings on their bodies, and sets fire to the whole. Hence the name of the place.

The Mountain Goat Girls

A very successful hunter kills deer for his fellows. He follows the tracks of two mountain goats. He sees two girls swimming: when they come from the water, they put on mountain goat hides and become goats. He is impelled to follow them. He cannot climb a mountain of ice until he obeys their injunction to keep his eyes closed. He disobeys and slips back. Again with eyes closed he succeeds. He reaches the house of the goats; when they remove the hides they are again people.

He tries to copulate with the girls, but they tell him there is only one season for

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this. They go hunting: he is enjoined not to throw away the deer [sic] bones. He surmises that the boys he goes hunting with turn into the deer he kills. To test this he cuts out a deer's tongue. When the deer bones are thrown in the lake, the deer come to life; but one boy lacks a tongue. The deer allow themselves to be killed by those who feed them(i.e. place food with the carcases) and do not mock them.

At the proper season, the deer-people put on their hides and are deer again. The man is given a hide so heavy that he cannot catch the does. In pity he is given a lighter hide. Because he is then the biggest buck, he possesses all the does.

His people, knowing he is alive, make him remember them. He decides to return. On his return, he is frightened by the camp odors, like a deer. The people surround and catch him. They tame him.

The Man Who Had His Will of a Deer

A lazy man is sent by his brothers to inspect their deer trap. In it is a doe, with whom he has intercourse. Later when hunting he finds the doe in human guise with the fawns, his children. She tells him that his brother can hunt by lying in wait while he, in deer-guise, leads the deer to him. When the brother thinks the lazy man has gone away, he decides to shoot the leading deer. He does so, thus killing his brother.

The Boy Fostered by Bears

A lazy boy grows fat by licking the pots. In disgust, his parents decide to abandon him. When they break camp, the boy puts his bow into the canoe. His father puts it ashore, orders him to get it, and slips away. The boy determines to let the grizzlies kill him. He lies in the path of a she-bear and two cubs. The she-bear repeatedly ignores him until implored by the cubs to take him as their brother. She rips him open and washes out the pots he licked up. In him is a power, a white weasel, which she replaces. He lives with the bears.

The she-bear returns him to his home, telling him that he can kill male grizzlies, but never herself nor her cubs. He faints at the odor of humans; the people restore him with the smoke of a root. His parents are ashamed, so he lives with an aunt and her son. He instructs his cousin how to restore him (the boy) if he is struck during the procession dance. The boy dances this at all the tipis, leading all the people. When he reaches his parents' tipi, his father shoots him. When he reaches it a second time, he refuses to let his parents accompany him.

He is a good hunter, but always refrains from killing she-bears and cubs. When he marries, his wife's relatives taunt him with failing to kill such bears. In chagrin, he agrees to kill them, although he knows he

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*539 will lose his life. He kills the bear cubs.
When he shoots the she-bear, she tears him
to pieces. The she-bears, realizing that
.773 he was not at fault, restores him to life
and tells him that he may kill them.

The Boy Who Killed the Grizzly Bears

A boy is told by his grandmother that his sister and her husband, Wolf, have been captured by the grizzlies. Planning revenge, he asks where bows are to be obtained. His grandmother warns him of the danger of opening and closing trees guarding the place. He goes there and destroys the trees with his power, and scatters the bow wood over the world. He asks about arrows and is warned that they are guarded by a bear and his sentinel, a crane. He goes there, makes it rain so that the crane takes refuge, gathers and scatters the arrow wood over the world. He asks about flint for the arrowheads and is warned not to obey the cannibal who guards the flint. When he reaches the cannibal, the latter transports him across a river to search for flint, and abandons him. The cannibal causes a great snowfall to freeze the boy to death. The boy takes refuge under a bank where he finds a mud-hen couple. The mud-hen woman gives him two eggs to burst outside to deceive the cannibal. When he bursts them, the cannibal thinks the boy's eyes have burst, and crosses the river. The boy seizes the cannibal's canoe and flees to the latter's house. The boy sings the cannibal's song, causing a great snowfall in which the cannibal is frozen to death. When the cannibal's eyes burst with the cold, the boy decrees that they will be owls and nighthawks, which will be only bugaboos. The boy scatters the flint from the cannibal's house over the world. He asks for sinew and is told to get it from his aunt who is married to a big deer. The aunt deceives the deer by pretending to pluck hair from his shoulders but pulls out his sinews. The boy scatters the deer's hair over the world so that there will be deer everywhere. He asks for feathers for the arrows. He shouts to the flying birds, who come. He takes feathers and in payment, gives the birds their characteristic markings.

The boy goes in search of his missing sister. He finds successively fresh traces of their camp fires. He overtakes his sister dragging tipi poles. She hides him in her pack and takes him to camp. He accompanies his brother-in-law, Wolf, to the grizzlies' camp. Grizzly gives him to his daughters as a husband. The bear's power glues his legs together. The grizzlies throw him into the river.

Sun sends his daughter to rescue the boy for her husband. She feeds him with a magically increasing morsel of food. They overtake the boy's sister dragging tipi poles. He steps on the poles, but she does not heed. Her son recognizes his uncle. Finally the sister knows he has come. Again Sun's daughter feeds them.

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The boy sends his nephew to the grizzlies for grease, on the pretext of softening the nephew's head, which the grizzlies are accustomed to use to clean themselves after defecating. With the grease, the boy sets small flints on the nephew's head. When the grizzlies make use of him, their buttocks are lacerated by the flints.

Grizzly's two sons hunt. The boy throws his glove, which becomes a deer. When the oldest grizzly son goes to shoot it, the boy kills him. He kills the second and all Grizzly's daughters who are gathering moss. He props up the youngest daughter's body, with mouth open. Grizzly and his wife rush out to take vengeance: they find their children slain and the daughter apparently laughing at them.

The boy heats stones for a sweathouse. When Grizzly's wife charges him, he causes a hot stone to fly into her mouth, killing her. He repeats this to kill Grizzly. He decrees humans will gather food in safety, being killed by grizzlies only on occasion.

Grizzly and Rabbit Play the Stick Game

Grizzly and Rabbit play the stick game. When Rabbit wins, Grizzly scolds his partners for guessing. But he guesses and they lose. Then, in anger Grizzly pursues Rabbit. Rabbit takes to the ice, where Grizzly breaks through and is drowned.

The Origin of Black Bear

Black Bear is a man. He warns his wife not to eat the brisket of a deer, else he will change himself into a bear. She does, and he goes off wearing snowshoes. His three brothers follow his snowshoe tracks. One of the tracks changes to that of a bear, then the other. They find him in a cave where he has become a cinnamon bear. He tells them never to kill him. They slay the wife.

A Captive Woman's Sons Give Warning

The Shuswap capture a Methow girl and take her home. She has two sons, who she instructs to give warning to her own people people when raiding with the Shuswap. Twice the Shuswap raid, but the boys give warning. An old couple fail to see the warning and are killed.

The Dog Whose Barking Drowned People

A blind dog lives in a cave in a bluff on the Columbia. Whenever people paddled past downstream, a sparrow gave warning to the dog. Then the dog barked, causing the people to drown. The sun is angered at this He approaches the pair, who gaze upstream, from the west. Sparrow gives one chirp of warning but, at the sun's behest, refrains. The sun breaks the dog's head. The dog dies in his cave. No longer are people drowned at this place and now passersby are warned of bad luck by a dog's bark.

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4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 **Southeast Salish**
Columbia
Wenatchi

RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those
of other interior Salish tribes. Shamans were numerous, and some were 771
credited with great powers. 756

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were
performed. Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced 535
from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp
dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a
dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the
Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain
details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held
on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on
the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done.
The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and
scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for
show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at
intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were
exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and
all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center
around him. It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature 773 ●
myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but
I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories
of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground.
Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish,
but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material
can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and
what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain.

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nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

773 CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[304] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

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In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[305]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people became too warm they in turn squeezed their bag and a cold wind rushed southward. The Indians who lived in the country between were thus troubled with successive hot and cold winds.

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[304] a, pp. 337–342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqən Ən*, see p. 184.

[305] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Shahaptian tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

There is another tale which relates that Heat and Cold were brothers, the former good-looking, and the latter ugly. Once when his brother was away, Cold got angry at the people and said he would kill them. He made such cold weather that the people began to freeze to death. Heat, hearing that the people were dying and that many were already dead, hurried home to save them. He made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then heat can always kill cold, and ice and frosts and snow melt away and die. As long as the two brothers lived together at home the qualities of the one counterbalanced those of the other, so that the weather was always temperate and there was no danger to the people; but if one went away then the remaining one had the power to cause extreme heat or extreme cold.

Another version of this tale is that the two brothers lived part of the time with the people; and it was then always fair, temperate weather, because the influence of the one counteracted that of the other. At a certain season, however, Cold went away on a journey; and as Heat alone remained, his influence was much felt, and there was then summer. At another season Heat always left for a journey, and Cold remained, whose influence became great, and the people had winter. Cold was of an erratic, ugly disposition; and one time when his brother was away he became very angry at the people and caused extremely cold weather. Many froze to death; and all would have perished had not Heat rushed back, as warm weather now sometimes does in the spring after a protracted winter, to save the people, and made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then cold has not had the power to kill people except very rarely, when they were foolish; nor has extreme cold had the power to remain longer than a few days at a time.

I did not hear of any beliefs relating to the origin of light and darkness, clouds and fog, although I inquired for them. It seems, however, according to some tales, that the world at one time was always dark, and that people had to grope about. To make things better, they thought they should have a sun and a moon. They chose Robin to be the sun, and he went up into the sky. He was sometimes so hot that the people were nearly burned up, and had to submerge themselves in the water during his day's course in the sky. Those who could not reach water died. The people deposed Robin and put in his place a one-eyed man called *Sɛntaqo'tasîtc χä tc'ä'χqɛw*, son of *Tc'ä'χqɛn* the one-eyed one. Since then it has never been too hot.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

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When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the moon the old man or Chief *Spɛxwuni'tcɛlt* traveled around on earth, inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *hɛntc'ɛnqe'nanɛxwun* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones

disliked him. One day when they were out hunting they told their youngest brother they would kill the bear. He would not agree to this, and followed him, who had already gone hunting, to warn him. The other two brothers started in pursuit and overtook them. They were about to shoot at the bear when the youngest brother called out, "Brother-in-law, they are going to kill you!" As they were in the act of shooting all were transformed into stars, and may now be seen as the four stars forming the corners of the Dipper. Some people say that the four stars in the square are the bear and the stars forming the handle of the Dipper are the three brothers.

It seems that the Pleiades are called "Cluster." They are said to have been a group of people. To the side is a small star, and behind it a large red star. The small star is called "Coyote's child"; and the larger one, "Badger." The latter stole Coyote's favorite child. Coyote pursued them. When he had nearly overtaken them they were transformed into stars. It seems that some people include the Pleiades in one name with these stars.

A group of stars forming a circle, with one to the side (probably Auriga), are said to have been a group of women cooking camas in a pit in the ground. The roots were nearly cooked, and the women sat around it, ready to take out the roots. Skunk went there with the intention of spoiling the cooking.[316] As the women quite encircled the oven, he could not get near, so he sat down a little distance off to await a chance. As all were in this position they were transformed into stars. The Thompson call what seems to be the same group of stars "cooking in an earth oven," and say that these stars were women cooking.

Another group of stars is called "the canoe." Five men were making a canoe. A man was working at each end and one on each side. The fifth one was standing between one of the side and end men. As they were in this position they were transformed. The Thompson call the stars of Orion "bark canoe"; and another group of stars, "canoe with men in it."

Another group of stars is claimed to have been a lake, with a bird called *t'áq'tel* ("snow goose"?) on it. Some hunters shot it, and as it died it spread out its wings over the water. All were transformed, including the bird with its wings outspread. This is probably the same group as that called "lake with swan on it" by the Thompson, also called by them "lake" or "swan."

A group of stars consisting of three in a line is said to have been three persons running a race. These are probably the same stars as

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[316] See taboo against men approaching an oven when the roots were cooking (p. 185).

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those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

776 DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'ɛmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming [538] themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'ɛmqestci'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'ɛmqestci'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous down, and among the Lower Okanagon. 532 It seems that the custom of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in 764 the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. 764 Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying" ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The 765 property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeu's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

Concept of the World.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very 773 closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

773 His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

MYTHOLOGY.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

776 VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

771
796 PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 135, 141-161.

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 766 171*

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 000

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkᴇn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkᴇn*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkᴇn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. 775 The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. [823] The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero. 773. 171*

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting, 776 171* wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 ● 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 262 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries'(sI´a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERê´pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a´IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

‸[For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

[13] For date on the northwestern distribution of the ‸
[14] Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
[15] Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of ‸

p. 25(A)

771 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with in-
sufficient power touched it, his hand "froze"
to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sínkakíūs) would
leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
shamans at the offense. The latter preferred to leave the soul on the post to give himself the opportunity to cure the victim later on. If another shaman saw the soul's predicament, he might say to the shaman who had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take him away from there." The victim then stood beside the post and the shaman drew out the soul, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed whole. If no one saw the soul on the post, or if the shaman declined to take pity the offender was doomed. When the dance had ended, the post was taken up into the hills and left standing against a tree. As it dried up in summer, the person whose soul was attached to it "dried up" also. He became ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew weak, and finally died. If not too far gone, he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid by the sick man or his family. The practitioner came to the patient's house, placed his hands on him, and sang his own power song. As he sang, his power went out into the hills, drew the soul from the drying post and brought it to the shaman, who blew it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
stick instead of the central post held the
535 stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Stony

776 177 ianity, was called chwallEmEn(or sxwőlEmEn), "something thrown away or discarded," because he had been cast out of heaven by God. He therefore lived under the earth, where it was hot. Suszen's account of the attempted conversion of Chief Moses illustrates the foreign nature of this divinity. The Government had taken Moses' land away from him and had sent him to Nespelem. There the priest wanted to baptize him and teach him to pray, and a government officer told Moses that unless he was baptized he would go to hell, where the Devil would burn him. Moses denied this, objecting that if there were fire inside the earth the water in the white men's wells would boil. He was never baptized, "and never went to church because he didn't believe in the Devil."

774 The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost.

Of the first, the thinking element, we have only a scrap of evidence. It seems to have been identified with the heart (cpőő′c or pőő′st); the phrase hacpőő′s, "your heart," being used to express approval after a suggestion had been made. One sick from extreme grief was called "broken-hearted" (maő′ts pő'őst), but this conception may not have been aboriginal.

The shadow of the individual or his reflection in water represented his soul, the cqaqElaűh. This word meant shadow in the ordinary physical sense, but in the present connotation it signifies the vital principle. Though a corpse cast a shadow it had lost its cqaqElaűh. Various precautions were taken to prevent the loss of this element. One should not sleep in the late afternoon lest the sun carry his shadow down with it and thus shorten his life, and if a child developed this habit he would die in his next illness. One incurred the same danger by allowing his shadow to fall in an open grave. If one walked close behind a person who was smoking, eating, or drinking, his reflection or shadow might fall on the smoke, food, or drink and be swallowed with it, especially if the consumer had strong power. The spirit of a child was particularly liable to be consumed by a shaman in this way and within a few days the child would succumb. Power plays a part here, since, if the father of the child were near him and had stronger power than that of the shaman, the latter would choke at the mouthful and might even die. This applies to any case where a person of strong power walked behind another who was eating, drinking, or smoking and whose power was weaker. If the former took pity on his victim, he could save him from choking by striking him on the back, bringing up the smoke, if he had been smoking, in a

774 little ball of blood. Sometimes the informants spoke of this situation as if the individual himself entered the other's mouth and choked him. It was dangerous for a person who was eating to be frightened by someone from behind.

The cqaqElaŪh seems to have been closely connected with the sweat, spittle, hair, underwear, and other materials intimately in contact with the individual, for these, as well as the shadow, should not be allowed to fall into an open grave. One person could bewitch another by throwing such personal leavings into a graveyard and beseeching a buried corpse to keep them until the victim was as "poor" as the corpse itself. The victim lost his property, fell into consumption, and died.

The shadow soul was apparently not a widespread belief, for neither David nor Chilowhist Jim knew anything about it.

The breath (slExEntcôt) was sometimes mentioned as if it were also a vital element, similar to the cqaqElaŪh. If one slept facing west in the afternoon, said Johnnie, the sun might take his breath down with it.[9] Animals and birds probably lacked such a soul: thou[illegible] chicken's breath was called by the same [illegible]rm as a man's, "it was not the same." The primary connotation of the word tlal, "dead," was "can't breathe any more." David said that the priests told the Indians that their "breath" went to another world where God judged it.

Whether the "breath" or the "shadow" was regarded as the vital principle, a general belief prevailed that a dying person would expire either at twilight (sInsōxōtcIn) or at dawn (sInpaktcIn). This weighs slightly in favor of the shadow soul.

774
177 The soul most commonly referred to in relation to life after death, to soul theft, and to dreams, was called sInaxpē´ōs or sInkekIŪ´s. SInaxpē´ōs was derived from the Okanagon naxpēōsnt, which meant "to lay something over itself, to fold over once," and was said to have been more or less coined by the white priests. SInkakIŪ´s, a Spokan word adopted by the Okanagon under Christian direction, meant "something between two folds." Neither of these words was in use among the Okanagon before white contact. The soul concept itself may have been imposed upon the Indians by the Catholic fathers, who were ignorant of the indigenous types of soul, or found them unsuitable for Catholic doctrine. Since the Dream dance faith, however, had emphasized an element in man which could dream and survive death, it probably led to the development of the primitive cqaqElaŪh (shadow soul) idea into a more active soul. Lucy Joe said, "You have a shadow when you walk, and there is another little shadow, the sInkakIŪ´s." Later the

[9] For the belief regarding sleeping in moonlight, see elsewhere.

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priests may have seized this concept and 774 given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sinkakīū′s to a prophetic dream 777 by Chief SuēpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests.

The relation of sīnkakīū′s to power is 774 still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the 778 sīnkakīū′s came from qōlūncō′tn (God), and that the sīnkakīū′s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former.

A shaman of sufficient power could 754 steal one's sīnkakīū′s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or 774 insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best ac- 778 count. The prospective thief saw the sīnkakīū′s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its "going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sīnkakīū′s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sīnkakīū′s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case.

Each individual had only one sīnkakīū′s. 774 It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could 787 fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost.

The land of the dead (stqama′skūt), 775 often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife

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839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a tumpline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named taxpa·'ikst was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

763
783
775 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

763 783 775 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity after his death.

764 A corpse was never allowed to remain indoors for a moment. Immediately upon determining that death had come the body was wrapped in deer hide and taken to the woods or a nearby thicket where it was deposited in the limbs of a tree or in the brush where it was safe from molestation by animals. If it were left in the house the lonesome spirit or spirits of the man might enter some person present and make him ill. If it were necessary to keep the body overnight before burying it someone stayed up all night in the house to keep the spirits and ghost (disembodied soul) from entering the dwelling.

Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

756 764 Friends and relatives followed the pallbearers. In the company was always at least one shaman. His presence was not solicited—he went of his own accord—but his attendance was necessary to a proper burial. It was one of the unshirkable duties of every shaman to officiate at funerals—and one for which he received no compensation. Upon reaching the burial grounds the body was placed near the open grave. If the digging had not been completed that was done before the ceremony started. The grave diggers remained for the rite.

765 783 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.).

765 784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Burke) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 775 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body without causing death. The native term for this concept was suuxapi'uts. When the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the 776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sin'susqa'. The next class was that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena. It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests. Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as one's sumi'x. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'int. The final category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons, evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite 753 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart. 775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness, but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. 787 Unconsciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not 828 inconsistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà'ʹt, "dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total oblivion. Souls never returned from there, nor could they be visited. They were not thought of as continuing an active existence in that land, nor yet as being non-existent. This nirvana-like state was desirable. Every dying person hoped that his soul might make a speedy trip and not remain on the earth as a ghost.

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[1] See pages 149 f.

The forms taken by ghosts were numerous. They varied from invisibility to total visibility. Most often they appeared shadowy, film-like. They were usually clothed, but the clothing was not always opaque. Sometimes the form was not complete; headless ghosts were not uncommon. Ghosts with red and blue flames in place of intestines were reputed to exist. Ghosts appeared not only at night, but also in the daytime. They never appeared to more than one person at a time. They always avoided crowds. The faces of ghosts were seldom seen for they always attempted to keep their heads turned away from human beings. Ghosts never walked but always ran with the same trotting gait, moving very rapidly. They were thought not to travel except along regular trails. If one heard a ghost coming he could step off of the trail and it would pass him by unknowingly. Ghosts never ate or drank. When not abroad in the daytime they stayed in graves. Even at night they were seen near burial grounds more often than at other places. They called and whistled to passers-by and sometimes threw rocks at them but never hit them.

A ghost was not more visible to a shaman than to a layman. As soon as seen by anyone a ghost almost immediately disappeared. A ghost frequented the vicinity in which it had existed as a soul in the body of a man. Such a locality was preferred because the country was better known and the graveyard was near. Moreover, if the person before death had hidden something but had not made its whereabouts known before dying the ghost was drawn there to watch over the object. Or a bit of hair or nail parings of the deceased, if still undestroyed, would have kept the ghost about. If the ghost remained for such a reason a relative of the dead person sometimes saw in a dream the object which was holding the ghost, and the location, whereupon it was removed and destroyed and the ghost disappeared.

A ghost suffered torment as long as it remained on earth. The uncontrollable roamings of which such existence consisted were agonizing. Spirits buried with the corpse were usually responsible for these sufferings. The moans and queer noises made by ghosts were often heard at night. The lengths of time that ghosts remained on earth varied a great deal. Some disappeared to the land of the dead in a short time. These were the ones that had been held for such a reason as that described in the preceding paragraph, or because some slight misdeed had not been confessed before death. Others had to stay longer because more had been untold or a spirit had been buried with the corpse and could not be thrown off. Some ghosts never reached the land of the dead but roamed the earth for eternity. When a man failed to confess at all before death this was apt to happen.

The characteristics and peregrinations of ghosts are illustrated in the following anecdotes:

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While passing a certain grave a horseman heard someone calling. The call was repeated several times. Then the man heard someone coming behind him. His horse became frightened and started to run. The noise sounded as if something were rattling in a basket. The man fell off his horse. He ran and hid in the brush. The ghost came and passed but the man did not see it. He determined to see what it looked like. He left his hiding place, picked up a large rock, and stood squarely in the trail. Soon the ghost returned. It looked like an erect shadow. It approached the man as if he were not seen. The man crashed the rock on its head. It sounded as though something had cracked. The man then ran away. The next morning he returned and found a broken bone under the rock. (Burke)

An old man was searching for horses in the plains south of the Columbia river. He found them and started home. On the way he took a trail which was strange to him. At dusk, just as he emerged from a canyon, he heard noises which he interpreted as ghosts. Beyond a grove of trees nearby he thought he saw a fire. Then he assumed that someone was camping there. He approached with his horses and discovered a huge fire burning. But he saw no camps or horses or signs of habitation. Suddenly on the opposite side of the fire he observed a woman with long, unbraided hair, wearing no clothes. The horses reared and bounded away in the direction from which they had come. They did not stop until they were two or three miles away.

The ghost was that of an old woman who had lost her mind during the earthquake.[8] The place the old man had seen her ghost was an old deserted camp of the Spokane Indians. (Bob Covington)

A dying woman was jealous of her husband. Her husband assured her that he would not marry again after her death. The woman died. Contrary to his word, her husband married again immediately. Some time later while the new wife was sitting in her lodge someone called through the door to her. "Get ready tomorrow morning before daylight to go berry picking with me," the voice commanded. It was the voice of the dead woman's ghost. "All right," the wife answered although she did not know who it was. The following morning she prepared to leave. The ghost came and spoke through the door as previously. "Are you ready?" it asked. The woman answered that she was ready, and opened the door. The ghost was wrapped in a huge robe covering her head and tied under her chin. It led the way and travelled so fast that the woman could not overtake it. Upon reaching the berry grounds both started to pick. The ghost kept its face away from the woman, who soon became suspicious. She suddenly ran around the ghost and saw its face. What she saw was a skull. In great fright she started running back toward camp. The ghost followed in pursuit. As they approached camp the ghost called out, "It's all right; you won't live now." The woman died of fright. (Burke)

Burke was staying in a log house with several other persons. One night as soon as the light was extinguished he heard moccasined footsteps descending the trail back of the house. The footsteps continued around the house. The front door opened, then the kitchen door. The ghost banged pans and utensils in the kitchen. As soon as any member of the household made a noise the sound stopped, but only for a short time. In the silence the ghost was heard breathing heavily just outside the door. The disturbance continued all night, but no one investigated. Burke left early the next morning. (Burke)

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[8] See page 108.

539/775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a
825 spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed
[823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had
[821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance,
776 grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

753 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of
757 virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

753 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine
756 the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inaugural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

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[15] See page 169.

[16] See page 211.

[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 796 574 of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

226 796 574 264 As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai´wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai´wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalū´ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [775] 825 The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sInkakIū′s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuəpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests. 774 177

The relation of sInkakIū′s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sInkakIū′s came from qōlūncō′tn (God), and that the sInkakIū′s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former. 774 778

A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sInkakIū′s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sInkakIū′s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its 'going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sInkakIū′s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sInkakIū′s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case. 754 774 778

Each individual had only one sInkakIū′s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost. 774 787

The land of the dead (stqama′skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife 775 ●

p. 169 (A)

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and killing. David claimed that before the white priests introduced the concept of the soul, the Indians knew nothing of life after death and thought that they just died like animals. He was probably right.

The ghost (tūqtūqEnēō'laūh or tūk'tūk'ōnE'ōna) was similar to those in European tradition, having a few vague and general traits not standardized in detail, and widely open to foreign suggestions which make a "better story." Therefore any attempt to separate the aboriginal ideas on ghosts from those which have been imported seems quite futile.

The ghost was not the disembodied shadow (cqaqElaūh), but was sometimes identified with the sInkakIū's of a person not good enough to "go to a good place" after death. Ghosts were usually of the dead, but some emanated from the living who were about to die or who were absent and thinking hard of home. Suszen explained that when a dead man's guardian spirits restored him to life, his ghost returned to him. The ghost of the dead lingered near his house or his grave, where it might appear in several ways: sometimes as a flame which came out of the grave with a rattling sound and pursued the beholder, sometimes as the double of the deceased, which disappeared as it came nearer. Ghosts often indicated their presence by a rattling sound, as of dried deer hide or tin cans. They laughed, shouted, screamed, whistled and coughed. Suszen said that they talked, but Michel denied it. Sometimes they even threw stones. They moved as fast as a man could run, yet without moving their legs or leaving tracks. They were all feared, but especially those of suicides, which were visible every night near the scene of the tragedy. Ghosts pursued people in lonely places, deprived them of their wits, frightened or froze them to death, or made them ill. Whistling might attract them and was avoided by timid persons when alone at night. One pursued by a spectre along a path could evade it by stepping aside from the path and letting it pass. Recurrent troubles in a house were often ascribed to a haunting ghost. For this reason a baby was never left alone in a house where someone had died, and a fir bough and a sprig of wild rose bush were hung in the room of a dead person to keep the ghost away. Rocks were piled over a place in the woods where someone had been frozen to death or had perished by violence, perhaps to lay the ghost, perhaps as a warning to passers-by. A few anecdotes will illustrate the variations of the ghost theme in more detail.

Mr. Richard Post has a good one. "One dark night at Chilowhist Jim's, just after we had said goodnight and the Indians had retired, I walked silently by their tent on a bit of sandy ground. A boy of eleven saw me and called out 'Who's there?' I made no reply, but hurried right on without turning my head or changing my direction. He called two or three times and, when I disappeared, returned into the tent.

p. 169 (B)

775 "Next morning when we were talking about ghosts, he told me that he had seen one the night before. At daybreak he had looked for tracks, but seeing none (except my own, which were numerous anyway) he was convinced that it had been a ghost.

"He said that he had never feared ghosts, and had seen many, some of which he had chased and pelted with stones. They were neither good nor bad, but were merely wandering spirits of the dead: spirits of people who were not good enough to go at once to kūl'ntcōltn, and who had to serve atonement on earth for a while, but who were not bad enough to go to the Roman Catholic hell. He called this form of spirit the sinkak'lū́'s."

Johnnie was about to start on a journey with another man, who had told him to whistle when he was ready. Johnnie stood near a fence where a rocky trail went by, and whistled. Something whistled back. Thinking it was his wayfellow he called to it to stop, but instead of answering it whistled again. He finally came to the top of the trail where the other man's horse was tied, and called, "Here's your horse; where are you going?" Only the whistle replied. Johnnie got cold in the spine and returned.

Living people who were absent could sometimes be heard talking. One evening when Johnnie's uncle had been away and was expected home, his people heard him singing outside the house, but as his voice came nearer it died away. He did not return for two or three days. Johnnie explained that the uncle must have been thinking "strong" of coming, but was unable to return so soon.

The woman who made the poison wit which the jealous shaman was killed in t incident related above, later became a co vert to Catholicism. A light shines in t deserted house where she died six years ago her ghost still lingers there. Sometimes people deserted a house because of recurrent deaths, for the ghost of its first owner might be seen around it, looking and acting as he had in life.

Once Mrs. Louie's brother heard the ghost of a woman screaming in the woods near Kettle Falls.

After a boy had committed suicide near Curlew, his father killed the boy's horse and spread the hide over his grave. On the next day, and for many years after, the ghost of the boy was seen riding on this horse.

One night Johnnie heard an adult weeping in the next room which was supposedly empty. On the following morning it became known that the owner of the house had died.

One night near a graveyard Johnnie heard someone sigh behind him. He heard

[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 170(B), category 116.— Analyst]

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10 I.e., French-Canadian. [1]

775 this four times. When he had made a light to discover the source of the noise, he thought he saw a man in white confronting him. It was a Holstein cow with a white face. This was the only ghost he had ever seen.

He once saw a blue flame rise mysteriously from the ground about twenty feet high and change into a ball of fire (probably marsh gas). He felt that this was supernatural, but did not claim that it was a ghost.

VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776 Giants (tswainaltEm) lived in the mountains. They measured about twelve feet in stature and clad themselves only in bearskins. Those of the Shuswap country, at least, smelled like burnt gunpowder. They carried little flutes, by blowing which they mimicked the sounds of birds, squirrels, and other small creatures. An old Okanagon and an old Wenatchi man once saw a giant's den, which was made of sticks.

In the wilderness dwelt also a race of dwarfs called ntsītsīmasqelaūh. Though seldom seen, they were known to have long beards, to dress like Indians, and to live in rocks or in caverns as large as log cabins. Sometimes the Indians found their tiny footprints in the woods, but to see the dwarfs themselves presaged death. They might appear suddenly to the traveller in the wilderness, who saw them jumping around and heard them singing, but they would quickly vanish as the beholder fell into a dream. If a man wanted rain, he might induce it by throwing stones into the caverns inhabited by dwarfs, but as the dust rolled out of the hole he ran away lest the dwarfs deprive him of his wits and capture him. StlElqa (stłałka or stł!alka') were a separate race of female dwarfs inhabiting the streams, which could be heard talking and laughing there.

In the hills there wandered a supernatural person called sEm'ō'laūh (sama'ōlaūx, from sama, "Frenchman,"[1] and ōlaūx, "land") or skēlEōlaūx (from skē'lūx, "Indian," and ō'laūx, "land"). He was not a dwarf, but seems to have had light skin, so that after the Indians had seen the French they called him sEm'ōlaūh instead of skēlEōlaūx. Michel denied any knowledge of him, and said that the above words meant only "Frenchman's land" and "Indians's land" respectively.

It may have been this "Frenchman" that a Colville man, a relative of Andrew Tillson, encountered many years ago when he was hunting. Having followed a deer for nearly a week, the exhausted hunter made a fire and slept. When he awoke a man with a gun appeared and said to him, "Your deer is not very far from here, but you won't kill him. I'll follow him myself and you'll hear me shoot: in the morning you'll find him lying

[1] [For footnote, see p. 170(A), category 116.-- Analyst

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, 538
each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places 778
large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. 775 My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[318] 782 The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. They had a rain song. [533] The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[318] a, pp. 344–350.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

775 The Soul.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

776 Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

756 Shamans.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

535 Dances.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 766 171*

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

RELIGION.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 000

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkm* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkm's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkm*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkm is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkm's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. 775 ●
The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. [823] The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero. 773 171*

GIANTS, DWARFS, ETC.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting, 776 171*

181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
554 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organization. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organization for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
829 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

177 281 291 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superimposed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'ā'lks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin [531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[285] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 301 531 755 776 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

237 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the
292 skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

301 The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of
531 the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans
755 decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers
776 were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew, forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated
301 that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his
301 head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to be-
302 come a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they
776 stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic
301 significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe
531 specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned
[292 by rubbing with white clay.

237 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the
292 eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection. Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were
301 often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the
531 hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

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The interment ceremony was in the hands of some old man, probably a relative. He first called upon some one present to "say a few words." The person designated stepped to the side of the grave and solemnly spoke of the inevitability of death and eulogized the deceased. When he finished he stepped back and the man in charge called for the shaman to perform his part of the ceremony. This consisted of ridding the grave of the presence of spirits. The shaman had brought with him branches of rosebush. With these he swept out the hole and brushed off the corpse. This act was called snake'xulaxum. Branches of the rosebush were used rather than some other brush because the thorns were thought to prick the invading spirits and thereby be more effective in driving them away. While the shaman was discharging this duty he spoke to the assemblage, saying that though he was not omnipotent he nevertheless hoped that his actions would eliminate any spirits which might have lodged themselves in the grave to later torture the ghost. "These precautions should always be taken," he said. "If some stranger were in the vicinity his spirit would be certain to see the grave and jump into it. We don't want that to happen." The shaman never touched the corpse with his hands. As soon as he had finished he threw aside the rose branches (it was not necessary to destroy them for they were only instrumental; the spirits did not lodge in them), and stepped aside for the pallbearers who placed the corpse in the grave (in a sitting position) as quickly as possible.

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With the body were deposited the person's keepsakes, fetishes, and ornaments of dress such as feathers, quills and strips of fur, but no clothing or other objects. No time was then lost in covering the body for every moment that elapsed gave further opportunity for spirits to enter. Flat rocks were laid on the corpse, then smaller rocks, gravel or sand. Sometimes the grave was covered with brush. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks erected in the rocks. Canoes or carvings were never placed over graves.

Occasionally a short speech of consolation to the bereaved followed the interment. It was delivered by someone who had not previously talked. Upon its conclusion the mourners returned to the village.

It is felt nowadays, with the use of deep graves and caskets, spirits are almost certain to remain with the body even though great care is taken to eliminate them. Their presence is attested by the noises heard when the casket is lowered into the grave. On one occasion John Tom was assisting in digging such a grave. As he was finishing the excavation, at a depth of about five feet, he suddenly felt as if something had grabbed him around the chest from the back. He was clutched so tightly that he soon fell over unconscious. He had not been able to cry out. A short time later his companions, who had been a little distance away, came and investigated for they had expected Tom to join them soon. They found him lying in the bottom of the grave, motionless. They called to him but he did not answer. Then they prodded him with a shovel. Slowly he gained consciousness. He got out of the hole and was soon normal again. The spirit had evidently disappeared.

any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use. 55/ 776

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim't'i'kən, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, səyan'xmukən, in memory of his brother and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lxʷ, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that 72// any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the [773] scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved.

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the //8// assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any 72//

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[13] See pages 182-84.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 138.

The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials
were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain
where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an
individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always
returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women 768
who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more
food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became."
(Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were
kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used
without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was
vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first
removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance
away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a
summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter
house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects
of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned
slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small
twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of
the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called
in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at
the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the
latter precaution almost always has been taken.

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lá'lukʷ; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a
775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that
which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "parti-
tioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body
without causing death. The native term for this concept was sexqapi'uts. When
the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land
of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was
that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as
existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena.
It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests.
Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could
not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as
one's sumi'xʷ. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disap-
pear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation
from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken
by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a
secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final
category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons,
evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus
was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with
the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
753 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Uncon-
787 sciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not incon-
828 sistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness
was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlä·'t,
"dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

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[1] See pages 149 f.

539 / 775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 / 925 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed [823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had [821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case 776 its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

761/776 entity with which occasional communion was held and which at other times led a separate existence. Rather it was an intimately associated part of one's ego which could not be lost without disastrous results and which, though seldom seen, was ever present. It is thus understandable that the fate of one's spirit after the death of the body was as great a concern as the fate of the soul. The belief was that the soul and spirit departed simultaneously from the fleshy body as soon as death came. The spirit became a ghost in form very similar to the ghost of the soul, but in character very different. It is interesting that the after-death form of the spirit was anthropomorphic whereas it was derived from an animal or inanimate object. It is true, of course, that spirits often assumed human form, but they always retained, as spirits, their true natures. The spirit-ghost, on the other hand, was almost completely void of its original characteristics (except for its powers) and used not its original generic name but referred to itself by the term for spirit-ghost or a relationship term applied to the dead person who had possessed it.[4]

776 Spirit-ghosts and soul ghosts were not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There was undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote was a soul ghost or spirit-ghost. A spirit-ghost was easily killed; an arrow shot at one never missed. At the spot where one had been killed there was always found a human scapula.[5] Indeed, the native term for spirit-ghost, papa′iut, meant scapula. The following tale accounts for the name:

539 Three men were going along the Sanpoil river near the Columbia one time. They were on a narrow trail between a cliff and the river. The trail led to an open meadow a little farther along. Just at this place, whenever a traveller came along, ghosts of spirits would chase him. It was about sunset and the men were half way from the cliff to the flat. They began to hear footsteps behind them. They got louder and louder. The second man looked back but could see nothing. The noise got louder and they could hear the hard breathing of the ghost. They began to run and soon were away from the place.

But the third man said that he was going to go back and shoot the thing. He picked out his poorest arrow, and went back, just at dusk. When he reached the place he heard the footsteps again. This time he didn't run. He looked around and saw a shadow coming toward him. He stood still and waited until it was right up to him. Then he drew his bow and shot. He heard it hit something with a thud. Then he turned and went back to camp and told them that he had killed the ghost down by the river.

The next morning the men from camp went down to the place where he had shot. On the ground they found a piece of a man's shoulder blade with the arrow straight through it. They took the bone, broke it in two and buried the pieces and the arrow on the hill.

Since that time ghosts of spirits have been called "scapula." (Bob Covington)

776 The spirit-ghost functioned as a secondary power or guardian in the same manner as an ordinary spirit. But its acquisition was a very different and dangerous procedure. Such power was never voluntarily sought and was available

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[4] See page 169.

[5] But cf. the anecdote on page 171.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-
ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

> You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becom-
756 ing seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's
former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-
776 ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the
431 additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had
been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance,
753 might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking
776 a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

431 753 776 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterized as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 778 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 778 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a·'tlamxʷ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wandered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognised none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment.

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Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (snəqaie'tkʷ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

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Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself."

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6] This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7] Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[8] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstạn, and as grandfather, to̧pi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

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xananana' n--ana, etc.
(meaningless)

to̧pi'a sxe'lsms kwi'lstan mətsaləq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xá'n i·'mát.	yaya't i·'s stsəki'nx*	isətẓano'mtx* ka'm'
I am your grandson.	Everyone who is ill,	who may be injured or

i'səts kei'lt	uixwimi''stəmans	u'l	xali'txtəms	i't	ixtsxa'sts
sick,	they go to you	and	ask you	for	relief

u'l	xwi't'səlt*	ixtəli'mtc.
and	you give	happiness.

yaya't	isti'm	ku'ləntəm	ə'l	təmxu·'lá	u'lku·'lənst
Everything	was	created	in	this world	and created

á·nui'	u'l	u'mənst	áksikwi'st	kwi'lstən	ku'kiən
you (were)	and	called	named	Sweat Lodge,	to

xastá'ns	iske'lux	xa·'ltəmxulau'
help	people	in this world.

776 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were
782 expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

778 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was
782 not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

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[8] See the origin myth, page 177.

778 782 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat," was uttered. This is reminicsent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pa'tax, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776 787 Dreams (ske'is, sksastsu't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenomenon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.

[10] See page 84.

[11] See page 136.

[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

776 Spokane Rose, a Spokane woman, had married a Sanpoil and gone to his
home to live. She was a great gambler. Her power was Wolf (ənt'si'tcən). She
787 beat many Sanpoil men, then played with kapu's, also a great gambler. She won
everything that he owned but one horse. Then one night one of the guardian
spirits of kapu's, (ant, yellow jacket), came to him in a dream and told him that
he could win everything back. It told him what she would do and when she would
come. It was the middle of the night but kapu's got up, singing. He called some
friends and told them of his dream. They sang with him. The woman came as
predicted, to try to win his last horse, but he beat her. The others played with
her and won also. At sunset she had nothing left.

Shamans often had dreams revealing the causes of illnesses of patients and
means to cure them. Shamans also dreamed of impending dangers of a vague
776 sort. After such a dream, described as "bad" (probably a nightmare) the shaman
778 ordered all the members of his household to paint their faces, to keep on guard,
787 and to warn others. Especial care was to be taken while traveling in the hills.

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

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At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative. No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary. Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however, thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited opportunities for achievement. [562]

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

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A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

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The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xᵘ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (papa'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1] 787

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. 776
This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected 787
more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa''kntan, "[illegible]re place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3]

The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the 776
vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any 885
details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life.

The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutske'lamsásumixᵘ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the 753
early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A 756
shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient 776
usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion.

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[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

753 756 776 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'q̇amən. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 776 778 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance. It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (t̓aki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of waẋwa'xa·'lpᵊ. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named ilk'ẋ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4] Described on pages 189 f.

771 776 787 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[8]

538 787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktaatsaltə'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[9] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (staxka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[8] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[9] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

776 796 When the crowd had gathered the shaman addressed them: "Now I shall proceed just as my spirit has commanded me. I shall do everything in the proper manner." Then taking a broom or brush he swept all around the center of the room, while saying, "I am doing this for my children (that is, everyone present). I hope you may never have sore feet. I hope that you will always be fleet of foot, and that dust may never get in your eyes." After this he sent an assistant outside to bring in the tree which had been made ready. Upon receiving it he erected it in the center of the room, thrusting the base in the ground as well as possible. To hold it upright he removed his belt and with it he tied the tree to the central cross beam of the roof. During the operation he said: "Now I am putting up my helper, one of my spirits, and on the top I will have Owl sit. He will be my eyes. He will look out for us, all around the country."

624 796 But the spirit guard was not the only one used to supervise the dances and ascertain that none of the rules of conduct were broken. Persons with Owl or Bluejay power regularly impersonated their guardian spirits and guarded the dance and protected the dancers. The same persons served at place after place during the dance season. Before the first dance they removed all their clothing except the breechclout, and blackened the feet, hands and face. These qwa'skei (Bluejays) and x̣a'x̣x̣as (Owls) did not participate in the dances or stand about as guards. They sat in the rafters of the dance building and patrolled the grounds outside. One of the principal rules which it was their duty to enforce was that prohibiting eating of any sort during the dance. Anyone attempting to eat during a dance, no matter how cautious he was, would be seen by one of these sentries who would "fly down and recover the food from the person's throat," and eat it himself. Not only was eating in the dance house prohibited but no cooking or eating in the whole settlement was allowed. If one not attending the dance began to eat the sentries immediately became aware, "flew out," and very soon returned with the food "still hot from the fire." It was displayed and the place where it had been found told, then it was thrown away. These sentries also knew when anyone was approaching the dance house and who it was but it was seldom necessary to notify the shaman of such facts for he, too, could "see" them.

796 Many other formal rules of conduct were enforced by the sentries. No one was allowed to leave the building without the permission of the leader, and then not more than one person at a time. There was an exception to this: at midnight everyone was permitted to go outside for fifteen or twenty minutes, but was required to return. Water was provided but no one was permitted to drink until after the leader, or someone designated by him, had taken a sip. The water would otherwise cause the person to choke and become ill. Smoking was prohibited while singing and dancing were in progress but not at other times.

That sentries sometimes failed to detect infractions is indicated in the following account.

A man once went out from a dance at midnight but failed to return. Instead he went to a nearby house and ate some dried venison. In a little while he became very ill. The next morning the shaman who was the dance leader visited

796 him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient vomited the food enveloped in blood.

776 796 Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over."

756 796 881 The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place.

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian 776
spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. 796
Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of
his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the correct guess. 881
If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian 796
spirit songs (snkwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents.

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced
with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each 181
dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night.
Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given 796
a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act.

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. 533
After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly to- 796
ward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were invited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was left only with a breechclout. 431 796

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power. Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others. 756

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions of chiefs, for instance. 554 622 756

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans. 756

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually 756 776 an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman. 756 776

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was tapε·'lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[13]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests sometimes arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited. 578 756 776

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of function. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth. 756

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing procedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means, principally the use of herbs and roots.[14] A shaman was called to administer in an 753 757

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[13] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[14] See pages 215 f.

spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than 755
one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prised by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid.

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness 754
in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt 756
proved unsuccessful.

> Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that 756
other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' 776
guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered.

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, 754
although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other 756
shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used.

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

trout would be ascertained before the ice came. 000

Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself. 224 [787]

Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) owa´ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation. 261

There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites, but it seems to have been frequent before that. 731

How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen: 261

The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it. 776

RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

POWER

771 •776 778 The religion of the Okanagon expressed itself in the affiliation of the individual man or woman with a material object or class of objects, usually with an animal, bird, or insect. Their word sûmix refers to this relationship, as well as to anything which functioned for a person in this way, and to the physical and spiritual potency which one possessed by virtue of this affiliation. When speaking English, the Okanagon translate sûmix as "power." I shall use the word "power" for each and all of the different meanings of sumix; and, to avoid tedious repetition, shall often refer to the source of power as the "guardian spirit."

776 Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. When it manifested itself in his power-song, his whole body shook. One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or the mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid. Mary Carden explained that though the power remained with its possessor, its "spirit" wandered far. She called this "spirit" of the power, however, by the same word as the power itself, sûmix. The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.

The guardian spirit seems to have been an individual rather than a class; a single beaver, for example, who built his dam on a certain stream in the woods, rather than all beavers embodied in the power vision as one. Numerous instances support this idea. Our informants explicitly stated that the same individual animal or object could endow with power several different people. But this individual usually represented the class to which it belonged, and the duties and privileges which it conferred on its human protege extended to his relations with all members of its class. A man who had power from a rattlesnake regarded all men and women who had rattlesnake power as his friendly associates. His affiliation with one visionary rattlesnake affected his attitude toward all rattlesnakes: he was immune from their bite; he could cure other people who were suffering from it.

In dreams and visions the Okanagon saw the guardian spirit more often in human than in animal form, and heard it speak their own language and sing their style of songs. In a conflict between guardian spirits, the lat-

776 ter were visualized as animals, birds, or whatever they happened to be. When captured and being destroyed by a shaman, the power seemed distinctly material, since, after cutting it to pieces with a knife, the shaman could show its blood on his hands.

The sex of the guardian spirit was seldom specified. It appeared as a man or woman to the power seeker, and seems usually to have had the same sex as the latter, though this was not definitely stated by the informants. At the winter dances, the dancer sometimes remarked that his guardian spirit was female.

The explicit conception of power as a divisible quantity seems to have been peculiar to Suszen Timentwa's religious scheme, though the idea was perhaps implicit in Okanagon thought. With his characteristic tinge of Christian cosmogony, Suszen explained that God originally gave his power, his "breath," to the animals, commanding them to give half of it to man, and that man therefore had half as much power as they. All of the informants agreed that a parent could direct his guardian spirit to confer power on his children or grandchildren without decreasing his own supply. Chilowhist Jim said that if one died without giving his power away, it simply returned to the animals from which it had come.

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825 I have listed below some of the guardian spirits, with remarks on their relative and specialized strength, and have indicated in parentheses the names of the informants from whom we obtained the data in each case.

Guardian Spirit	Remarks
Coyote	gave power for killing deer, because it was carnivorous (Cecile); gave power for gambling, because Coyote in the folktales was a smart gambler (Cecile).
Dog	(Michel).
Otter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
Bear	gave the were-bear faculty (Johnnie); made one rich, because it was a strong power; "made bears mind you like a dog" (Chilowhist Jim); made one as resistant to arrows as a bear is (Chilowhist Jim).
Eel	gave power to escape from enemies, because it is so slippery (David).

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Rattlesnake	gave immunity to rattlesnake poison (Johnnie); gave power to cure rattlesnake bites (Johnnie and Suszen).
Cougar	one of the strongest powers, because the cougar is so strong (Cecile); gave power for killing deer, because the cougar is carnivorous (Cecile). (Johnnie, who said that he had the cougar power, claimed that cougar power was very weak.)
Wolf	gave no power, because it was weak and knew nothing (Suszen); gave power for killing deer because the wolf is carnivorous (Cecile).
Grizzly bear	one of the strongest guardian spirits, because the grizzly itself is so strong (Cecile); gave power to acquire riches, because of its great strength (Lucy Joe); gave power to kill grizzlies (various informants)
Deer	gave power to kill deer (Cecile; Johnnie); gave weak power (Michel); gave power to cure by sucking, because the deer was often shot (Cecile).
Mouse	gave power for foot-racing (Suszen).
Small birds	have the most power (Michel); when associated with hailstones, give immunity to bullets (Michel).
Hawk	gave power to cure rattlesnake bite, because the hawk ate rattlesnakes (Suszen).
Fish-hawk	not as powerful as the eagle (Johnnie and Billy Joe).
Buzzard	the best bird for giving power for curing.
Eagle	gave power to kill deer, because the eagle is carnivorous (Cecile); one of the strongest powers, because the eagle is so strong (Cecile).
Bluejay	(The Colville believed that the bluejay gave special power for finding lost articles, but the Okanagon said that this was not so with them [Johnnie].)
Western horned owl	gave power for seeing clearly at night (Cecile).
Sage-hen	gave power for foot-racing? (Suszen).
Any insect	(Cecile and Lucy Joe).
Worms	gave power to cure consumption.
Horse fly	gave power to cure blood-poisoning (Suszen).

● 776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

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Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

776 From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object.

776 778 Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects.

776 825 Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite.

776 773 A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa′qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa′qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInûhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power.

776 826 825 Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants.

Though two brothers might both have the 776
grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian
spirit, twins did not have grizzly power 825
more often than other people. 845

The power inherited from a dead relative
belongs in a separate category. It was 778
one of the powers which the dead had possessed
during life, but after his death it chose 428
a new master. It was never deliberately
sought, as other powers were, but came in a 787
dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor.

Insanity was regarded as a kind of 778
power, though not from any animal. A man
recently went mad "because he wanted power 828
too much."

The strength of one's power depended on
the number of guardian spirits which he had 776
and on their qualities. In the opinion of
any one informant, the same animal did not 778
confer varying degrees of power. Cecile
seemed to think that power was directly proportional 825
to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank.

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily
bring success. Suszen said that one 778
could succeed in hunting without the aid of
power, if he were a good runner, knew the 224
haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and
clever to secure the game. If any of his [784]
power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing.

As I shall explain later, when discussing 776
the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands.

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

• 776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song [424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor 578 was not within hearing. People sometimes ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or 533] her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinŏx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its 554 members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

778 622 [791] membered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

● 776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

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its strength. To perform at the winter dance without giving blankets or other things to the audience would make one's power angry. The spirit might command a girl to dance and give blankets to the people even though she had none to give, and if her relatives did not provide them for this purpose she would die. When the girl was afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well.

791 [838] 562 784
There were a few sexual differences in matters of power. Berdaches were regarded rather as good-for-nothings than as religious worthies. Shamans were both men and women, but if either sex predominated, it was the male. Special power for hunting came more often to men than to women. Women's power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim."

776 577 [538]
Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, and to lead in communal enterprises. In spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian spirits seem not to have supervised morals or to have deserted their protégés because of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired, feared, and often followed. As we have seen, however, certain vices hindered a young person from acquiring power. These were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack of concentration. The shiftless or timid child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore.

THE QUEST

776 787 857
Usually between the ages of seven and thirteen, but almost always before puberty, the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the mountains and woods in search of a guardian spirit. To find power for one's self, either by accident or design, was called süksümix. The word for the power quest was tsüntsüt or tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power unless
a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825]
as guardian spirit, that animal or some
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsÜntsÜt, but was also called xötsëxil, "giving power to the son," or söxtsExiltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cher- 787
ished for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
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776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 428 ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

776 787 857 Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of 776
the girls at puberty or on the quest, and
made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote 787
was transformed and banished to the ocean,
the girls have not had to do so when hunting 857
for power.

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child
built a fire at night to make his presence
known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction
of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to 776
the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this 787
attitude, though not a normal form of quest,
and though the hero forcing the animals to
give their power may perhaps be a farcical 539
treatment of this serious subject. Cecile
tells the story.

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up 776
through a little canyon and shot. He went
up there and found a big buck lying dead. 787
He cut it up and packed it back to his wife
and child. From then on he could kill a
deer anywhere. His people wondered if he 539
and his wife and child were still alive, and
came to look for them. They found that they
had all kinds of meat. So he called all his
relatives and stayed there and became an important man.

The power quest had a moral value for 776
the child's future, as well as a religious
and practical one. A lazy child, or one in- 787
different to the aim, might fail to receive
power because the animals knew his character 857
and did not like him. Suszen said that if
the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school."

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 even if you are shot through the body." A tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at
787 my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Ani-
857 mal character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Suszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

● 776 787 857 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to him from every mountain, and the spirits of animals and birds came and talked to him. Each one came as a man, and gave him its song. "It seemed only a little while," said David, "but it was a whole night, and when I awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of these people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Omak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

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their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage.

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nxaxaétx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

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Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protégé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

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POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power.

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmaIŭk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep: on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tall, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involuntarily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A baby girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

776 787 857 tain lake where the women wished to gather stürtsIn roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stürtsIn root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 787 857 they had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 787 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 778 787 825 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used as a power emblem (cla'Qt). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

[821]

Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.	776
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.	778

787
825
[293]

The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblem when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another women, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla´Ut). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sinłaōta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert [324]
worker in stone, who received a price for it.
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indi- 342
an doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more then one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell *you* to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Cerden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting. 776 784 262

If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit. 784 776

The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him. 776 784 753

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1] the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance. 796 776 787 431

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might 776 787 574

[1] [Cf. 142(A), col. [illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

join if they wished. An old man or woman 776
then asked him about his dream experience.
He replied, "I want more people to come and 787
sing my song in two or three days." He felt
somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing 574
the song at intervals for a number of days.
His relatives invited friends to come to the house for his first winter dance. People were glad to attend, to learn about the new power and to accompany its master in his song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed them, sang, and gave them various gifts in return for saving his life by helping him to control the power.

Mary Carden's account of one's first 796
winter dance emphasized his critical health,
the preliminary singing, and the importance 776
of the master of ceremonies as a leader of
ritual and as the neophyte's religious guardian 787
and physician.

The account proceeds thus. When the power acquired in childhood returned to the young adult, it told him that it was lonesome and ordered him to sing, to give a dance, and to distribute property among the people. This "brought luck" to him, for in a short time he would receive even more property back. At this time he fell ill. Apparently a shaman was called in to diagnose the case, for we are now informed that a shaman told the individual, "Your power has come and wants you to give a dance." If this happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll have to wait till winter." The shaman's power told that of the patient to wait till
winter. When winter came, the neophyte had 796
a power dream, from which he awoke singing. His family then sent news of this to their neighbors in the valley, and sang his power song with him, while the shaman, as master of ceremonies, came and planned the dance and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to the central post. The guests arrived in the evening. For as long as the dance would last, they would be provided with food by the young man's family. The neophyte had been singing "every night," probably every night since his recent dream, and the shaman sang to guard the neophyte's power from theft. Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay down or sat while the shaman, with closed eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After dark they both began to dance and sing in the center of the room. Having danced for a while, the neophyte called for his stick, which was handed by a member of his family to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied it to the stick and silently handed both back to him. The song and dance were then resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped the center pole with both hands, the neophyte grasping similarly above him, and both slid their hands down singing xwŪŪ xwŪ′yŪŪ. "When people call this sound, they are bringing power from the mountains. Power is with a person all the time, but the spirit can go far away." Any guests arriving after the dance had begun were stopped by the doorkeeper, who announced them to the company.

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791 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with insufficient
power touched it, his hand "froze"
to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sInkakiūs) would
leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
shamans at the offense. The latter preferred
to leave the soul on the post to give
himself the opportunity to cure the victim
later on. If another shaman saw the soul's
predicament, he might say to the shaman who
had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take
him away from there." The victim then stood
beside the post and the shaman drew out the
soul, rubbed it once or twice between his
hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed
whole. If no one saw the soul on the
post, or if the shaman declined to take pity
the offender was doomed. When the dance had
ended, the post was taken up into the hills
and left standing against a tree. As it
dried up in summer, the person whose soul
was attached to it "dried up" also. He became
ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew
weak, and finally died. If not too far gone,
he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid
by the sick man or his family. The practitioner
came to the patient's house, placed
his hands on him, and sang his own power
song. As he sang, his power went out into
the hills, drew the soul from the drying
post and brought it to the shaman, who blew
it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
535 stick instead of the central post held the
stick with both hands, one hand near each
776 end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Stony

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796 535 776 Rock because a myth was associated with the place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 522 One of the shamans presiding at the dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 535 [271] 791 In an interval between performances, if the congregation was thirsty they made a noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

796 535 791 good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted.

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

[776] ● Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this.

796 431 At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (_ca._ 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

[578] A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 ting them into his pipe." This probably
778 means that he put their powers there. In one
of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and
791 Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 Stories of endurance against fatigue,
hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, when
778 ice was floating down the Okanogan River at
its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the ca[illegible] He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelan became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 Some shamans, both men and women, had a
special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō′lx.
754 The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 754 it caused only a painful swelling, which a shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 778 526 Power helped people to play games. When players of two tribes came together for a match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

224 791 562

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening.

224 791 789

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwelhümëst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō′s, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill.

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

224 778

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot.

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

224 776 778

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It

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224 •776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwīst, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwīst's grandmother, Sīkūntalūqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stárēs) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sīkūntalūqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sīkūntalūqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sīkūntalūqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

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Sinkaietk
Colville

776 778 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the great hero ŭ'ktaskŭ'sŭm had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of qŭinmŭsq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special power of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 778 539 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spokane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known as the Red Shirt People. The former had with them as allies some Nez Percé braves from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 776 791 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people, and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

778 back to another. The horses escaped,but the
maniac was bound, fumigated with xacxac root,
and restored to normal life. David, the nar-
●776 rator, knew of no other instance of this
kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior
791 of Colville bluejay shamans when they went
out to find lost things, and the repeated
statement that they "turned into bluejays,"
indicate a much more violent form of spirit
possession than occurred among the Okanagon.
Johnnie recounted that those with this power
turned into bluejays at a dance, which no
one was allowed to leave. They would fly
out through a crack in the door. They would
stay naked in the mountains for months, liv-
ing only on pitch. One such named inyăs
(Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and
dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke
backward" to him. If a man was lost in the
mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost,
he was asked to find them. He hopped out on
one foot; reporting on his return, "I did
not find him," meaning the reverse. Another
named q!aI'Iyă would hop out and find a coin
secreted in the snow. In all the cases
given, the shamans had possessed their blue-
jay power for some time; we obtained no ac-
count of their conduct soon after getting
the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways,a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaIŏt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 Of all the purposes to which a Southern
Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit,
791 healing and curing were the most profession-
al. Though every normal adult had at least
one spirit, proficiency as a physician mark-
ed the individual as a true shaman. The
word tĭa·kwIlEx̣ designated any person who
had power, but those who employed their spir-
its for curing were referred to by terms de-
noting the techniques which they used. Such
specialists were the tĭa·kwIlEx̣ x̣al'sĭa'pEm
or tĭa·qwI'lEx̣ xEl sx̣Ex̣Elŏs, who cured by
sucking; the pŏxpŏxŭmĕlh, lit. "blowing all
the while" or pŏxŭmĕmin, who cured by blow-
ing; and the tĭa kwIlEx xal'ăspŭxEm who

nökënspâlsq'ö'lxwa
So I can kill deer, 515
Iati'ssk'latsI'nEm
Deer. 788
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences. 515 783

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.* 1 776 177

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI'p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qölüncö'tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qölüncö'tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

1 [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 167 (B)

776 ianity, was called chwallEmEn(or sxwēlEmEn), "something thrown away or discarded," 177 because he had been cast out of heaven by God. He therefore lived under the earth, where it was hot. Suszen's account of the attempted conversion of Chief Moses illustrates the foreign nature of this divinity. The Government had taken Moses' land away from him and had sent him to Nespelem. There the priest wanted to baptize him and teach him to pray, and a government officer told Moses that unless he was baptized he would go to hell, where the Devil would burn him. Moses denied this, objecting that if there were fire inside the earth the water in the white men's wells would boil. He was never baptized, "and never went to church because he didn't believe in the Devil."

774 The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost.

Of the first, the thinking element, we have only a scrap of evidence. It seems to have been identified with the heart (cpōō'c or pōō'st); the phrase hacpōō's, "your heart," being used to express approval after a suggestion had been made. One sick from extreme grief was called "broken-hearted" (maō'ts pō'ōst), but this conception may not have been aboriginal.

The shadow of the individual or his reflection in water represented his soul, the cqaqElaūh. This word meant shadow in the ordinary physical sense, but in the present connotation it signifies the vital principle. Though a corpse cast a shadow it had lost its cqaqElaūh. Various precautions were taken to prevent the loss of this element. One should not sleep in the late afternoon lest the sun carry his shadow down with it and thus shorten his life, and if a child developed this habit he would die in his next illness. One incurred the same danger by allowing his shadow to fall in an open grave. If one walked close behind a person who was smoking, eating, or drinking, his reflection or shadow might fall on the smoke, food, or drink and be swallowed with it, especially if the consumer had strong power. The spirit of a child was particularly liable to be consumed by a shaman in this way and within a few days the child would succumb. Power plays a part here, since, if the father of the child were near him and had stronger power than that of the shaman, the latter would choke at the mouthful and might even die. This applies to any case where a person of strong power walked behind another who was eating, drinking, or smoking and whose power was weaker. If the former took pity on his victim, he could save him from choking by striking him on the back, bringing up the smoke, if he had been smoking, in a

775 this four times. When he had made a light to discover the source of the noise, he thought he saw a man in white confronting him. It was a Holstein cow with a white face. This was the only ghost he had ever seen.

He once saw a blue flame rise mysteriously from the ground about twenty feet high and change into a ball of fire (probably marsh gas). He felt that this was supernatural, but did not claim that it was a ghost.

VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776 Giants (tswalnaltEm) lived in the mountains. They measured about twelve feet in stature and clad themselves only in bearskins. Those of the Shuswap country, at least, smelled like burnt gunpowder. They carried little flutes, by blowing which they mimicked the sounds of birds, squirrels, and other small creatures. An old Okanagon and an old Wenatchi man once saw a giant's den, which was made of sticks.

In the wilderness dwelt also a race of dwarfs called ntsItsImasqelaŭh. Though seldom seen, they were known to have long beards, to dress like Indians, and to live in rocks or in caverns as large as log cabins. Sometimes the Indians found their tiny footprints in the woods, but to see the dwarfs themselves presaged death. They might appear suddenly to the traveller in the wilderness, who saw them jumping around and heard them singing, but they would quickly vanish as the beholder fell into a dream. If a man wanted rain, he might induce it by throwing stones into the caverns inhabited by dwarfs, but as the dust rolled out of the hole he ran away lest the dwarfs deprive him of his wits and capture him. StlElqa (stłałka or stł!alka') were a separate race of female dwarfs inhabiting the streams, which could be heard talking and laughing there.

In the hills there wandered a supernatural person called sEm'ō'laŭh (sama'ōlaŭx, from sama, "Frenchman,"*[1] and ōlaŭx, "land") or skēlEōlaŭx (from skē'lŭx, "Indian," and ō'laŭx, "land"). He was not a dwarf, but seems to have had light skin, so that after the Indians had seen the French they called him sEm'ōlaŭh instead of skēlEōlaŭx. Michel denied any knowledge of him, and said that the above words meant only "Frenchman's land" and "Indians's land" respectively.

It may have been this "Frenchman" that a Colville man, a relative of Andrew Tillson, encountered many years ago when he was hunting. Having followed a deer for nearly a week, the exhausted hunter made a fire and slept. When he awoke a man with a gun appeared and said to him, "Your deer is not very far from here, but you won't kill him. I'll follow him myself and you'll hear me shoot: in the morning you'll find him lying

[1] [For footnote, see p. 170(A), category 116.-- Analyst

p. 170 (B)

dead." The speaker had a gray horse; he gave the hunter power to get gray horses as well as to kill deer. 776

TsEatlEmŭx was an old woman who travelled through the tree tops with a baby on her back. Wherever she passed she left the trees scorched as if by fire. Her baby cried ceaselessly. Sometimes she descended to the ground, climbing on all fours and head first down the tree trunk, while neither her long hair nor her infant changed their position. Many people had seen this old woman. She did neither harm nor good, but simply moved on through the tree tops as she would do till the end of the world.

Water-monsters of unknown form infested Lake Omak and perhaps other lakes. Michel and Johnnie referred to them as "sea-cattle," though they may or may not have had horns. Michel reported that about twenty years ago some white people saw a large dog-like animal rise out of a lake and drag down a goose which they had shot. Fangs projected from its lower jaw up over its upper lip. This animal, said Michel, had never been seen by Indians. Michel's father once "saw something" under the surface of a lake, which appeared to be an animal about twenty feet long.

More specifically, a large moose with enormous horns dwelt beneath the water. He was called simply papala´tsa, "moose." He played a part in the myths and may still be alive. 776 825

Children might receive power under the water from animals called nExaxa'Itka, but this word may refer to all animals living within the lake rather than to any particular kind.

NhIthItwŭlh was a large bird about the size of a condor. No one ever saw it, but the trees rang with the great noise which it made, and when people heard it they became numb and did not feel right again till it had flown overhead. It could transform itself into any large bird, such as an eagle, or into a deer, etc.

In several instances rocks or groups of rocks were regarded as petrified people. Just below McLaughlin's Canyon, between Tonasket and Riverside, lies a large boulder or outcrop of curious shape, the remains of a man and woman who, asleep in each other's arms, were turned to stone "when the world turned inside out," that is, at the end of the mythical age. This landmark is called kItlēqōlōtpēcxIn, literally, "lying by a rock." The same thing happened to a number of people who were trapping fish at a place beyond Nespelem. Two women among them were fighting; they, as well as all those who were with them, can now be seen as rocks. This occurrence is, like the previous one, as- 776 823

776 823 cribed to a reversal of nature which took place at the beginning of the present world era. On the summit of a mountain between Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called naamtûc, literally, "set on top of a ridge." This is the woman who came bringing camas from the east, over whom the mountains fought in the mythical times when mountains were men. Indians sometimes made offerings there.

DREAMS AND OMENS

787 Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow.

787 763 Most omens foretold death. Seeing a flying squirrel (sxû'phûp) was interpreted in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter once went way up in the hills, cut down a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground- hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ô'hô'lEm (prairie dog ?,*a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Kartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Suszen was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow.

* [For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116.--Analyst]

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787 792 fifty years ago.) A young man called qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought up by his grandmother and who suffered from rheumatism in the hips. One autumn when his band moved from their camping ground at sinak'a'ilt, above Keller, qwElaskEn was too ill to accompany them, and they left him there with his aged guardian. In November he died. His grandmother, after covering his body with blankets and letting the tipi fall over on it, started out alone in search of people. After two days she found some Indians encamped near Whitestone and told them of the death. Seven days later a party went out to get his body. As they approached, they heard him singing. Not knowing whether it was he or his ghost, they asked him, if he had come back to life. He answered, "Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crippling him permanently, and he was brought to camp on a horse.

787 792 823 Thereafter he prayed and sang continuously, and exhorted the people to prayer and to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. At first they laughed at him, but in the winter about Christmas (or in the fall) — according to Cecile they were then at Kartaro — occurred a severe earthquake (hī·mompEn, lit. "the world moved"), which so terrified them that they ran to his tipi and asked him what he had seen during his death. He answered that God had warned him of this earthquake, and that if they failed to believe in God and to pray, the world would come to an end in forty days. They believed him, and following his wish to be taken to a better and more populous location they conveyed him by horse to Whitestone.

A few days later came another earthquake (two days later according to Cecile), and a great mass of rock fell into the Columbia River and caused it to overflow."[1] Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and joined a still larger settlement at EnpûxwE'lŭ^x. Now they believed: rich people asked to care for him.

787 792 776 God used to come to qwElaskEn every night in his dreams and tell him what to do on the following day. QwElaskEn assured the people that Jesus Christ was right, that he

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 173 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

himself had been to purgatory to do penance
for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had 787
returned to life to teach mankind. At one
time he told them that the end of the world 792
would come ten days later, or if not then, in
eight years. He advised them to build a 776
long house for nightly congregations, and
warned them that if they did not know how to
pray when doomsday arrived they would turn
into birds, rocks, and other non-human
things. They were very frightened and obeyed
him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased
by the loss of a girl who had run
away from fright at the time of the earthquake
and had not since been seen.

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven
young men and seven young women. At night 792
he taught them prayers and songs — prayers
somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; word- 159
less songs which resembled Catholic hymns —
so that they could teach them to others during
the day. Every night these fourteen disciples
carried torches of pitch pine when
they accompanied the master to the big house.

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

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177 eous and God-fearing life; and these prophets led special dances and song concerning the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy 796 of the coming of the white men (such prophecy being called qĒpöktaa′) and the downfall of Indian culture was a minor element and apparently of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmIpEnömt; the dreamer was s'malp'nömpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qölüncötn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

776 The "white chief," explained David, was called sEwImstwItl'n, meaning "already made," and was believed in long before the whites 787 came. He had created everything, and to him all good people went when they died. Sometimes people saw him in trances, without 796 being called on to give the Dream dance, and they prayed to him wherever they were at any time. Most prayers to him, however, were rendered at the Dream dances. They were called sqwai′lIp (this may be the name of the dance), and were wordless songs which had been heard in dreams by the prophets leading the dances. This "white chief" was probably identical with Qölüncötn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

ing very low back and forth over them. Cecile said it was almost always a two-headed goose, but that it might be bodiless with two heads and wings, or might have a body and a very long tail. 776 787 796

Lucy Joe's statement was that in the time of her grandmother, before the whites came but after the fall of "dry snow," a goose with two heads and four legs flew from the southeast, the direction from which the whites were supposed to appear. They shot it. It had two crops which they discovered were filled with wheat, which the Indians had never seen. They said, "The world must be coming to an end." This happened at nkaé´t^{kū} in the neighborhood of Okanogan. They gathered no food, so they starved. 787 796

As soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving nor the dancers changing their positions. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance, explained David, followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky, before their great white chief. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally someone had a prophetic dream during the ceremony, and at once uttered his prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight, steal, lie, commit rape, or sin in other ways, and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching, some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers.

Dancers who had come from neighboring villages returned home to eat and sleep when the dancing was over for the day; those who had come from a distance often encamped at the site of the dance. No one ate in the daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days, till the dancers, observing that the world did not come to an end, "forgot about it for a while" and resumed their normal life. Cecile stated that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer, and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended; no one hunted, fished, or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. In Johnnie's boyhood, some people became so enthralled in the dance that they did not eat for several days at a time; and once, in his great-grandfather's day, they danced for so many weeks that they neglected to lay up food for the winter, and many of them starved. But David, who had never seen a Dream dance himself, said that he had never heard of one which lasted for more than a few days. Dream dances seldom occurred in the winter. When they did they were stopped in time for

p.175(A)

712 of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

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WAR DRESS.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. [302] For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the [302]
hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as 292
well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power
to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often ~~777~~
carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or 776
scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars 173
with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, 728
and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his [777]
home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on
the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who [166]
lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. 173
They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. 567
The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They
reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. 177
After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves
and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little 567
value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not
easily be kept captive.

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As 551
among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of
males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained
directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age
in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams.
These names were believed to be connected in some way with the [776]
guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their
guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some 551
were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from
incidents in his career. 424

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are 551
not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwarane'*

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[302] The importance
to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 856
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until 861
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person 881
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially 881
those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[302] a, pp. 317-321, b, 247-250.

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When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the moon the old man or Chief *Spɛruni't'tcalt* traveled around on earth, inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote [776] had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *ƛastc'xaqs'nonxwes* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones

773 those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another
821 group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

776 DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'xmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming
[538] themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'xmqestcĭ'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'xmqestcĭ'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found. 776

GIANTS.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alêne country.

LAND AND WATER MYSTERIES.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.[217] The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards. 778

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at 538
a place called *Golxi'xstem*(?)[a], a long way up the St. Joe River. Among 778
them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top

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[217] *a*, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; *e*, pp. 598, 599; *k*, p. 276.

[a] One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alêne folklore.—G. Reichard.

5: Teit E-5 (19[illegible]930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

782 ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqᴇn*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

776/782 It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqᴇn*,[319] who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear
[533] he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

796 It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

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[319] See Thompson, A'motᴇn, a, p. 345.

535 796 FESTIVAL OR GIFT DANCE.—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the "*stle'i*" dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.[229]

WOMAN'S DANCE OR ROUND DANCE.—In late years the dance called "squaw or woman's dance," or "round dance," was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holding his arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Crée origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

WEATHER DANCES.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

GAME DANCES.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

776 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson[230] and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

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[229] a, pp. 385, 386.

[230] a, pp. 354–357.

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Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guard- 776
ians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept 778
skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms
of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflèches.[231] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian 531
spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, 778
robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in 304
a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence 531
were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian
spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was 778
believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived
directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man
who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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[231] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 3.

304 one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient
531 for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on
778 the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian
of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[223]

532 ROCK PAINTINGS.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of
778 the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

532 IMAGES OF GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Men formerly carved images of
776 their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

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Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would "know" the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge.

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered "mystery," and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

SHAMANISM.—Shamans were about the same in character as among the Thompson.[333] Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except 756

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[333] See Thompson, *c*, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, *e*, p. 603; *f*, pp. 173, 191.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted. 782 881

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the 776 881 532

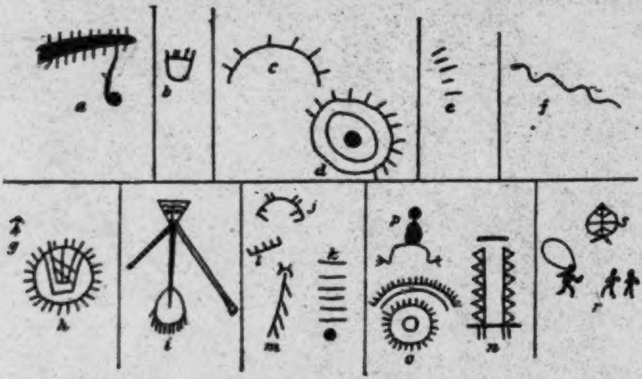

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tilia near Keremeous; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i-p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit. 776 881

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20-24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more 532 787 881

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rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for

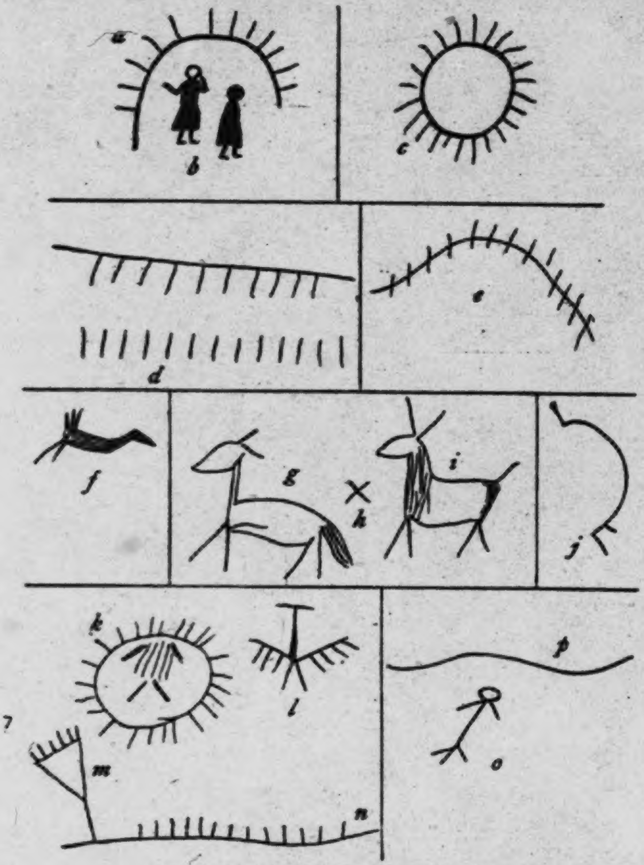

FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a–d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; a, sun on hill with trees; b, people; c, the sun; d, a count of fir needles; e, a hill with trees; f, a bird; g, a horse; h, horse trails; i, deer; j, rainbow; k, sun or earth with trees, l, m, n, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; o, p, an animal near a trail.

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imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

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At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training con-

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

773 His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

Mythology.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

776 Various Supernatural Beings.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

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796 Prayers and Observances.—The prayers and observances of the Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65–100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 135, 141–161.

put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

775 THE SOUL.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

● 776 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

756 SHAMANS.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

535 DANCES.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of

one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and food was distributed at the dances. 535

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs, in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more. 535 721

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance. 535 727

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing. 535 776 ●

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the same as among the Thompson. 535 583

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that used on such occasions by the Thompson. 535 796

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than food plants) for medicinal and other purposes: 757

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

7: Teit E-5 (1904-9) 1930 Southeast Salish
Flathead; Kalispel;
Spokane

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 764

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 772

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkᴇn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tken*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkᴇn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero. 776 ●

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

• 776 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or *171 near their sphere of influence.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as 787 among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain *171 one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained 533 one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the *171 guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the [787] novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

778 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and *171 birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting *171 like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. [756] They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

756 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were *171 similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died 000 about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of
the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulk^w) that surrounded the
land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753
lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826
had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been
the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777
no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821
dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable se-
quence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with
sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by
the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was
not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a quali-
fying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821
by thunder. 844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change
in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If
the child were a boy the first change was called skaltəmi'x^w xa'xa'', "man's influ-
ence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lx^w ilə'mȧ'skət, "woman's influence." If the
child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821
the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821
tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other 813
sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I
can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens
and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's
premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. More-
over, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of
these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may,
this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power 224 was needed for securing fur animals as for food, most men having enough general power; [777] but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa´p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224 the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was [784] allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492] pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, 231 but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They 552 were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alI´p, "coyote"; sinikstI´a, "skunk"; ckámxI´ct, "bear"; kilaûna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female 562 dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, 789 the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231 arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825] to be able to converse with dogs,

p.33(A)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[302] 292 777 776 of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

173 728 WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alène had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alène and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alène chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alène tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his [777] home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on [166] the whole Coeur d'Alène tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke 845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[297] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had [777] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[298] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[299] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[297] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. [illegible], 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

[298] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

[299] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
854 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled
597 very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 Whipping Ordeal.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson[231] until recently.

861 Puberty.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
777 certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[231] a, pp. 309, 310.

431 753 776 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterised as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 778 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 778 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a·'tləmxᵘ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wan- 776
dered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to 778
dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognized none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment.

Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (snaqaie'tkʷ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge 539
then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the 773
birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself."

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6] This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7] Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[8] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstən, and as grandfather, ťoṗi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

776
539

xananana' n···ana, etc.
(meaningless)

ťoṗi'a sxe'ləms kwi'lstən mətsaləq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xá'n i·'mát.	yaya't i·'s stsəki'nxʷ	isətχəno'mtxʷ kə'm'
I am your grandson.	Everyone who is ill,	who may be injured or

i'səts kei'lt	ulxwimi''stəməns	u'l	xali'txťəms	i't	ixtsxa'sts
sick,	they go to you	and	ask you	for	relief

u'l	xwi't'səltʷ	ixtsli'mtc.
and	you give	happiness.

yaya't	istí'm	ku'ləntəm	ə'l	təmxu·'lá	u'lku·'lənst
Everything	was	created	in	this world	and created

á·mui'	u'l	u'mənst	ákskwi'st	kwi'lstən	ku'klən
you (were)	and	called	named	Sweat Lodge,	to

xastá'ns	iske'lux	xa·'ltamxulau'
help	people	in this world.

776
782 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

779
782 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

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[8] See the origin myth, page 177.

778 782 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat," was uttered. This is reminicsent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pe'tax̣, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776 787 Dreams (ske'is, skaastsu't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenomenon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.

[10] See page 84.

[11] See page 136.

[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

Spokane Rose, a Spokane woman, had married a Sanpoil and gone to his
776 home to live. She was a great gambler. Her power was Wolf (ant'si'tcən). She
787 beat many Sanpoil men, then played with kapu's, also a great gambler. She won
everything that he owned but one horse. Then one night one of the guardian
spirits of kapu's, (ant, yellow jacket), came to him in a dream and told him that
he could win everything back. It told him what she would do and when she would
come. It was the middle of the night but kapu's got up, singing. He called some
friends and told them of his dream. They sang with him. The woman came as
predicted, to try to win his last horse, but he beat her. The others played with
her and won also. At sunset she had nothing left.

Shamans often had dreams revealing the causes of illnesses of patients and
means to cure them. Shamans also dreamed of impending dangers of a vague
776 sort. After such a dream, described as "bad" (probably a nightmare) the shaman
778 ordered all the members of his household to paint their faces, to keep on guard,
787 and to warn others. Especial care was to be taken while traveling in the hills.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932

Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

753 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in
756 the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was
found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman
776 in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'qaman. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but
776 it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance.
778 It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (ṫəki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of wexwa'xa·'lpᵋ. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named ilı'x was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4] Described on pages 189 f.

These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome." 152 778

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. Also, the commands given by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit. 754 787

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. The fact that a person had obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat. 787

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulà) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

yoke to the dress. No belts were worn with 291
these dresses until recently.

The dress was decorated with paint (colored 291
dots applied with the thumb across the
top and around the bottom) together with 531
short pieces of buckskin thong doubled and

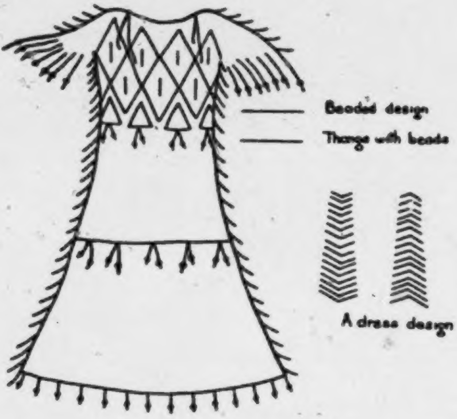

Fig. 11. Women's dress (after native sketch).

sewn on at the fold to resemble small bows.
Mary Carden denied the use of painted decoration.
Other dresses had designs made with
bone beads or embroidery of porcupine quills
along the yoke and near the bottom of the
garment (Figure 11). Various special designs
might be used by women with certain kinds of
power. For example, a woman with power [778]
against being shot would have rows of little
holes around the top and bottom of her dress.
On the whole, women kept articles indicative
of their power hidden inside the dress. A
women with the power of a swift bird might
have some of its feathers tucked into the
buckskin ties on her shoulder: when pursued
she would throw these feathers behind her.

Porcupine embroidery was said to be made by doubling the quill, slipping the ends through two holes close together. The ends were then interlocked or tied with buckskin on the under side. (This may well be questioned.) Designs used were a series of short parallel lines, squares, triangles, zigzag lines, and chevrons. Beads or shells (including dentalium shells) were sometimes attached to the fringes. The use of beads was learned from the Nez Percé.

Some notes on design styles in general were obtained from Cecile. Solid dots and concentric circles were used; the dot within a circle as a unit being unknown. Long before the earthquake (about 1870) they were

ther, fur outside, men less frequently. Mary Carden stated that capes were not made of willow bark. 292

Large robes of deer, bear, or several skins sewn together served both sexes for bedding and wraps in winter. The fur side was worn in and the outside was often decorated with concentric circles in paint or porcupine quills. (Such circular marks recall the beaded bosses on Plains belts and robes.) These were worn about the shoulders and fastened in front by means of a skin or hemp thong passing through small holes. A specimen obtained from Cecile Brooks, a Kalispel living among the Okanagon, measured forty-three by fifty-eight inches.[12] Buffalo skins for robes were traded from the Blackfeet or other eastern tribes. They were valuable: worth a horse. Other than this there was not much trading in articles of clothing. 291 513 531 [439]

These robes were spread over grass or soft bough tips in the houses for bedding. Man and wife shared the same covers. Two or three boys lay together on the father's side; girls similarly on the mother's side. The fur was placed next to the body. 513

No evidence was obtained of certain features mentioned by Teit,[13] such as robes of woven strips of twisted rabbit skin, of woven goats' wool, of dressed buckskin painted and embroidered, or finely embellished capes. Information is also lacking of Hill-Tout's[14] woman's bodice worn just below the breasts, usually of buckskin but also of sagebrush and cedar bark. 291

The usual hat was made of a strip of skin sewn into cylindrical shape with a disc fitted and sewn into the top. Wide tabs might be sewn on each side and a fox tail or something similar at the back for a pendant. This hat was apparently worn by both men and women, although Cecile stated that it was exclusively confined to men.

Coiled basketry hats[15] were worn by women on gala occasions, not as protection against the tump line. These were dome-shaped and decorated. One hat seen (Figure 13) had eight rawhide tassels at the top, a green and red stripe around the bottom, and above this a row of stepped triangles, green alternating with red. (Lucy Joe denied that basket hats were worn.) 292 285 531

A special type of hat, which could be worn only by a man with strong power, was made of groundhog fur. It consisted of a crown made of a single piece of skin, an ear flap on each side, and a visor (Figure 14). The flaps were tied under the chin with buck skin thongs. Bear claws or part of the pow- 292 778

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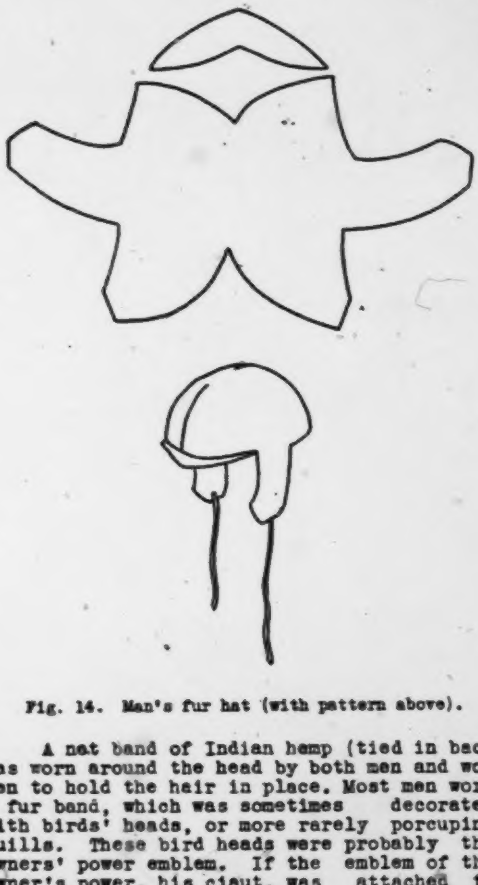
[12] Specimen in Washington State Museum, 2-279.
[13] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 231.
[14] Hill-Tout, Native Races, 68.
[15] Illustrated by Curtis, North American Indian, VIII, 64.

er animal were sewn on top or front as a 292
decoration. It was stated that if an old 778
man with strong power saw such a cap worn by [754]
a young man who lacked the privilege, he
would ask his power to kill the pretender.

A child might have a head covering of a single groundhog skin wrapped around the head and tied at the back by two buckskin strings which were permanently sewn to the skin. 291



[292
778]

Fig. 14. Man's fur hat (with pattern above).

A net band of Indian hemp (tied in back) 301
was worn around the head by both men and women to hold the hair in place. Most men wore a fur band, which was sometimes decorated with birds' heads, or more rarely porcupine quills. These bird heads were probably the
owners' power emblem. If the emblem of the [778]
owner's power, his ciaut, was attached to this head band, he could wear it the year around.

Feather bonnets were said to have been 171
introduced among the Okanagon by Sulktasẋu´sm 292
(?) about eighty years ago. (Chilowhist Jim laid their introduction to the Nez Percé

171 about forty-five years ago. He stated that
while the Nez Percé, Yakima, Spokan and
292 others had them, they were not formerly used
by Sinkaietk, Northern Okanagon, Sanpoil,
Wenatchi, Chelan, or Methow.) They were of
292 the typical Plains type. The head band was
occasionally of soft buckskin but usually of
531 woven Indian hemp, while in summer a strong
net was used, with meshes one inch apart.
The feathers, of which there were one or two
dozen, were fastened one or two inches apart
on the band, their flat sides outward. These

[302]

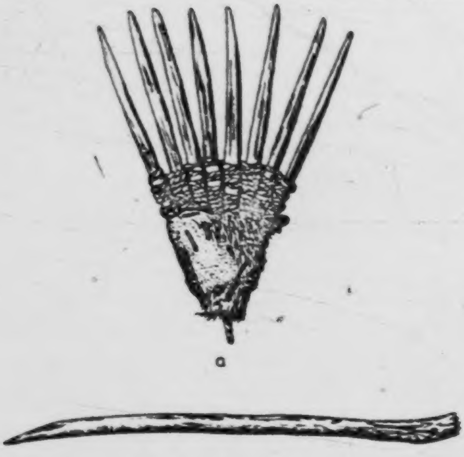


Fig. 15. Comb and head scratcher.

bonnets sometimes had trailing ends which might reach even to the ground. The lower end of each quill was cut down to a strip, which was passed through the fabric or skin of the band and doubled back to be tucked into the quill. The tips of the feathers were often decorated with tassels of horse hair or down. No other ornaments were attached.
[622] The feather bonnet was worn only by chiefs,[16]
and by them only on special public occasions
or when travelling.

293 Before the introduction of the Plains
211 bonnet, feathers were worn with the follow-
554 ing significance, according to Suszen Timentwa. Messengers wore one or two feathers
622 flat on the head. One feather indicated a single matter of business, two feathers indicated two matters of business. Scouts wore one or two feathers upright, depending on the prestige and standing of the individual. Three feathers indicated a chief. Such standardization seems highly dubious. The
[778] wearing of feathers was also connected with
power, in that an individual without the
proper power could not wear feathers without
suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.

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[16] But see Marriage Ceremonies.

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411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
531 unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
in natural color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow,
which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads
could be made only by a man with pro-
● 778] per power. The first time he used this pow-
er to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'ĭstin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rat-
278 tlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably en-
tirely psychological and its use was connect-
[821] ed with the belief that contact with a light-
ning struck tree would prove fatal. Accord-
ing to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant call-
ed stsätsExŭnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the tox-
ic element, in food. This caused slow con-
sumption.) No song or spells were known to
help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows
were kept in separate quivers, but were not
protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-272, 2-273.

48. carI'pa.
49. lŭ'plŭp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. ƐnŭkƐnI'kƐpŭtƐn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lŏxwist.
52. ənláxŭláxswa'tk^{ŭ}, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lá·x.
54. snxƐncI'na^{ŭx}.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

428 the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

428 553 If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

428 778 787 Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

626 685 There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

525 626 At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or woman.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

626 This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

45 Compare Individual Life Cycle.

46 Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 206-207.

other to take one of the blankets, but everyone was afraid. Finally one old woman took courage, got up and took a blanket. Then she stood in front of him and said, "I took your blanket, ckEtīō′cōlauh." This was the new name he was taking. Then another old woman, from Penticton, got up and took the other blanket, and a man from Similkameen took the money from one hand, then one from Kettle River that from the other; each saying the same thing as he took it. 553 574

Then his brother thanked the people that had taken the things and called him by his new name. He explained that it grieved him to hear the name that his dead mother had given him.

After three days everyone shook hands with him and called him by the name that he wanted to be called by. Then all the people left.

Sometimes it was because of his power that a man took a new name. A man picked some name deliberately because of its association with his power, or the latter might tell him to take some special name. This was announced the first time he danced at the winter ceremony. There was no feast or payment. People might call him by this name, but they seldom did. Normally a man would have but one power name, though he might have several guardians. 553 778

Sometimes a man gave himself a less formal new name. These self-applied nicknames were frequently derogatory in character, and alluded more or less esoterically to some episode in the past of the individual concerned. People who were jokesters were particularly likely to give themselves supplementary names. The extent to which such names were used by other people depended upon their aptness and their humorous qualities. Some of these somewhat slighting nicknames might be called mother-in-law names, since a man sometimes mockingly took an epithet applied to him by his angered mother-in-law as a name. Such a name became a standard subject for joking allusions. 553 522

Andrew, for instance, was originally named by his mother thūtsaa′c, "wind," while a baby; later he called himself derisively cilhwapawckEn, "big mouth;" then his power told him to change his name to kElqōt, "lies down under something."

People were actually called by any of their names. There was no name tabu of any sort. The only feeling against free use of the name of a newly deceased person was that the bereaved might be too often and painfully reminded of his loss. This was, however, not a regular tabu. 551

A name given in childhood was called ckwīct; a power name, cinōmuxckwīct.

Formal names were always those which had been used by an ancestor, and there was a strong feeling against duplication of names

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

[1][i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 Incest was exceedingly rare, according
835 to Cecile, who stated that it never occured
between parent and child. On rare occasions
a brother and sister, usually quite young,
might have incestuous relations. In this
event the parents would be so horrified that
both children would be killed. This happens
[538] often in the myths, and always the parents
are so ashamed that they put an end to the
offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl,
particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in
the mythology generally means that the tabu
was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI'lüx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might
264 share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
778 for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with
831 the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmemtô'lä^{x}. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

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* See also Social Organization.

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RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

By WALTER CLINE

POWER

771 776 778 The religion of the Okanagon expressed itself in the affiliation of the individual man or woman with a material object or class of objects, usually with an animal, bird, or insect. Their word sŭmĭx refers to this relationship, as well as to anything which functioned for a person in this way, and to the physical and spiritual potency which one possessed by virtue of this affiliation. When speaking English, the Okanagon translate sŭmĭx as "power." I shall use the word "power" for each and all of the different meanings of sumix; and, to avoid tedious repetition, shall often refer to the source of power as the "guardian spirit."

776 Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. When it manifested itself in his power-song, his whole body shook. One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or the mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid. Mary Carden explained that though the power remained with its possessor, its "spirit" wandered far. She called this "spirit" of the power, however, by the same word as the power itself, sŭmĭx. The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.

The guardian spirit seems to have been an individual rather than a class; a single beaver, for example, who built his dam on a certain stream in the woods, rather than all beavers embodied in the power vision as one. Numerous instances support this idea. Our informants explicitly stated that the same individual animal or object could endow with power several different people. But this individual usually represented the class to which it belonged, and the duties and privileges which it conferred on its human protege extended to his relations with all members of its class. A man who had power from a rattlesnake regarded all men and women who had rattlesnake power as his friendly associates. His affiliation with one visionary rattlesnake affected his attitude toward all rattlesnakes: he was immune from their bite; he could cure other people who were suffering from it.

In dreams and visions the Okanagon saw the guardian spirit more often in human than in animal form, and heard it speak their own language and sing their style of songs. In a conflict between guardian spirits, the lat-

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

776 From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object.

776 778 Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects.

776 825 Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite.

776 773 A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa′qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa′qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInÜhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power.

776 826 825 Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants.

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Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

776 guardian spirits, fearing that this might tempt another shaman to steal them or that the spirits themselves would be offended and desert him, and he did not ask another person about the latter's power. Michel said his grandmother, grandfather, and father had power, but they never told anyone about it. One' seems often to have affected secrecy about his guardian spirit in order to preserve an air of mystery and awe, and to gloss over his own uncertainty as to its real character. Not only did he always acquire his power alone, and, save for the occasions of display, keep it more or less secret, but he treasured his power emblem for his own exclusive use, and grew angry and ashamed if he heard others singing his power song except at the winter dance. This song [424 might be borrowed by his best friends, but they should sing it only when its possessor 578 was not within hearing. People sometimes 533] ridiculed a man or woman by singing his or her power song.

[626] If one lied about his power and pretended to have more than he really had, everyone else with power knew it, but the community did not punish him in any way: his failures ultimately exposed and ruined him. If one claimed falsely to have a certain guardian spirit, that spirit would kill him, or sinkwatsinóx, "the darkness of the night," destroyed him.

778 554 Far from regarding power as a purely individual matter, however, the group showed deep interest in the power of each of its members. The amount and character of power which people attributed to anyone largely determined his status in the group. After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society. According to Suszen, at least one child in every family had only weak power. This child was lazy, and on the power-quest was sleepy, hungry, cold, or indifferent to the objective. When later he tried to do something difficult, he failed because the animals did not like him and refused to help him. On the other hand, Suszen believed that in every family there was a man who had more power than the other members, and who took care of them and provided them with food.

The Okanagon regarded power as an essential cause of success. Actually, their belief in a person's power seems to have been the result of his success. Suszen, whose tendency to idealize should modify our attitude toward his statements, claimed that the people placed no faith in one's power, after its expression in the winter dance, until it had been demonstrated by material achievements, and that some did not even believe in their own, "but later found out."

778 622 Though a chief was always credited with considerable power, he did not necessarily have more than the prominent shamans and warriors of his community. Because of his position as leader, however, he was longer re-

778 622 [791] membered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

or autumn. It was much easier for a child to have the vision before puberty, for after that period he "knew everything." 776 787 If a girl began to menstruate in the fall, before going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857 until spring, she might not acquire power unless a house-fly or some other thing at home [777 endowed her. As a result of the teachings of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797] now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere, certain places and scenes were most propitious. First among these stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two prominent peaks in the tribal territory. Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823] Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no others were specified. Rock paintings, the scene of a mythical episode, a place where a deer had been killed and the bones left, an old camp site where a woman had given birth, or where a bitch had produced young, all might receive visits from children in search of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825] as guardian spirit, that animal or some trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would have the best chance to obtain deer power where deer had left their tracks or their hair, or where hunters had left a deer's horns or bones. Some even considered that such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xôtsêxil, "giving power to the son," or sôxtsExiltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the child what spirit he would meet, he equipped 776 him with the power emblem which he had cherished for many years, and the child, wearing 787 or carrying this during his search, had a 857 778

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776 better chance of receiving the power which it
represented. Thus a father having deer power
787 lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made
of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a
857 short stick. For the boy to find eagle power,
the father provided him with the tail or
778 wing feathers of that bird to wear in the
back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 When he had come home after the first
night of vigil, his people might ask him,
787 "What did you do when you got there?" He
might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then
857 sent another boy to the place to see if this
was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 Even though a man were fairly old when
he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy
533 acquired his father's guardian spirit and
power song, the father still had a right to
593 the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 Cecile said that if the father and son
had the same power, all of the father's
428 power went to the son when the father died,
or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 787 857 they had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 787 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 778 787 825 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used as a power emblem (cla'Ut). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
[821] Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.

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778
787
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[293]

The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblem when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another woman, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla´üt). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaōta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued
this command were strong creatures such 791
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert [324]
worker in stone, who received a price for it.
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn. 796 574

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

Among the properties used in the dance,[1] the central and most conspicuous was the post called nīl'pōs or tēkīkstēn or yalpostn. Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was removed to the woods and placed upright against a tree, where it was abandoned. 796 778

Mary Carden said that among her people the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient 796 778 177

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

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[1] [i.e, the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

In more recent times, at any rate, the post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called ˀcəl'acxIn, which were carried individually by the dancers. Mary Carden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow. 778 [177]

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

1/ [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.1/ People never smoked them while actually dancing, but shamans watching the ceremonies passed them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. Only those who had taken a leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit. 796 276 791

p.147 (B)

771 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with insufficient power touched it, his hand "froze"
to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
the shamans when leading the dance must come
● 778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sInkakIūs) would
leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
shamans at the offense. The latter preferred to leave the soul on the post to give himself the opportunity to cure the victim later on. If another shaman saw the soul's predicament, he might say to the shaman who had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take him away from there." The victim then stood beside the post and the shaman drew out the soul, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed whole. If no one saw the soul on the post, or if the shaman declined to take pity the offender was doomed. When the dance had ended, the post was taken up into the hills and left standing against a tree. As it dried up in summer, the person whose soul was attached to it "dried up" also. He became ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew weak, and finally died. If not too far gone, he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid by the sick man or his family. The practitioner came to the patient's house, placed his hands on him, and sang his own power song. As he sang, his power went out into the hills, drew the soul from the drying post and brought it to the shaman, who blew it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
535 stick instead of the central post held the
stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Story

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in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing. 789 796

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

Papalōt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papalōt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papalōt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sūmīx, not papalōt. Though Cecile stated that papaiot came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost. 778 787

One who heard or saw the papalōt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it. He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papalōt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papalōt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the papalōt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papalōt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papalōt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

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778 787 the papalöt was very "mean" these treatments did no good and the patient died. David explained that it killed one by stealing his power away, taking it under water or into the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

778 787 782 431 Papalöt demanded offerings more urgently than did other kinds of guardian spirits. It might, for example, tell a girl to give away many blankets, even if she had none, and unless her relatives supplied her with blankets to do this she would die. It liked to see blood; a man might help his daughter or niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papalöt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman.

778 787 In one account by Suszen, a dead ancestor's guardian spirit took a more amicable form. An old person who had never received power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papalöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papalöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

778 424 [153] Power could not be bought or sold; our informants laughed at the idea. But one person could steal it from another if his own guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. With the stolen power the thief obtained its song, which he sang when using the power for curing or other purposes. He could increase its potency by giving away property to the people at the winter dances, just as for power acquired in other ways. Power theft always resulted in the illness or death of the victim. A female shaman treating Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papalöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papałŏt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papałŏt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

778 424 doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suszen said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

789 791 A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, Swīpkīn, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqə́'n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqə́'n was curing the patient, Swīpkīn's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqə́'n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suszen declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not cooperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

[578] A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 778 791 ting them into his pipe." This probably means that he put their powers there. In one of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 778 Stories of endurance against fatigue, hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, when ice was floating down the Okanogan River at its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the canoe. He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelan became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 754 Some shamans, both men and women, had a special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō´lx. The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 it caused only a painful swelling, which a shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended
754 victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

776 778 526 Power helped people to play games. When players of two tribes came together for a match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

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off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening. 224 791 562

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwəlhûmĕst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō´s, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill. 224 791 789

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot. 224 778

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation,

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It 224 776 778

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224 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. 776 Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying 778 the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartero, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwist's grandmother, Sĭkŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stârês) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sĭkŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sĭkŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sĭkŭntalŭqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

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726 787 784 their guardian spirits. The mother, who had deer power, pulled her dress over her head and ran away naked like a deer; while her daughter, whose power was the eagle, took some eagle feathers from the inside of her dress, put them on her head, and flew away.

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

773 A passage in the Coyote tales informs us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy.

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

726 778 784 539 In comparison with the preceding instances, the following seems more dramatic as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys and their mother were camping on a ridge between Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mosquitoes. One of the boys had been sick and paralyzed for a long time, so that he could hardly move. During the night, when the old woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes [!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy.

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776 778 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the great hero sŭ'ktaskŭ′sŭm had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of qŭinmŭsq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special power of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 778 539 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spokane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known as the Red Shirt People. The former had with them as allies some Nez Percé braves from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 776 791 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people, and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

778 776 791 back to another. The horses escaped, but the maniac was bound, fumigated with xacxac root, and restored to normal life. David, the narrator, knew of no other instance of this kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior of Colville bluejay shamans when they went out to find lost things, and the repeated statement that they "turned into bluejays," indicate a much more violent form of spirit possession than occurred among the Okanagon. Johnnie recounted that those with this power turned into bluejays at a dance, which no one was allowed to leave. They would fly out through a crack in the door. They would stay naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyás (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot; reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named q!aI′Iyă would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaiöt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 791 Of all the purposes to which a Southern Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tĩa·kwĩlEx̣ designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tĩa·kwĩlEx̣ x̣al'sĩa′pEm or tĩa·qwĩ′lEx̣ xEl sx̣Ex̣Elṓs, who cured by sucking; the pöxpöxümẽlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pöxümẽmin, who cured by blowing; and the tĩa kwĩlEx xal'áspüxEm who

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

Abortion was called cxëntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxënt. Since abortion was sinful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.[4] Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumigation with certain roots.
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CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined from the shape of the roots, especially sunflower and the plant from which love medi-
789 cine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or pɫaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
825 dren by telling them that the owl (snēna') or the night-hawk (kwnōwil) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

500 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

774 177 priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sinkakiū´s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuĕpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests.

774 778 The relation of sĭnkakĭū´s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sĭnkakĭū´s came from qōlūncō´tn (God), and that the sĭnkakĭū´s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former.

754 774 778 A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sĭnkakĭū´s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sĭnkakĭū´s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its "going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sĭnkakĭū´s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sĭnkakĭū´s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case.

774 787 Each individual had only one sĭnkakĭū´s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost.

775 The land of the dead (stqema´skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife

525 were "professional" gamblers to the extent that they spent their time on little else, especially in summer when large groups were gathered at a camp site. Such individuals would travel from camp to camp, playing for stakes with anyone who chanced to be free. Power was requisite for success in gambling, more than in any other activity. The "professionals" were usually persons whose guardian spirits were especially dedicated to gaming, or to the particular sport in which the gambler excelled. In games played by teams, the leader of each team was usually a man whose power gave him supernatural aid in the game concerned. Often this leader (xatö´s, "man with power"; the same term is used for the leader of a hunting party), did not play in the game, but went aside to smoke and think of his power, in order to give his team the requisite supernatural aid. A team winning under such circumstances was supposed to have been assisted by a leader of stronger power than that possessed by the opposing leader. Betting was especially high on the side of a team known to have a strong power behind it.

525 •778 Individual players had various gambling powers. That for a racer was usually some swift animal or bird. One informant told a dramatic story of a race lost by a champion with sage-hen power because the opposing runner had been blessed by a mouse, a more insignificant but a quicker animal:

Suszen's grandfather was a good racer. He got power from sage hens and won many races. Once he went to the Inc'lI´Üm tribe to get salmon with the others. As he used to do, he looked for someone to race him and found a man for it. His people asked him what power he had, and he told them he woul say after he had won or lost. They ran and Suszen's grandfather lost. The Inc'lI´Üm man shook hands with him and said, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't think I would. When I was a young man I saw a mouse running fast. He talked to me, and told me that I was going to be a good racer. He said, 'Listen to me. I can run fast, and I will give you my power." The winner said, "Maybe your power is good, but my power beat you, yet it is only a mouse." Suszen's grandfather stopped running after this, for all the people laughed, that a man with sage hen power should be beaten by one with power from a mouse.

A player of the hand-game might be blessed by a power which told him to prepare special bones for hiding-sticks. These would insure victory for whatever side the dreamer championed. The bones must be kept away from the influence of a menstruating woman, who would draw away their power if she chanced to walk over them. This influence could be avoided by wrapping the gaming bones in buckskin and burying them in an ant hill. The strongest power for the hand-game was given by the woodpecker, who made the same sort of noise with his bill as did the gamblers beating time with their sticks during the game. A man's power might also give him, in a vision, a special song to sing at the

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hand-game. Power for wrestling is indicated in the following anecdote.

A man once easily threw a much larger Blackfoot who had taunted him. He and his party then immediately ran off for home. He had the stronger power for wrestling, despite the Blackfoot's calling on his own power by acting like a buffalo. But the Blackfoot had other strong powers. The Blackfoot called after him that he would live only long enough to see his parents. When the party reached home, the river was in flood. The wrestler saw his parents, and then, jumping into a canoe to go to them, was drowned.

Though individual players had special powers which made them valuable to their teams, gambling was not ordinarily a matter of individual winnings, as in our poker games. The presence of a champion with a strong power strengthened a team's chances, but bets were placed by watchers or players on the success of the favored team, not by the individual on his own chances, except of course in games with only two players.

THE HAND GAME

525 The hand-game (ts!la'lEqEm· or stslalErum) played by the Southern Okanagon is the common western game of lehal. It is believed by the Okanagon to be of great antiquity, and is the only pastime except foot racing which is mentioned in tales of the mythical period "when animals were men."

Two pairs of hiding-sticks were used. They were made from small sticks or bones, about two and a half inches long. One of each pair was plain, all white if of bone, or with the bark left on if small pieces of green wood were used. The second piece of a bone pair was wrapped around the middle with cord or a narrow strip of buckskin, which soon became black and served to distinguish this from the plain piece. In a wooden set, the marked piece had the bark removed in a narrow strip around the middle, leaving a band of lighter color. (These sticks were not designated male and female as elsewhere.)

To play the game, two long poles were laid parallel along the ground or floor, with a space of five or six feet between them. The players, in two teams of equal numbers, ranged themselves opposite each other behind the two poles, kneeling. Ten counters for each side, sharpened sticks about a foot in length, were stuck in the ground in the space between the poles. To begin the game, the two players first in line on one side each took a pair of the bones and, while the others of their side beat with sticks upon the long pole before them and sing a hand-game song (n·tsla'lEqEmEm or kEEnqwEntsö't, person who starts song), the holders quickly shifted the bones back and forth from one hand to the other, concealing their movements as much as possible. They then held their clenched hands out before them, and the first player opposite on the "guessing side" guessed the position of both unmarked bones.

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catches the ball, side 1 loses its turn to bat. If both miss, B_1 throws the ball back to A_1, who attempts to hit it. If B_1 hits the ball at the first throw, however, he and his partner (A_1) exchange goals. It is not necessary for the runner to reach the goal with his foot in this exchange of sides, but simply to come close enough to insert his bat in the hole while still grasping it. Meanwhile opponents on the "out" side (A_2 and B_2) try to hit or touch one of the runners with the ball before he can insert his bat into the hole toward which he is running. It is permissible for the "out" players to throw the ball to one another in this attempt. If side 2 succeeds in thus blocking the exchange of goals, side 1 loses its bat and side 2 comes to bat, side 1 now assuming the "out" positions.

Each successful exchange of goals counted one point for the side at bat. The score was kept with stick counters. For each score made by side 1 a counter was stuck in the ground. When side 2 came to bat, for each score made by them a counter was removed from the tally of side 1 until no counters were left standing; then, for each subsequent score made by side 2 a counter stick was stuck [illegible] the ground, and the process repeated. [illegible] game ended when one side made a predetermined number of points."[1]

RACING AND WRESTLING

Foot races (sk'ötlaxnEm) were a feature of summer gatherings, with much betting. A fast runner from one band would run against a champion from another locality. Races were always run to a point marked by a tree, a stake, or a rock, around this point and back to the starting place. Occasionally races were run by women, but contestants were more often boys or young unmarried men. Suszen stated that a chief who wanted to furnish amusement would race with a young man. There were no relay races."[1]

Horse races (sênkEtsasqa'x̣a) were run in the same fashion, never more than two riders racing at a time.

Wrestling (cx̣Ox̣tEnwx̣O) was engaged in by young men or women. Intertribal champions were always men, wrestling for their group at the summer camps. The combatants embraced each other; each wrestler grasping his own left wrist with his right hand behind the opponent's back. Bets were placed on the contest before the match began, after which the combatants decided how many throws were to win. "Wrestling is play."

In wrestling and racing, the strength of the contestant's power was important. When an able man was defeated, it was be-

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 191 (C), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 191 (B)

526 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

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CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlialE-wa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners.[15] Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. [854] Although bark cradles were not use for infants by the Southern Okanagon, littl girls sometimes made doll cradles which wer small models of the bark cradles used b Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pelēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sūEnūswel'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found. 776

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[15] See also ~~Mary Carden~~'s account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

Giants.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alêne country.

Land and Water Mysteries.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.[317] The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards. 778

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at 538
a place called *Golzt'xstem*(?)[a], a long way up the St. Joe River. Among 778
them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top

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[317] *a*, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; *c*, pp. 598, 599; *k*, p. 276.

[a] One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alêne folklore.—G. Reichard.

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called *Tuxt'stɛm*(?).[4] Shortly after the drowning of the sisters some people were up on this mountain and discovered the hair of the sisters on the shores of this lake. They reported this to the parents of the girls, who went there and took the hair away. After this people knew that there was a water passage between the river and the lake on the top of the mountain.

Near the head of St. Joe River is a lake called *Hinqa'mɛmɛm* ("swallowing"). When people look at it sticks jump out of the water. The Indians are afraid of this lake and never go near it. Once two brothers were traveling on a ridge above this lake. The elder brother said to the younger, "Go and bring me some water from the lake, I am very thirsty." The younger brother said, "I am afraid. No one ever goes near this lake." The elder answered, "You must go, for I shall die of thirst. You must bring me some water." The lad hurried to the lake, drew a little water quickly, and then ran back up the hill. The water followed him uphill. He hurried to his brother, put down the water bucket beside him, and then ran down the opposite side of the hill. The elder brother watched the water rise to the top of the hill, then it stopped a moment, and disappeared down the hill, catching his brother halfway down. Then it rose to the top of the hill again, and receded to the lake. When all was quiet he went over and found his brother dead. He had evidently been drowned by the water when it caught up with him.

In Coeur d'Alêne Lake there is a "mystery" in the shape of a water buffalo. Once a man was traveling in a canoe along the edge of the lake. At one place a bush grew alone near the water. As he was passing this place in the dark, all at once his canoe stood still, and, paddle as he might, he could not make it move. He could see nothing in the dark and began to feel along the sides of the canoe. He felt a horn holding the canoe on each side and then knew it was the water buffalo. He gave it a present and begged it not to harm him. Then the canoe was allowed to proceed. After this, people, when passing this place in canoes, always propitiated the "mystery" by praying to it not to harm them and not to make the lake windy. At the same time they deposited offerings, which they put down near the bush.

There were also "mysteries" at other parts of Coeur d'Alêne Lake to which the Indians made payments and asked for good weather on the lake and good luck in fishing.

It seems that people did not paint their faces specially when they passed by mystery lakes in the mountains, as the Thompson often did. At some of the high summits where trails pass and in passes in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, 538 each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places 778 large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

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[4] Now Grizzly Elk.—G. Reichard.

THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. 775 My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[218] 782 The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who [533] wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[218] a, pp. 344-350.

Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guard- 776
ians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept
skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms 778
of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflèches.[231] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian 531
spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, 778
robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in 304
a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence
were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian 531
spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was 778
believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived
directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man
who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was

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[231] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 3.

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one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[123]

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Rock Paintings.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

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Images of Guardian Spirits.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of [754] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 577 Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts[332] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

778 789 Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[332] [illegible] a, pp. 366, 367.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

776 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or
*171 near their sphere of influence.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as
787 among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain
*171 one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course
of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping
vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained
533 one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the
*171 guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not
obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the
[787] novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new
variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The
themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or
while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear,"
and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of
the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the
eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and
such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed
in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits.
There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic
nature.

778 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and
*171 birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also
charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine
cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many
men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins
of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting
*171 like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people.
[756] They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor
clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed
and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's
work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and
joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either
sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's
clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is
supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women
do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite
and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8
years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males,
and not hermaphrodites.

756 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were
*171 similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A
noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died
000 about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo
they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting
*171 ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
92 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according
to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
● [778] the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-s*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffaloes.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting
796 of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
535 down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

Men might sing in the sweathouse before starting on a hunt, at any time of year. They would sing the sweathouse song and add something like "I'll just be going around, not looking for a deer, and I'll see the biggest deer just in front of me. Sweathouse, help me to get the deer easy." A man might shake his power stick while singing, to make his bow infallible. A method of bringing a deer within reach was to "wash" one's body in the smoke of certain roots, "which makes you sick." 224 782

PREPARATION OF DEER

When a deer was killed in the woods, it was carried to camp if possible. To do this a slit was made between the bone and the tendon of each back leg, and the foreleg of the corresponding side put through it. Each foreleg had been cut and broken at the first joint, so that it would not slip back through the hole in the hind leg. The hunter's arms could then be put through the holes made by the locked legs of each side, and the deer carried on his back, its head hanging down. The head was never cut off for fear of bad luck. 224 482

If too many deer had been killed to be carried to camp, which was frequent, they were skinned in the woods. The head and the four legs were cut off, the two sides of ribs cut off, then the backbone cut in two at the base of the neck. The work was done with stone knives; sometimes with a round blade, sometimes a long blade. The nine pieces were left hanging from the trees in summer time, hooked on dead branches which had no ants, since live branches would flavor the meat. The flies would not eat the meat after it had dried. In winter when there were no flies the meat would be left on large flat rocks under fir boughs and small rocks to keep away the coyotes. This was preferable to hanging it, but could not be done in summer since the maggots and flies would eat the meat where the boughs touched it. This meat would be brought into camp in no hurry: it would keep. It would be all wrapped in the skin to be carried and the ends of the four legs tied together so that the arms of the man could be put through these and some part put over his head as a tump line. The Thompson similarly cut their deer into nine pieces.[11] 224 251 [482]

In preparing the deer in either case the blood was always saved, for the Indians tried never to waste any of the edible parts of any animal, even in times of plenty. To do this the intestine was taken out as soon as the belly of the deer had been cut, before skinning, turned inside out like a stocking, and the blood scooped into it by hand. As the viscera were removed they were put into the large intestine, after which, when more blood had gathered, this was also poured into the small intestine. Care was taken during the rest of the butchering to save all 224 251 262

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[11] Teit, Thompson Indians, 248.

p.21 (A)

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 • [782] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

881
785 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest,
which took place when the boy was nine to
866 twelve years old.

881
841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According
881 to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths,
● [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants
881 said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 ● 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqûntEmI´····n   sEnqEqÛlÛxtsI····n
Help me   Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

çenqEqûntEmI´····n   sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me   Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881 825

> While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote."

p. 111 (A)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of 782
salmon to the people.

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as 881
to allow these to fall out. This sets the pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."* Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brewster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's 773
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the 841
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

cooking was done by women: it was a disgrace 462
for a man to cook unless he was hunting
alone. But both sexes gathered firewood.
Aside from cooking, the cares of the household were not great, as pots and mats were not cleaned, and only occasionally was the floor swept with a bundle of twigs. Clothes were usually used until they were worn through, not much effort being expended on cleaning them, though clays were known which could be used for this purpose.

This is Mary Carden's description of 512
the start of an ordinary day:

The women arose early; in the winter before daylight. They woke the big girls, to help cook, and the boys, to get the horses for the men. Little children were allowed to sleep as long as they liked. Women turned over the log to start the household fire afresh, then went down to the river for a swim, and to fetch a basket of water. Children, too, swam as soon as they got up. [Boys were supposed to have returned from swimming before the girls went.]

Then the breakfast was cooked in bas-
kets of pine bark, while the men bathed in 512
the river. Soon the meal was ready; this the
family ate off tule mats spread on the 264
ground, each family about its own mat. Be-
fore eating they prayed to Kŭlĕnsŏ´tn; some
old man would ask for help for them all [782]
through the day. The women of each family
placed a bit of their best food in the little basket before him. He said a few words which the people repeated. Then this food was passed around so that all might share the tidbits.

Of ordinary food, each family ate its own. There was no eating together except at formal feasts. The women served the men before themselves. [There were no regular seating arrangements and no regular places even for the heads of the families. However, the women and older girls sat near the fire so that they might reach the food to pass it about. If a man wanted anything he would ask for it as abruptly as he pleased and a woman would fetch it at once.]

Solid food was placed on the mat and soups were served in baskets, from which all helped themselves with individual elk horn or wooden spoons. [There was no tradition for modestly refraining from taking the choicest bits.] After the meal the women shook and brushed the food mats, rolled the cooking utensils in them and piled them with the baskets in the storeroom either side of the door. If there was more than a single family in a tipi, each had its allotted space for dwelling, and there the articles were kept.

During the day the people might be busi- 512
ly engaged either at camp or away from it, or 521

778 membered by posterity than were they. Shamans
were simply those men and women whose
622 power enabled them to practice curing as a
profession. They were not necessarily richer
than ordinary people and they lived in no
[791] special manner, though they were often fairly
opulent and, if male, had more wives than
other men. Their houses might be somewhat
larger than ordinary, but, according to
Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those
of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances.
When a great shaman lay dying, many
people came to see him, and a storm might
arise and lightning strike near the house.
His corpse, however, was not treated in any
special way.

776 There were special ways and occasions
for one to announce his power. Two men on
778 confidential terms might talk to each other
about their guardian spirits, and watch each
other paint symbols of them on a large rock
in the hills. One of the men later told people
that his comrade had painted these to
show his power. When one had performed some
special feat, as in hunting or war, he might
declare his power to those who had witnessed
the deed or benefited by it.

At the winter dance a person with power
776 had opportunity to display it, and the audience
and other participants, glad to behold
778 such a demonstration, contributed gifts to
the performer. They sang his power song
796 with him, probably to assist him to control
his guardian spirit; and commented among
themselves on the first performance of a novice,
perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy
got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder
where he got it from." During the dance,
the dancer voiced his wish for the popular
welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return
considered his audience as friendly helpers.
If he was the host, he entertained them with
lavish hospitality and after the dance they
received the gifts which had been bestowed
on the dancers. Guests who had come to the
dance from far away received a larger share
of gifts than did those from nearby and if
there were not enough gifts to go around,
they had the preference. Suszen told us
that the host thus rewarded his guests for
helping him to dance and sing.

776 People who had power from the same kind
of animal or object "knew it as soon as they
778 met, without telling each other." Ideally
they never quarreled among themselves, but
578 worked and fought in unison. These beliefs,
when we consider that such people must often
have clashed, give further evidence of the
vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

To some extent, power was identified
776 with the social group. The goods distributed
at the winter dance were offerings to the
431 power or powers there represented. The
guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its
● 782 protégé, who then bestowed them on the people;
and feeding the community, especially
796 the very young and very old, was the same as
feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the peo-
ple even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her af-
fectionate father or uncle helped her by cut-
ting a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as reli- [838]
gious worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with im-
punity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one in-
stance where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in ques-
tion, whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-
weir, an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians ad-
mired, feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either
by accident or design, was called sŭksŭmix. 857
The word for the power quest was tsŭntsŭt or
tsŏntlŏt. A child might make repeated at-
tempts for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

778 787 the papalöt was very "mean" these treatments did no good and the patient died. David explained that it killed one by stealing his power away, taking it under water or into the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

778 787 782 431 Papalöt demanded offerings more urgently than did other kinds of guardian spirits. It might, for example, tell a girl to give away many blankets, even if she had none, and unless her relatives supplied her with blankets to do this she would die. It liked to see blood; a man might help his daughter or niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papalöt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman.

778 787 In one account by Suszen, a dead ancestor's guardian spirit took a more amicable form. An old person who had never received power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papalöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papalöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

778 424 [153] Power could not be bought or sold; our informants laughed at the idea. But one person could steal it from another if his own guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. With the stolen power the thief obtained its song, which he sang when using the power for curing or other purposes. He could increase its potency by giving away property to the people at the winter dances, just as for power acquired in other ways. Power theft always resulted in the illness or death of the victim. A female shaman treating Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to this cause.

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papalöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

the ordinary winter dance: the two were never combined. 796 787

Suszen described a "prayer-dance" or "thanksgiving dance" called skōūm, which had a somewhat special character. This was held at any time of year when the people wished to pray and to solicit help from God, or after a plentiful season of hunting, fishing, and food gathering. The prayer was sung, and had the following content: "Qōlūncōtn, you helped me in the beginning and gave me everything in the country to live on, with the medicine of my body to follow your words all the time. I'm glad of that. I'm always think about you, to follow your good words. I'm always trying to do good and not to be bad. Help me to be good and not to forget your good words to me. You gave the creatures full power before me." After the prayer the participants ate and a few of them stood up and talked about the good old days. This may have been a phase of the firs- fruits ceremony described under the food quest. 782 796

There was also a "confession dance," distinct from the prayer dance and the ordinary Dream dance. It was called sqwaI'Ilūx. Mary Carden said that when her grandmother was sixteen a star fell to earth with a noise like thunder. This suggested to the Indians that the world was coming to an end. They gathered in the largest house in the village, where the chief, with a stick in his hand, exhorted them to lead better lives, his sermon being repeated to them by a man selected for this purpose. Young and old stood in a circle around the chief, swaying rhythmically with loose knees and moving their right hands from and toward their bodies. As the chief confessed his own sins, the spokesman repeated his statements to the people. Then, pointing to each individual in turn, the chief cried, xō'yanōwI^x, "Now you!" and the person designated also confessed. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights, with short intervals for rest. It was the first "confession dance." Thereafter it was held whenever an earthquake, falling star, or other strange cosmic phenomenon frightened the community, or when a man had dreamed that doomsday was near. It was continued "till they got over being scared." Mary declared that they might "set aside a certain day each week" for the dance, till the panic had subsided, and that such an occasion might arise at any time of the year. Suszen said that each dancer in turn stood in the center of the circle, holding a handful of twigs or little sticks. (Mary denied knowledge of this.) As he threw each of these to the ground, he said, "This sin (naming the sin) I have no more. I will do such-and-such no more." Suszen illustrated this phase of the dance by strutting up and down, throwing his head back as he cast each twig to the ground and repudiated each of his sins — which, however, he did not specify. David, of the Northern Okanagon, had not heard of the "confession dance," but admitted it might have been held in the southern part of the valley, and suggested that the

782 796 sticks might have been cast away to avert the end of the world.

796 751 The Dream dance prophecies functioned in a special way during the smallpox epidemic. A certain man who, it was specifically stated, had no power, dreamed that he saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog" over the villages, killing people as it passed. Then he sang, though he did not dance, and all his relatives were saved.

782 Suszen gave far more importance to prayers (sk'aũm; compare the word for the "prayer dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said people prayed to Qõlũncõtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these prayers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qõlũncõtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

773 539 The Southern Okanagon believed that the universe had been created by the supreme god qõlũncõ'tn. This idea, however, may have come to them from Christianity. They had no story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale, assumes the existence of qõlũncõ'tn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story, these beings received from qõlũncõ'tn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qõlũncõ'tn) first finished the world and had made everything in it, nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth. Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid

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ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gathered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular (suto'xmdxaks) and elbow (mme'mcuctan) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

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The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gathering place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

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[7] See page 54-55.

DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[8] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstən, and as grandfather, tọpi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

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xananana' n···ana, etc.
(meaningless)

tọpi'a sxe'lems kwi'lstən mətsələq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xá'n i·'mát. yaya't i·'s stsəki'nxᵘ isətʂəmo'mtxᵘ kə'm'
I am your grandson. Everyone who is ill, who may be injured or

i'səts kei'lt ulxwimi'"stəmans u'l xali'txtəms i't ixtsxa'sts
sick, they go to you and ask you for relief

u'l xwi't'saltᵘ ixtsli'mtc.
and you give happiness.

yaya't isti'm ku'ləntəm ɛ'l təmxu·'lá u'lku·'lənst
Everything was created in this world and created

á·nui' u'l u'mənst ákskwi'st kwi'lstən ku'klən
you (were) and called named Sweat Lodge, to

xastá'ns iske'lux xa·'ltamxulau'
help people in this world.

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782 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

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782 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

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[8] See the origin myth, page 177.

778 782 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat," was uttered. This is reminicsent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pa'tax, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776 787 Dreams (ske'is, skastau't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenomenon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.

[10] See page 84.

[11] See page 136.

[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

538 778 in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

775 THE SOUL.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

782 PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[318] The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. [533] They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Pray-

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[318] a, pp. 344-350.

782 ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqxn*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

776 782 It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqxn*,[illegible] who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear [533] he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

796 It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

[illegible] See Thompson, A'motkn, a, p. 345.

861 elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

● 782 881 PUBERTY.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[6] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

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[6] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted. 787 881

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the 776 881 532

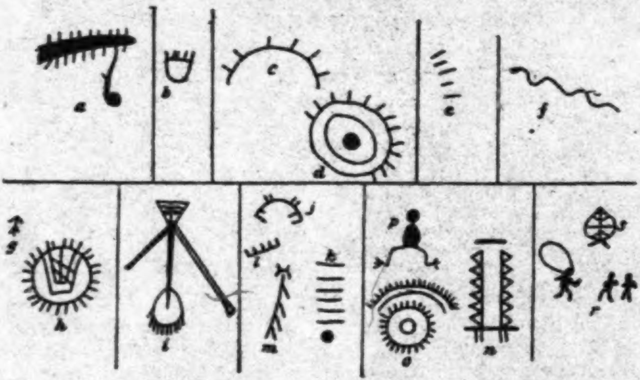

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tlila near Keremeos; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i-p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit. 776 881

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20-24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more 532 787 881

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[2] 771 796

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth." [755]

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said. [825]

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting. 224 782 ●

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They 731 796

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[2] See Thompson, c, pp. 349, 352.

83[illegible] Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a tumpline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named taxpa'ikst was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

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775 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

763 783 775 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity after his death.

764 A corpse was never allowed to remain indoors for a moment. Immediately upon determining that death had come the body was wrapped in deer hide and taken to the woods or a nearby thicket where it was deposited in the limbs of a tree or in the brush where it was safe from molestation by animals. If it were left in the house the lonesome spirit or spirits of the man might enter some person present and make him ill. If it were necessary to keep the body overnight before burying it someone stayed up all night in the house to keep the spirits and ghost (disembodied soul) from entering the dwelling.

Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

756 764 Friends and relatives followed the pallbearers. In the company was always at least one shaman. His presence was not solicited—he went of his own accord—but his attendance was necessary to a proper burial. It was one of the unshirkable duties of every shaman to officiate at funerals—and one for which he received no compensation. Upon reaching the burial grounds the body was placed near the open grave. If the digging had not been completed that was done before the ceremony started. The grave diggers remained for the rite.

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783 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

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784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Barks) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

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775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

251 417 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 262 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 784 825 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had done. The men must then sweat and prepare ● [783] their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

881 785 866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

881 841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cat-tail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 881 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as 881
to allow these to fall out. This sets the pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with
power he would be harmed, and might punish 881
her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783●
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

p. 111 (B)

783 man's luck and power: her pollution would be
permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with
841 green grass on which to lie were put in a
pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute
for the customary sweat bath. They were not
allowed to take back to the village the
[296] clothes they wore during this time. These
were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and
left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought
them by girls to don after a sweat bath and
a bath in the river, taken before returning
841 to their ordinary life. They were not al-
lowed to cook, even for themselves. Food
was brought to them from the village, and
none of it might be left till the next day or
brought back to the village. Anything but
bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten,
and possibly the first of the camas or berry
crop. They were not supposed to drink di-
rectly from a stream, lest it dry up. The
drinking tubes used were made by pushing the
pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should
not comb their hair during the period, but
could scratch the head with their fingers.
Women in their periods could not help men in
any way, nor would men look at or talk to
them. Should a man eat anything cooked by
them, he would sicken, lose his power, and
game would flee from him. While a woman
with a small baby might take it to the lodge
with her, older children were left in charge
of the husband or some relative or neighbor.
At the lodge a woman busied herself with mak-
ing mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to
use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the
boys accompanied the men on their hunting
883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pur-
suits. The first kill of a deer (and of a
[E 24] bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was wel-
comed by the community and ceremoniously
treated. He himself did not eat of it, but
all the old men did (or at least he did not
eat until the old men had partaken). This
was for the sake of his future luck in the
hunt. At this time the lad was in the neigh-
borhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls
stayed at home, going abroad only when chap-
eroned by some older female relative, except
early in the morning before the boys were up
when they went to sweat, swim, and get the
water for cooking. They were supposed to
swim every day. They became acquainted with

842 When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves.

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

292 839 Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft.

783 ● 834 Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them.

838 [773] Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women.

548 834 In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family.

838 Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor.

833 At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.)

p. 119 (B)

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca'sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

● [783] Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. -- Analyst]

796 535 and determined how many nights the dance should last. He and his power were the center of interest. Apparently two people could act as hosts on the same occasion, for Michel described a dance given by a man and a woman, at which the woman was the first to sing.

The interpreter (cöxqElpItEm or tlspItum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte. 1/A

1/A [Cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called ç'Inöücöltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxöulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 533 535 When they had gone around the room once in this way, the host stood up, grasped the central post and danced around it, holding both feet close together and advancing slowly forward in short jumps, with knees slightly bent and feet falling flat on the ground. In doing this he shook the post rhythmically so that the rattles hanging on it were brought into play. As he danced, he sang. Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

nökënspâlsq'ë´lxwa
So I can kill deer, 515
ɬati´sak'latsI´nEm
Deer. 788
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences. 515 783

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.*[1] 776 177

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI´p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qölüncö´tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qölüncö´tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst

343 515 need from the stream first, so as not to be present while the women swam.

343 515 783 The sweat house song was invariable sung by all who entered the lodge. Each person usually prayed also (addressing the sweat house as ta'tö'pe, greatgrandfather) for additional strength and luck to attain his desire at the moment, such as success in the hunt or in love. The sweat house was important for success in gambling. An individual intending to play in any gambling game remained in the sweat house for some time, singing and praying for good luck. Prayers were often improvised to the tune of the sweat house song. After the sweat the gambler was required to take a swim, as this completed the physical cleaning and it was believed that cleanliness brought good luck.

If a woman entered or approached the men's sweat house, its strengthening influence was supposed to be destroyed. When an important issue was at stake, such as a hunt or a session of gambling, several sweats were taken, and women were avoided until after the activity in question was over. Sexual intercourse at such a time, or nocturnal emission, was supposed to counteract the beneficial effect of a number of sweat baths, and to lessen a man's chances of success accordingly. If complete sexual avoidance were observed, a sufficient number of sweat baths previous to a game were supposed to make success inevitable. If a man took forty or fifty sweats before going on a summer gambling trip, it was believed that the sweat house might allow him to lose almost everything he owned, but would eventually give him back all his losses and a great deal more.

p. 194 (A)

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. [476] He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five [462] at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally 226 among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, 476 a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered 624 in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself.

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the 226 women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from 624 the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching 784 nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied 841 to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
741 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

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A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'ləm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control. 224 624

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.) 224 784 [784]

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter. 224 484

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

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[1] See page 179.

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sətsəntukui'ltxʷ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival. 843

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come. 152 861 843

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish. 262 578 843

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to 784 843

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

784 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both 843 the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 843 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 842 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltxᵘ) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'uxten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52 was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848 many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854 granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 953 tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757 specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784 such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but 854 weaker.[5] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846 body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854 for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[5] See pages 215 f.

preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden. 881

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, 787 guardian spirits were often obtained. 881 This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during 262 each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutən) in a small hut of tule mats 841 somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. 881 A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating 784 woman (siu·'kantcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues 841

784 841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sastan, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 832 836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kᵉ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a··yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai··kwenzaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

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[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

765 783 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

765 784 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife. If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Berks) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 775 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent, 302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight 765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

226 796 171 While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coast tribes).

226 796 825 The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast.

226 796 784 825 Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish.

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

P.17(A) [7] Gunther. A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony.

mon from entering the trap of a person with 000
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the riv- 796
er, they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784 ●
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, 825
they would become strict again.

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of
trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The
fact that the men were naked while building
the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of ma-
ple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about
the end of the penis as protection from the
poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon
creation myth, in which the first weir is [773]
said to have been built by two bird sisters,
far down the Columbia River. Coyote took
this away from them and gave the same sort of
weir to the people all the way up the river
and its tributaries, saying that they should
obey his laws and follow his directions in
the building of weirs and catching of salmon.
One of these injunctions was that the men
were forever to keep weirs and fishing away
from the women. In this regard the tabu is
similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could
they be a survival from the hypothetical
days when men monopolised control over the
food, and subjugated the women? Are they con-
nected with fear of blood, associated with
women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ōq'ōmū′s) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they
sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the
larger catch was in May, when traps were set
at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old
men: women dried the catch which was traded [462]
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

p.17 (B)

251 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking
417 the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that
262 it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first
● 784 three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were
825 dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had
[783] done. The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa´wɪ), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxɪ´ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kɪlau´na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power was needed for securing fur animals as food, most men having enough general power; but if a man had poor luck he would dance, sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck would be pitied by his relatives and an older one might help by telling how the trapping should be done, but of course no one could approach an older man to ask this. He had to wait for this help. 224 [177]

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kĕkawa´p) in deer hunting has been described above. 231

Dogs were treated carefully and only the best were ever used. They are never spoken to in camp today, and the idea of petting them is ridiculous to these Indians. They were trained as pups to follow the scent by being brought along on small hunts by their owners, and having their heads held in a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and bear meat would be tied about their necks, or the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on their noses. They were taught not to bark until a deer was brought to bay, since this would scare the other deer. Before a serious hunt they would be tied up for several days, beyond the range of camp smells, in little shelters with deer skins for them to lie on, and given very little food. They might be taken into the sweat house, where men with appropriate power would blow into their noses to give them better scent. No woman was allowed to handle them. They were not castrated. Dogs were not used as draught or pack animals. 224 [784] ● [492]

The dogs were about as big as coyotes, but with short legs. Their colors were black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, Trees, or more generally animal or bird names, according to fancied resemblances in the dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that probably only male dogs were named and always for animals: cinq!alI´p, "coyote"; sinikstI´a, "skunk"; ckâmxI´ct, "bear"; kIlaŭna, "grizzly bear." Every dog knew its name, but they were called by saying "come here" or whistling or making a kissing sound. If a female dog was lost, in chasing game or what not, the owner would make a little digging stick and say, "Come back: think about your digging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and arrow would be made. Children were supposed to be able to converse with dogs, 231 552 562 789 231 [825]

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's 431
power angry. The spirit might command a
girl to dance and give blankets to the people 782
even though she had none to give, and if
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired, feared, and often followed. As we have seen, however, certain vices hindered a young person from acquiring power. These were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called sŭksŭmix. The word for the power quest was tsŭntsŭt or tsŏntĭŏt. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 ●784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Carden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

776 784 262 animals told their human wards not to eat certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only to cases in which the guardian animal had been killed by the individual who had its power. Subsequent failure in hunting was the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

784 776 If a menstruating woman came too near a man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

776 784 753 The spirits became very angry at disobedience and if the offense were repeated they might desert their wards entirely. By failing to obey his power, one might incur the worst physical afflictions; might become ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

796 776 787 431 In the dream described above,[1] the spirit commanded the individual to distribute gifts among the people and to give his first winter dance. It is not clear whether he always fulfilled both commands at the same time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

776 787 574 Suszen outlined as follows the conduct of the individual after the dream. As soon as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang his power song, in which his family might

[1] [Cf. 792(B), category, for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

791 tional, and one informant stated that women
791 never touched the post. If a person with insufficient
power touched it, his hand "froze"
[illegible] it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen,
however, with his theoretical turn of mind,
explained that a man with absolutely no
power could not be harmed by doing this,
since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except
791 the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone,
778 with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sInkakIūs) would
784 leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the
774 shamans at the offense. The latter preferred
to leave the soul on the post to give
himself the opportunity to cure the victim
later on. If another shaman saw the soul's
predicament, he might say to the shaman who
had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take
him away from there." The victim then stood
beside the post and the shaman drew out the
soul, rubbed it once or twice between his
hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed
whole. If no one saw the soul on the
post, or if the shaman declined to take pity
the offender was doomed. When the dance had
ended, the post was taken up into the hills
and left standing against a tree. As it
dried up in summer, the person whose soul
was attached to it "dried up" also. He became
ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew
weak, and finally died. If not too far gone,
he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid
by the sick man or his family. The practitioner
came to the patient's house, placed
his hands on him, and sang his own power
song. As he sang, his power went out into
the hills, drew the soul from the drying
post and brought it to the shaman, who blew
it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-stick
535 instead of the central post held the
535 stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
776 the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Story

224 776 778 did not resist him when he walked up to it and stabbed, shot, or clubbed it to death. Mary Carden's uncle used his grizzly power when hunting a bear which had been worrying the women. He painted his face with a design representing the claws of the grizzly and rode forth on his horse attired only in a breech-clout and singing his power song. The bear threw him down and mauled him, but his power saved his life.

226 778 Power was often brought into play at the fisheries. Michel's father told the people during a winter dance that he intended to go salmon fishing near Malott. When the season came they all helped him to make the weir. People came from Nespelem, Kartaro, Sanpoil, and near Chelan. After they had caught a few salmon, dried them, and distributed them among the families, the salmon stopped running. Most of the fishermen then moved away, leaving only a few at the weir. Michel's grandmother, who had salmon power, cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just "thought about her power" and went away. Very late that night the salmon began to run again and by the next morning they had filled the weir. The people took them out, but salmon came up abundantly for several days afterward.

Lucy Joe told the following anecdote which, she said, shows that the people long ago really did have power. Nmaskwist, her father's sister's son, once made a salmon weir at Malott. At first it was unproductive. Nmaskwīst's grandmother, Sīkŭntalŭqs, said, "I'm going to the weir." She walked along the weir to the opposite bank of the river and lay down there. Soon after sunset she heard the kingfisher (stârēs) flying over the camp. She thought, "Now we're going to eat." She lay there and slept. The salmon came. By daybreak a great many had been caught in the weir, and she called to the people, "Your weir is going to overflow." Then the fishermen all ran down with their spears and other equipment, without stopping to put on their shoes, and took out two hundred salmon. When they had got these, the weir broke. Sīkŭntalŭqs took off her moccasins and went swimming just above it. The people said to her, "What's the matter with you? You shouldn't swim up there." But that was her power. She replied, "I was the one that made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." When other camps heard that the fishing was so good there, they came from Nespelem, Similkameen, and other distant places. In the evening Sīkŭntalŭqs lay down again and "fixed the weir." In the morning a kingfisher was found dead on the bank, and the weir was full of salmon. The kingfisher must have been Sīkŭntalŭqs" guardian spirit. When she sang, she said, "I'm an eagle and its little sister, the kingfisher."

[562 784] Though women should not come within half a mile of a salmon weir, those who had salmon power, or who were attended by a man who had such power, could do so with impunity.

P-160 (A)

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Young children never used the sweat house. There was no ceremony connected with a child's first sweat. He was allowed to join the men in the lodge as soon as it was thought that his physical strength was sufficient.

Contests were engaged in by men to see who could stay in the sudatory for the longest period. Women do not appear to have held similar competitions.

One sweat house song was known to all. It might be sung by men or women. An individual often had an additional sweat house song which had been taught to him by his power.

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Although it is probable that the sweat house was ordinarily no more than a social gathering place for groups of one sex, it was certainly regarded as a spirit which could be propitiated or angered. Any irreverence was promptly punished by the sweat house itself. An illustration of this punishment is the story of J., who, at the age of fifteen, becoming annoyed because he was not able to light the sweat house fire, kicked the stones in the fire-pit, scattering them. Upon returning home he was struck with severe pains and lay ill for a week, until a relative discovered that the illness had been inflicted by the offended sweat house. He cured the boy by the customary shamanistic methods, warning him never again to offend the lodge in any manner. The seriousness with which J., who is half white, now recounts the story, and the care which he still takes to pay reverence before every sweat, is an indication that the sweat house is still sacred.

p. 194 (B)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[220] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[221] 784

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes. 801

DANCES AND CEREMONIES, FIRST-FRUITS CEREMONY, OR HARVEST DANCE.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqɛn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqɛn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time. 796

PRAYING DANCE.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[222] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqɛn* or *Amū'tɛp*, and also as "chief." 535 796

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[220] a, p. 349.

[221] See Thompson, a, p. 348; Shuswap, e, pp. 619, 620.

[222] a, pp. 351-354; e, pp. 603-605; k, pp. 283-285.

169 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals 221 behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsüwI'st^{n}.

•785 When a boy's voice changed, his fathe sent him away from camp for a period varyin 866 from three days to a week or more. The bo usually spent this time on the top of 881 mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

881 ●785 866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

881 841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 881 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

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796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot.[illegible] * The ceremony was called cqEpö'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skūm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. ● [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

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796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SüIpEqë n after a dream.[illegible] * His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

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796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

* [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'ləm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

881 preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden.

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

787 881 During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

262 841 881 Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutan) in a small hut of tule mats somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

784 841 The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating woman (sku·'kantcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a
775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that
which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned
off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body
without causing death. The native term for this concept was sauxapi'uts. When
the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land
of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was
that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as
existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena.
It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests.
Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could
not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as
one's sumi'x^a. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear
or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation
from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken
by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a
secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final
category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons,
evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus
was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with
the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
253 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Unconsciousness,
787 however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not inconsistent
828 with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness
was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà·'t,
"dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

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[1] See pages 149 f.

778/782 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat," was uttered. This is reminiscent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pa'taq, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776/787 Dreams (sku'is, skustsu't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenomenon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.

[10] See page 84.

[11] See page 136.

[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

776 787 Spokane Rose, a Spokane woman, had married a Sanpoil and gone to his home to live. She was a great gambler. Her power was Wolf (ant'si'tcan). She beat many Sanpoil men, then played with kapu's, also a great gambler. She won everything that he owned but one horse. Then one night one of the guardian spirits of kapu's, (ant, yellow jacket), came to him in a dream and told him that he could win everything back. It told him what she would do and when she would come. It was the middle of the night but kapu's got up, singing. He called some friends and told them of his dream. They sang with him. The woman came as predicted, to try to win his last horse, but he beat her. The others played with her and won also. At sunset she had nothing left.

Shamans often had dreams revealing the causes of illnesses of patients and
means to cure them. Shamans also dreamed of impending dangers of a vague
776 sort. After such a dream, described as "bad" (probably a nightmare) the shaman
778 ordered all the members of his household to paint their faces, to keep on guard,
787 and to warn others. Especial care was to be taken while traveling in the hills.

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on 776
similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative.
No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in 787
this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young
man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary.
Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain
a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on
the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory [562]
life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however,
thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited
opportunities for achievement.

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most 787
often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the
time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary 861
to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even 787
in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker

787 was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear, than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common. The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful. A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after 787 881 a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realized more and more the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits were found near the time of puberty.

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it *was* a dream experienced *in* sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

159 787 John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom

answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by the women. You will be sharp-eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat. 159 787

Bear, when a boy, was seeking a spirit. He saw someone sitting on the top of a mound of earth. It was Cricket. Cricket said, "You see, I am sitting on top of a mountain. With one leap I'll jump down to the valley below. Then I'll spit blood. You will do the same thing." Cricket jumped down and continued, "Now whenever you get hurt, you can let out blood also, and it will cure you."

Another boy met Eel. Eel said, "When you grow up you will be able to swim long distances under water. You can dive down on one side of a lake and come up on the other."

At another time Bear was seeking a spirit on the shore of a lake. He came upon a dead horse. The Horse said to him, "You see, all of the trails lead to this lake. All of the animals come here to feed upon me. The birds do the same. See all of the feathers they have dropped around me. All of that is my property. When you are a man you will have the same luck."

A lad on a quest met Magpie who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same with you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said; "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time.

A boy sent to play the stick game usually received gambling power if he were successful in his quest. After playing a while, the rocks which represented the other players assumed human forms and, after asking what he was doing, proceeded to play with him. Later one spoke, gave the boy power and a song, and once more became rock. 787

The lad who properly carried out the instructions for diving was supposed to find a large house far below the surface. This is suggestive of the coast belief in spirits that lived like men in houses under the water. But what happened after the house was discovered I could not learn for none of my informants had had such an experience or knew of anyone who had. It was simply one of the traditional forms. There may have been others of similar nature but they were not common.

It was not always necessary to go in search of a spirit in order that one might be obtained. They often appeared when least expected. The case of a crippled girl is illustrative. She had never been out of sight of her house, so difficult it was for her to get around. Once while she was alone there appeared a handsome young man with a green hat. It was Mallard Duck. He told the girl that she would be

able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, 787 and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them.

Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the 756 same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of 787 bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song.

John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the 157 Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came 756 upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or 787 when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird.

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lxʷ, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, taptcani'tkʷ, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an 767 old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance, 787 for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xʷ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (paga'int) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1]

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

776 787 Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa'"kntən, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3]

776 885 The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life.

753 756 776 The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutake'lamsásumixʷ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion.

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[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome." 152 778

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. Also, the commands given by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit. 754 787

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. The fact that a person had obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat. 787

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulá) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

771 776 787 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[5]

538 787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsatsaltɑ'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[6] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (stɑxka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[5] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[6] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'lam) or rest period of equal length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two. 534 535 796

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a---." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later. 431 796

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent. 756 796

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (skluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others. 756 787 796

These visions followed a definite form. The guardian spirit of some outsider would appear to the shaman. He would perceive very clearly the location of the spirit and of its owner and the actions and intentions of both. Whenever a spirit was seen in such a manner it was possible to "steal" it from its owner and appropriate it for the shaman himself or anyone else at the dance, providing the powers of the shamans engaged in the procedure were strong enough. The following account, given by John Tom, illustrates well the nature of the shamanistic performance: 756 787 796

> A dance was being held at Whitestone about 1890. Both John Tom and Bob Covington were present. For two nights they danced without anything happening. On the third night ku'ləmtxənii, the shaman in charge saw the spirit of a hunchbacked gambler. He didn't say anything that night. But on the fourth night he asked the other shamans if they had seen anything. They all answered that they hadn't. "Well, maybe it was only clouds that I saw," the leader said. "Dance again and we'll see. They danced, all of the shamans joining in. After a while they conferred again. "It wasn't clouds you saw," the others said, "it was something all right." Then they prepared a little mat woven of willow twigs. It was about two feet square. They covered it with red feathers from the red-headed woodpecker (kulquila'qən). The fires were all put out. Then the mat with the feathers was held out of the door. The leader held one side. Another shaman, si'pasu, held the other side. With their free hands they motioned with eagle feathers for the spirit to come in. After a while the shamans had the fires rebuilt. "We have the spirit," they announced. The mat was folded up and put away. The following night the leader spoke. "We have the spirit of a hunchback gambler. He is from Colville. He has never been here before, but next summer he will come down during the fishing season in June. He is a great gambler but when he comes here he will lose everything he has. He will come with a gray horse, a gray saddle blanket, a black saddle, gray clothes and a big white cowboy hat. You, Covington, take his saddle, but don't take anything more. You, Tom, take his horse, but just that. (Etc.)" He gave each thing to a different person. Then he said, "We'll let him live, but we'll send him back naked." Then the dance continued.
>
> The following summer the gambler came to Keller. But he refused to gamble. One of his own people who had been at the dance had forewarned him. He went back home after only staying one day. But a short time later he lost all that he owned to a man at home although the latter was a very poor gambler.

The particular type of performance described above was called sklu·γa'γu, "to build a fire on a mat to bring a spirit." It was the most popular way of enticing a spirit into the dance house. The feathers "whispered, stood up and drew it in." Feathers other than those from the head of the woodpecker were sometimes used. The tail feathers of the same bird were also effective. Eagle feathers were used in the motioning because spirits liked them and came after them. Other means of drawing in a spirit were also commonly used. The particular method selected depended upon the character of the spirit and its owner. A gambling spirit was attracted by stick game bones or markers. Pretty young women were "offered" to spirits that were difficult to get. Recently brightly colored shawls often have been used.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power 756
to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after
depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared 787
and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with 796
the man who received it and inevitably married him.[10] It was possible to cause
the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so.
The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans.

A winter dance was in progress at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman 753
with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman
was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of 756
the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness 796
and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were
cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance.
When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life.

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power 756
sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily 796
push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance
floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out.
After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over
to it and pull it out with ease.

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kols'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[10] See page 142.

789 The common formulae follow:

827 To bring rain, bark from the jack pine was placed in a basket full of water or the leaves of the sulphur flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides*, Nutt., (si'a'its'qən) were mashed and similarly immersed.

To stop the rain pine cones were burned in the camp fire, Oregon grape berries were thrown into the air or head lice were thrown out into the rain. Another method was to place an otter skin in the fire and leave it until charred, then throw the ashes about.

The wind could be summoned in hot weather by charring needles from the top of the jack pine and throwing them into the air. The top needles were used because the coming of a breeze was first indicated by the motion of the topmost needles of the pines. Sulphur flower (same species as above) also brought wind if pounded between rocks, dampened and spread about.

Thunder was stopped by placing a long stick vertically in the ground and tying a knife to the upper end. Or sometimes several knives were simply stuck in the ground at various places.

OMENS

787 Twitching in the left arm indicated that bad news would be heard. Twitching of the shoulder was of the same significance.

Twitching of the right arm presaged good news.

If the heart beat fast the person was soon to become angry, or to hear bad news.

Itching below the eye was a sign that one was to cry as a result of hearing bad news.

Quivering of the eye was followed by seeing something unusual.

If the eyebrow or lip (Tom said upper lip), twitched, its owner was to have an argument and become angry.

If the heel twitched it indicated that one was to receive a horse soon.

Twitching of the bottom of the foot while riding meant that the rider was soon to be walking.

Quivering of the chin was a sign that good food was to be eaten on the morrow.

Buzzing in the left ear was followed by hearing bad news, perhaps of a death. Buzzing in the right ear meant good news.

If a tightly tied necklace fell off, it indicated that the wearer or a near relative was to die.

When a dog urinated on a person a death followed. A dog howling near a house sometimes meant death.

The falling of a tree in calm weather presaged unusual news.

If tamarack needles fell on the rump of a female bear it caused her to have a miscarriage. That is why bears hibernated before the tamarack needles turned yellow and began to fall.

If one built a fire with wood from a tree which had beed struck by lightning it caused him to have cramps.

The appearance of many mosquitoes preceded the lowering of the Columbia river.

Good luck followed the catching of a beetle and keeping it. 787

A person sneezed because someone had mentioned his name. Also, the following was sometimes said after one sneezed:

ku'ks	sanpi'i'lsa	xa'lap;	kwâti-'sa	xalə'ks	pápási'l.
You	joy (will have)	tomorrow;	(you) sneeze	because	sad.

MEDICINES AND CURES

The Sanpoil made very extensive use of the available herbs and roots for medicinal purposes. An exhaustive list of these would probably include a half or more of the botanical genera (exclusive or grasses) found in the territory. Much of this practical medicine is forgotten today, but the list below includes the more important materia medica. Informants did not hesitate to tell what they remembered of native medical practices; cures do not seem to have been the property of individuals, and were not kept secret. Men as well as women shared the lore. 757

Household treatment of ailments seems to have been restricted more or less to the often recurring diseases (sqi'lt) such as the common cold (sa'axa'u'), minor injuries (sqa'no'mt), bruises and skin troubles, and to that one most serious malady, tuberculosis, which shamans ordinarily considered beyond their powers to cure. Minor wounds and cuts were given little attention; the "sores" for which so many medicines were prepared were usually eruptions of the skin, with an internal rather than an external cause. Serious wounds were attended by a shaman. Medicines for use at the time of childbirth were lacking, but contraceptives and abortifacients were common knowledge. Specific treatments were used for the two common venereal diseases. The number of medicines prescribed for the common cold was probably greater than for any other type of ailment, unless it be skin troubles.

In the preparation of a medicine roots were nearly always boiled with water, leaves often so treated, but stems very seldom. Steeping or brewing, infusion, maceration and pulverization were other common methods by which the raw material was handled in the preparation of the medical product.

Patients suffering from illnesses of the class treated by shamans were given special foods, or fasted. In all other cases there was no restriction or modification of the ordinary diet. Isolation was never practiced for illness; only menstruating women were separated from others. Ailing children were carefully attended but bedridden adults were left more or less to themselves.

The sweat lodge[9] was used for the cure of sickness of any nature except the common cold. This exception was explained as due to the harmful effect that water exerts upon the person suffering from a cold.

Snake rattles were carried under one's hat to relieve a headache (ske'lakəm). 755

The bite of the rattlesnake was curable only by a shaman or an individual whose guardian spirit was rattlesnake. However, if a dog was bitten by a rattle- 757

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[9] See page 179.

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 71.

p.14 (A)

000 trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

224 [787] Winter hunting was resorted to by men with good power, sometimes after a woman or even a child had dreamed that game was near. The hunter took no dog, and planned to follow the first deer tracks he found to the bitter end. It might take several days to overtake one. If successful he must divide his quarry equally, keeping only the heads for himself.

261 Less valued famine foods were black moss, which might be eaten raw if the people were too weak to boil it; the stalks of cactus plants with the spines burned off, from which a soup was made; and sunflower root shoots, eaten raw and on the spot. If there were not too much snow the first buds of (36) cwa′ya might be used. This was like the carrot plant but with a longer stem. The early disc-shaped bud was eaten. Apparently it was far from nourishing. It grew near the rivers. Even coyote, skunk, and the like have been eaten in time of starvation.

731 There has been no dying of starvation since the coming of the whites,but it seems to have been frequent before that.

261 How one's power would save him from starvation was related by Suszen:

776 The power of any animal might help a man. If his power was the salmon, he would wish for salmon to eat; then anything he ate would seem like good salmon. A man who had beaver power would think of this. It would tell him to eat little twigs or pieces of bark just as a beaver does. The man would dream this. Those things he ate then tasted like berries and meat. He could not give this food to anyone else, not even to his family, for it would be just wood to them. But they were content to see him eat it.

P.29(B)

721 kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack.

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

727 Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.)

War Leader

701 624 [787] 791 A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man.

721 729 173 The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight.[1]

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

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[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116. -- Analyst.]

428 the widow if there was no brother. The deceased's parents and brothers and sisters get most of his property, friends share the rest. The surviving mate and children keep practically nothing. In fact, they give away part of their own personal property as well, in order to meet with social approval, although it often means severe hardship in the future. It seems probable that there is a formalized pattern for distributing the personal property of the deceased, which cannot be adequately described in this paper due to the lack of information.

Cecile Brooks says that the property of the deceased was not given away in the old days as it is now. Members of the immediate family continued using the property. "Families needed all they had in those days; they did not own many extra things."[45]

428 553 If the deceased person had been well-liked, or if he possessed a famous family name, some time after the death, the name will be presented to some young person at a feast held for this purpose. It is said that the same name is not found in two families. Since inheritance of names may be from either the maternal or paternal lines, it is clear that names must sometimes pass from one family to another.

428 778 787 Power is inherited in a dream. This seldom happens, but a person who had not been able to find power alone may dream that a dead relative appears to him and presents his power. From this time on, such a person has the right to sing the deceased's power song and use his power.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

626 685 There is practically no thievery within the tribe, since any property may be had for the asking. It is known that there are occasional kleptomaniacs who steal, not from necessity, but for the pleasure of stealing. Such persons are not ordinarily punished, but if they become too much of a public nuisance, someone may kill them in exasperation.

525 626 At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ross Cox records that "Acts of dishonesty are of rare occurrence among either men or woman.... Their principal amusement is gambling, at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes; but when any doubtful case occurs, it is referred for arbitration to one of their elders, by whose decisions the parties strictly abide."[46]

626 This influence of the elders is the factor in Plateau organization that keeps peace and order. No younger person of good character ever disobeys the command of any older person.

[45] Compare Individual Life Cycle.

[46] Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, 206-207.

Headmen

622 In every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a headman (xa'tü'c). Should the band chief wish to use his authority, it must be followed by the headman. The headman is not appointed by the chief, and acts freely on his own judgment without consulting the chief, directing the communal hunting and fishing of the village, and the summer and winter camping. The women do not need a headwoman to direct their food gathering. The headman wears no special insignia, nor is he appointed with a formal ceremony. [555 787] He holds office through his ability to have dreams telling him where to direct the group for successful hunting. He always gives winter dances in his house. He is not necessarily a good warrior. When various villages are together in the absence of the chief, the headmen decide among themselves who shall direct the communal fishing or hunting.[58]

Chief's Helpers

624 701 The chief appoints, without any particular public announcement, promising young men as his aides (skölstī'ckūm), and in recompense for their work, he treats them as sons. They retain their position as long as they are efficient. Of these, some as sentinels (cūxkwitłatłacūmī'ct) are kept on the hills day and night, presumably only at the time an attack is expected. When they see enemies approaching, they warn the villagers.

624 [202] The chief never addresses the people publicly himself. He has a spokesman (cūxwawa'm) who delivers his message in a loud voice. Other duties of the cūxwawa'm are to carry messages to scattered members of the band, to carry food from the chief to hungry families early in the spring and to report to him on their condition, to awaken the people early in the morning before a hunt, to tell people what they are to do for the day, to exhort them concerning their morals, telling them not to be ungracious, lazy, or thieves, and to announce a death, or the break-up of the camp. As Lucy Joe so picturesquely said, "All around the village, one spring morning, the crier would halloo, 'These people are going to move to Nespelem! These people are going to move somewhere else! We are all going to move, to go get berries,' and so we moved."

The chief has a second public spokesman (cöxqölöqwe'īlt) who enunciates his speech slowly and softly. He functions only at indoor gatherings, such as a name-changing ceremony after a death, or for the shaman at the winter dances. He repeats exactly what he is told to say. For this he receives payment in blankets or horses.

According to Suszen, all of the chief's

[1/A] [For context of this footnote, see p. 98(B), category IIb. -- Analyst]

58 Compare the house leaders.

59 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 293.[1/A]

853 [845] ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

846 For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

842 787 There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

845 Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

[20] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

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its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the people
even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this
purpose she would die. When the girl was 796
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787 ●
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called sŭksŭmix.
The word for the power quest was tsŭntsŭt or
tsŏntĭŏt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

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or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power unless
a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere, certain places and scenes were most propitious. First among these stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two prominent peaks in the tribal territory. Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no others were specified. [823] Rock paintings, the scene of a mythical episode, a place where a deer had been killed and the bones left, an old camp site where a woman had given birth, or where a bitch had produced young, all might receive visits from children in search of power. For a child to acquire an animal as guardian spirit, that animal or some trace of it should be nearby. [825] Thus one would have the best chance to obtain deer power where deer had left their tracks or their hair, or where hunters had left a deer's horns or bones. Some even considered that such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsÜntsÜt, but was also called xötsêxIl, "giving power to the son," or söxtsExIltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped 787
him with the power emblem which he had cherished 857
for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 778

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776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

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ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

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Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of the girls at puberty or on the quest, and made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote was transformed and banished to the ocean, the girls have not had to do so when hunting for power.

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Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child built a fire at night to make his presence known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this attitude, though not a normal form of quest, and though the hero forcing the animals to give their power may perhaps be a farcical treatment of this serious subject. Cecile tells the story.

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A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up 776
through a little canyon and shot. He went
up there and found a big buck lying dead. 787
He cut it up and packed it back to his wife
and child. From then on he could kill a
deer anywhere. His people wondered if he 539
and his wife and child were still alive, and
came to look for them. They found that they
had all kinds of meat. So he called all his
relatives and stayed there and became an important man.

The power quest had a moral value for 776
the child's future, as well as a religious
and practical one. A lazy child, or one in- 787
different to the aim, might fail to receive
power because the animals knew his character
and did not like him. Suszen said that if 857
the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school."

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 even if you are shot through the body." A tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at
● 787 my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Ani-
857 mal, character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Süszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

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776 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to
him from every mountain, and the spirits of
•787 animals and birds came and talked to him.
Each one came as a man, and gave him its
857 song. "It seemed only a little while," said
David, "but it was a whole night, and when I
awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of these people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Omak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage. 776 787 857

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nx̣axaštx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protégé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance.. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power. 776 787 857

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmaIŭk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep: on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tall, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involuntarily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A baby girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

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tain lake where the women wished to gather stürtsIn roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stürtsIn root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 they had hunted all day and found nothing.
He cried, thought for a while, and began to
787 sing. The people came in to follow his song.
All night they sang. Toward morning he said
to them, "When I was a little, little boy,
857 just old enough to remember, a creature told
me 'that he would give me his power always to
do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 When the individual was about twenty-
five years old — sometimes sooner, often
787 later — his guardian spirit returned to him.
Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 In this or a later dream the spirit in-
structed its protégé to go out and find a
778 member of its species (spoken of as identi-
cal with the guardian spirit itself), and to
cut from its body a certain part to be used
787 as a power emblem (cəa'Ût). This part might
be a piece of the head from above the nose,
or the tail, or a strip of skin from the
825 nose to the tail, or some other convenient
portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
[821] Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.	776
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.	778

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The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblem when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another women, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla'Qt). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

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power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake
skin which men with snake power 787.
glued to their bows. The most simple point
in costume or adornment which the guardian 825
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaöta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued 791
this command were strong creatures such
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert
worker in stone, who received a price for it. [324]
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

778 538 In the story of the woman captured by a giant, the giant's power was represented by a long pole about a foot thick, stuck in the ground. When his son was escaping from him with his captive mother, the boy pushed this pole over. The giant, when he returned and discovered that his wife and son had fled, tried to invoke his power by donning his power emblem and thinking about his guardian spirit, but when he saw the pole lying on the ground, he realized that his son was stronger than he, and decided not to give pursuit.

776 •787 533 The guardian spirit taught its protégé a song, either in the initial vision or in a later dream. Suszen said that one might have several songs for a single spirit, but data from other informants do not confirm this, allowing the individual only one song for each of his powers. The song "came to him" on occasion, and made him remember his vision or dream.

776 533 784 Except at the winter dance, a person's power song should not be sung by other people while he was within hearing lest he be embarrassed and feel that the singer was making fun of him. People sometimes deliberately ridiculed each other in this way. One might borrow the song of a friend, but he could sing it with propriety only if its owner were not present. Since women's power songs were different from men's, they should not be sung by men, nor should a woman sing one belonging to a man. If a person without power stole a shaman's power song and sang it, the guardian spirit involved would be angry and say to the offender, "I didn't tell you to sing that song." The song thief might then grow sick and die. Power songs were not inherited.

776 784 262 Though Johnnie and Billy Joe once said that an individual with power from an edible animal did not kill and eat it unless its spirit had told him that he might do so, the informants generally agreed that such use of the animal was always allowed. In fact, one desired such powers as deer or bear, for they would enable him to find and kill these animals more easily.

But the guardian spirit did impose restrictions on the use of its meat. These differed with individuals. The deer, for example, often obliged its protégé to eat ceremonially or to refrain from eating certain parts of a deer whenever he had killed one. Mary Cerden identified the tabued portion of the animal with the power itself. This tabu became effective as soon as the power had been acquired. A young boy who had just received deer power, for instance, might have to restrict himself in the use of deer's entrails. A hunter with deer power might have to eat a piece of the kidney while the kill was still warm, or a piece of the liver, intestines, heart, or other organs. If he did not want to eat this part, he must wrap it up in twigs and leave it in a tree. If a woman found this and ate it she would "start to swell" and become very ill. Sometimes

animals told their human wards not to eat 776
certain parts of their bodies, for example, 784
the brisket. Such restriction applied only 262
to cases in which the guardian animal had
been killed by the individual who had its
power. Subsequent failure in hunting was
the penalty for breaking them. Other rules
for the disposal of game — especially of
deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure
specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the
game must be preserved, and that the spirit
of an animal whose carcass had been properly
treated would be reincarnated in the same
form for the benefit of future hunters or
fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough
to contaminate the kill. Violation of these
rules offended the animal and led to its
scarcity. They have been discussed in more
detail in the section on hunting.

If a menstruating woman came too near a 784
man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took 776
pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her
a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing
it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over
here and take this." He went away; she came
and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man
approached the women's menstruation hut too
closely, he lost his power. During a woman's
ten-day confinement there after childbirth
her husband should not touch her or the
child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

The spirits became very angry at dis- 776
obedience and if the offense were repeated
they might desert their wards entirely. By 784
failing to obey his power, one might incur
the worst physical afflictions; might become 753
ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or
good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having
not paid proper regard to his father's power
which had become his own. Lucy Joe says
that Michel did not comply with his power's
command to dance and sing — except when
drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure
him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1] the spir- 796
it commanded the individual to distribute
gifts among the people and to give his first 776
winter dance. It is not clear whether he
always fulfilled both commands at the same 787
time. He probably did, for gifts were always exchanged at the dances and we heard of
no specific case in which this was done for 431
the same reason on other occasions. I shall
therefore discuss these gifts later on, among
other phases of the dance.

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct 776
of the individual after the dream. As soon 787
as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang
his power song, in which his family might 574

[1] [Cf. 142(a), col[illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

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join if they wished. An old man or woman 776
then asked him about his dream experience.
He replied, "I want more people to come and 787
sing my song in two or three days." He felt
somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing 574
the song at intervals for a number of days.
His relatives invited friends to come to the house for his first winter dance. People were glad to attend, to learn about the new power and to accompany its master in his song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed them, sang, and gave them various gifts in return for saving his life by helping him to control the power.

Mary Carden's account of one's first 796
winter dance emphasized his critical health,
the preliminary singing, and the importance 776
of the master of ceremonies as a leader of
ritual and as the neophyte's religious guardian and physician. 787

The account proceeds thus. When the power acquired in childhood returned to the young adult, it told him that it was lonesome and ordered him to sing, to give a dance, and to distribute property among the people. This "brought luck" to him, for in a short time he would receive even more property back. At this time he fell ill. Apparently a shaman was called in to diagnose the case, for we are now informed that a shaman told the individual, "Your power has come and wants you to give a dance." If this happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll have to wait till winter." The shaman's power told that of the patient to wait till
winter. When winter came, the neophyte had 796
a power dream, from which he awoke singing. His family then sent news of this to their neighbors in the valley, and sang his power song with him, while the shaman, as master of ceremonies, came and planned the dance and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to the central post. The guests arrived in the evening. For as long as the dance would last, they would be provided with food by the young man's family. The neophyte had been singing "every night," probably every night since his recent dream, and the shaman sang to guard the neophyte's power from theft. Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay down or sat while the shaman, with closed eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After dark they both began to dance and sing in the center of the room. Having danced for a while, the neophyte called for his stick, which was handed by a member of his family to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied it to the stick and silently handed both back to him. The song and dance were then resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped the center pole with both hands, the neophyte grasping similarly above him, and both slid their hands down singing xʷûû xʷû'yûû. "When people call this sound, they are bringing power from the mountains. Power is with a person all the time, but the spirit can go far away." Any guests arriving after the dance had begun were stopped by the doorkeeper, who announced them to the company.

796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca´sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal-heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tüc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. -- Analyst]

789 796 potent. A band of Colville held only one such ceremony each year. If they intended to go out to fight in the spring, they wanted the power and the advice of cpEpqōlI'tc, and his forecast of defeat would prevent them from going. The seance was held as part of the winter dances and transpired among the Colville as follows.

Before the people began to dance, three or four shamans hung up within the house a large mat, partitioning off a small space against the wall. A special door for the spirits opened into this compartment from the outside of the house. Nothing in the compartment was visible to the audience while the mat hung in place. The mat had been specially made before the dance and painted with human figures. Only the shamans handled it.

The seance was held after the people had danced for two or three nights. In preparation, the cpEpqōlI'tc shaman bound his waist tightly with a rope. His thumbs were tied behind him, and his big toes were also tied together, so that the animals could carry him conveniently by their tump-line. The other shamans then threw him under the mat partition into the sanctum. The congregation, having stopped dancing, sang his power song. When they heard the toot of a little whistle from behind the mat, a whistle which the shamans had placed there or had tied to the top of the mat, they knew that the performer had been cut in two by the rope around his waist. They heard cpEpqōlI'tc come into the compartment and take him away, but they continued to sing his song. With the spirit of the "big ling fish" entered those of other fish, animals, and so on. The people could not see these, and with the exception of cpEpqōlI'tc the spirits did not address them, but could be heard "thumping around." The ling fish, whom the congregation called by name, responded in a thick muffled voice, like that of a toothless old man, and answered their inquiries with regard to lost articles, lost relatives, or the prospects for the immediate future, such as success in a war expedition. After about an hour of this, he told them that he had to hurry away to a seance at another Indian village.

[787] CpEpqōlI'tc knew everything in the world. His special activities in locating lost things and lost people remind us of the Colville bluejay power. This emphasis on finding lost objects distinguishes the shamanism of the Colville from that of the Okanagon.

A large pipe of tobacco had been placed

in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." 789 The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned 796 him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing.

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

Papałöt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for 778 it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. 787 It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papałöt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papałöt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sûmîx, not papałöt. Though Cecile stated that papałot came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost.

One who heard or saw the papałöt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papałöt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papałöt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the papałöt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papałöt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papałöt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

778 787 the papalöt was very "mean" these treatments did no good and the patient died. David explained that it killed one by stealing his power away, taking it under water or into the ground, or elsewhere out of reach.

778 787 782 431 Papalöt demanded offerings more urgently than did other kinds of guardian spirits. It might, for example, tell a girl to give away many blankets, even if she had none, and unless her relatives supplied her with blankets to do this she would die. It liked to see blood; a man might help his daughter or niece who was afflicted with it, by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow. After one had danced and given away things at two or three successive winter dances, he had his newly acquired papalöt under his control. It was then as much his own as if he had got it on the power quest, though it could be stolen, just as could his other powers, by a sufficiently strong shaman.

778 787 In one account by Suszen, a dead ancestor's guardian spirit took a more amicable form. An old person who had never received power might dream that a deceased relative came to him and gave him his power and song. Since in this case the guardian spirit was brought by the relative himself, it seems doubtful that it was truly papalöt.

Suszen said that one's elders knew when his dead grandparent's power had come to him, for they remembered it from the time when the grandparent had been alive, and they saw it, or signs of it, in the child. This, again, does not fit in with the usual description of papalöt. Suszen seems to have had some original ideas.

778 424 Power could not be bought or sold; our informants laughed at the idea. But one person could steal it from another if his own guardian spirit was sufficiently strong. With the stolen power the thief obtained its song, which he sang when using the power for curing or other purposes. He could increase its potency by giving away property to the people at the winter dances, just as for power acquired in other ways. Power theft always resulted in the illness or death of the victim. A female shaman treating Michel's rheumatism diagnosed it as due to this cause. [753]

Three occasions gave special opportunity to power thieves: sleep, illness, and the winter dances. One who found someone's power while dreaming in sleep, and tried to capture it, employed somewhat the same means as for the capture of papalöt and incurred a similar risk. If the strange power was weaker than his, his own could control and strengthen it. If it were stronger, his guardian spirit might be afraid of it, and he would then have to "tame them and work them together." If he could not teach both of them to obey him, he had better let them go, because they might make him ill. To bring the new power under his dominance, he danced,

them high up in his lodge, and no one, not even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder 726
had told him to make these arrows for use in such an emergency as this. He now explained 773
to the people, "I don't want to fight. I only want to try my thunder power with these arrows. That is why I have never played with them or used them for hunting, but have kept them carefully for so long."

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

When a little bird first came to a boy 726
as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the bird tell him, "These hailstones are like 787●
bullets and arrows." This meant that he would be immune from bullets and arrows in war. In the account of Sülktaskū′süm given 789
by Suszen, the hero had received his power from a magpie when a child, and no bullets could harm him.

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. Sërsëpkın, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which Sërsëpkın came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies Sërsëpkın and two of his warriors, qōwëcElExkın and sqElüxtcō, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. Sërsëpkın and qōwëcElExkın left their guns with sqElüxtcō and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. Qōwëcelexkın's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qōwëcElExkın recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had 726
deer power, pulled her dress over her head
and ran away naked like a deer; while her
daughter, whose power was the eagle, took 787
some eagle feathers from the inside of her
dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 789

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs 773
us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian
spirits, advised and enabled him to transform
himself into a wooden pan in order to
outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he
eluded his foes by invoking his power to
make the air dark and foggy.

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding instances, 726
the following seems more dramatic
as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys
and their mother were camping on a ridge between 778
Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mosquitoes.
One of the boys had been sick and 789
paralyzed for a long time, so that he could
hardly move. During the night, when the old 539
woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes [!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy.

For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entăq'qŭI'nIk was dried, steeped in water, 757 and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when trou- 278 bled with coughing; if confined to his bed, whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ĕntăktăkqwaIn^{xŭ}) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. X̣ax̣aĕ′lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called x̣waIt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds.

Tuberculosis (xqExŏhŏm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. [753] Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning.

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqălqălstsI′m, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcĕx̣tcŭx̣-tcq!ĕlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci′nŭk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the [787 odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this disease. This was given to the dying and 825] they recovered.

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priests may have seized this concept and given it this name. Lucy Joe ascribed the idea of the sinkakiū′s to a prophetic dream by Chief SuĕpEqEn, and the word to the Catholic priests. 774 177

The relation of sĭnkakĭū′s to power is still more perplexing. Suszen explained that whereas power came from animals, the sĭnkakĭū′s came from qōlūncō′tn (God), and that the sĭnkakĭū′s was more important than power because the loss of it actually killed a man. In Suszen's view both elements seemed to blend; power, he said, could be stolen without stealing the soul, but the theft of the latter, as we shall see in a moment, involved that of the former. 774 778

A shaman of sufficient power could steal one's sĭnkakĭū′s as the victim slept and when the latter awoke he would be ill or insane. The soul might be restored by a shaman strong enough, just as lost power was restored. Suszen gave us the best account. The prospective thief saw the sĭnkakĭū′s in a dream, distinguishing it from a "real man" by its 'going fast without walking." One would not wish to steal the soul of a worthless person, but one who had stolen a worthwhile soul might "keep it for several years and get its power." If his own power was strong enough he could "tame" the sĭnkakĭū′s, by feeding it, for example, if it told him to do so. He tried to hide the stolen power in the mountains, in a river, or in some other lonely place, but we are not told what he finally did with the soul. All this happened in his dreams. After one's sĭnkakĭū′s had been stolen he went insane, or at least became lazy and idiotic, and unless he could get it back his days were numbered. He sometimes employed a shaman to locate the thief and restore the soul, or, if he had strong enough power of his own, did so himself. This was accomplished by concentrating on his power and that of the thief, bringing the two into conflict and ultimately vanquishing the latter. The sweat house was a favorite place in which to concentrate and struggle in this way. All this sounds suspiciously like the theft of power, especially since Suszen, a very confusing informant, was the only one who described it. At any rate, soul stealing had not been done recently and no one told of an actual case. 754 774 778

Each individual had only one sĭnkakĭū′s. It looked like him, but it could "go fast without walking," "like thought," and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death. After death it departed to the Catholic heaven or hell, or returned as a ghost. 774 787

The land of the dead (stqama′skūt), often dreamed of by the living, was in the sky. The way thither gradually ascended, but its direction was not known. Suszen believed that it was divided; that good people went to a good place after death, where they could have lots of fun, whereas bad people went to an evil place of continual strife 775 cribed to a reversal of nature which took place at the beginning of the present world era. On the summit of a mountain between Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called naamtûc, literally, "set on top of a ridge." This is the woman who came bringing camas from the east, over whom the mountains fought in the mythical times when mountains were men. Indians sometimes made offerings there. 776 823

DREAMS AND OMENS

Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow. 787 ●

Most omens foretold death. Seeing a flying squirrel (sx̣û'phûp) was interpreted in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter once went way up in the hills, cut down a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground-hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ô'hô'lEm (prairie dog ?,"[1] a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Kartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Suszen was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow. 787 763

[1] [For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116.--Analyst]

000 it and made it crow.

The following customs of the Blackfoot were told to David by a Kalispel who had wintered among them. A warrior announced his intention to undertake a raid for horses, by entering the camp circle in the evening dragging a piece of buffalo hide and beating on it with a little stick. Two or three followers gathered around him. They started on the raid wearing their old moccasins, but carrying with them a good supply of new ones. The first man to wear his old moccasins out sat on the ground and threw them over his head before he donned his new pair. If they fell to the ground inverted, he would die on the raid; if they landed on their soles he would come home victorious.

THE DREAM DANCE

171 177 The Dream dance complex, at least so far as it incorporates elements derived in recent decades indirectly from Christianity, seems to have taken a less consistent form than that of the indigenous cult.

769 The background for the Dream dance is found in a pattern common through the Plateau area both north and south. A man "dies and returns from the dead with a message to his fellows to lead a more upright life, at the same time announcing the impending return of the dead. These contacts with the supernatural follow the traditional power quest pattern. It is quite evident that this complex, which closely resembles the doctrine of the Ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890, is of very considerable antiquity.

769 539 787 The following account of such an experience dates from the days of Suszen's great-grandfather. Suszen, who related this and couched it partly in the first person, is responsible for the infusion of Christian theology, but the tale as a whole is undoubtedly in traditional form.

Some dead Indians come alive. When these die, they come alive again and tell a story.

It is just like sleeping. I see a road and I follow a good road. A little way on I hear dancing and lots of fun. Dead relatives are there and they say, "Come in. Let's have fun." I went by and never heeded Farther on there was gambling. They tried to stop me to play with them.

I never heeded them and just went by there. A little farther I saw people committing sex offenses, who said, "Come and join us." I never heeded them. I just went ahead. A little way farther dead people said, "Come, we are stealing things from our people here. It is easy." I never heeded them and just followed the road.

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[1] [For context of footnote, see p. 172(B), category 116. --Analyst]

12 The proper date is about 1790 (see below) — L.S. [1]

p. 172(A)

769 These things are at the side of the
road. A little way beyond some dead people
there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I
never heeded them, just followed the road. A
● 787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and
woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn
child in the woman's belly. These two can
never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840"[1] a substance resembling "dry
snow" (m·qwaw xlŏqŭlahŭ, "snow dirt") fell
796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the
ground to a depth of several inches. De-
posits of this may still be seen in the
821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much.
There is a question whether this led to the
performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy
Joe said, "The people just danced and danced
until they had nothing stored away for the
winter." This was the only summer dance of
which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil
or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to
him, prophesied the coming of the white men.
He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as
the later prophets did. Shortly before he
died, God promised him that he would receive
him. This seems to be our earliest hint of
the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

fifty years ago.) A young man called qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought 787 up by his grandmother and who suffered from rheumatism in the hips. 792 One autumn when his band moved from their camping ground at sInak'a'Ilt, above Keller, qwElaskEn was too ill to accompany them, and they left him there with his aged guardian. In November he died. His grandmother, after covering his body with blankets and letting the tipi fall over on it, started out alone in search of people. After two days she found some Indians encamped near Whitestone and told them of the death. Seven days later a party went out to get his body. As they approached, they heard him singing. Not knowing whether it was he or his ghost, they asked him if he had come back to life. He answered, "Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crippling him permanently, and he was brought to camp on a horse.

Thereafter he prayed and sang continuously, 787 and exhorted the people to prayer and to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; 792 had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. At first they laughed at him, but in the winter 823 about Christmas (or in the fall) — according to Cecile they were then at Kartaro — occurred a severe earthquake (hi·mömpEn, lit. "the world moved"), which so terrified them that they ran to his tipi and asked him what he had seen during his death. He answered that God had warned him of this earthquake, and that if they failed to believe in God and to pray, the world would come to an end in forty days. They believed him, and following his wish to be taken to a better and more populous location they conveyed him by horse to Whitestone.

A few days later came another earthquake (two days later according to Cecile), and a great mass of rock fell into the Columbia River and caused it to overflow."[1] Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and joined a still larger settlement at EnpûxwE'lQ^x. Now they believed: rich people asked to care for him.

God used to come to qwElaskEn every 787 night in his dreams and tell him what to do on the following day. 792 QwElaskEn assured the people that Jesus Christ was right, that he 776

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 173 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

himself had been to purgatory to do penance 787
for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had
returned to life to teach mankind. At one
time he told them that the end of the world 792
would come ten days later, or if not then, in
eight years. He advised them to build a 776
long house for nightly congregations, and
warned them that if they did not know how to
pray when doomsday arrived they would turn
into birds, rocks, and other non-human
things. They were very frightened and obeyed
him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased
by the loss of a girl who had run
away from fright at the time of the earthquake
and had not since been seen.

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven
young men and seven young women. At night
he taught them prayers and songs — prayers 792
somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; wordless 159
songs which resembled Catholic hymns —
so that they could teach them to others during
the day. Every night these fourteen disciples
carried torches of pitch pine when
they accompanied the master to the big house.

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwEleskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

792 159 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned various parts of the construction to groups of men, and appointed a policeman to stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 792 177 159 Another dreamer of about this time was sūIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar band."[1] A few years before the priests came into the region, sūIpEqēn dreamed that they would arrive and that the Indians would receive money from the Government. At that time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."[1] SūIpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 792 Something of the same sort of Dream dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who, after the whites had arrived, decorated his moccasins with red flannel and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 796 These accounts suggest that the Dream dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It involved three main conceptions: falling stars (see below), earthquakes, and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

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[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 eous and God-fearing life; and these proph-
ets led special dances and song concerning
the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy
796 of the coming of the white men (such prophe-
cy being called qEpöktsa´) and the downfall
of Indian culture was a minor element and ap-
parently of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmIpEnömt; the dreamer was s'maIp'nömpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qölüncötn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

776 The "white chief," explained David, was
called sEwImstwItl'n, meaning "already made,"
and was believed in long before the whites
787 came. He had created everything, and to him
all good people went when they died. Some-
times people saw him in trances, without
796 being called on to give the Dream dance, and
they prayed to him wherever they were at any
time. Most prayers to him, however, were
rendered at the Dream dances. They were call-
ed sqwai´lIp (this may be the name of the
dance), and were wordless songs which had
been heard in dreams by the prophets lead-
ing the dances. This "white chief" was prob-
ably identical with Qölüncötn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

ing very low back and forth over them. Ce- 776
cile said it was almost always a two-headed
goose, but that it might be bodiless with
two heads and wings, or might have a body 787
and a very long tail.
796

Lucy Joe's statement was that in the
time of her grandmother, before the whites
came but after the fall of "dry snow," a 787
goose with two heads and four legs flew from
the southeast, the direction from which the
whites were supposed to appear. They shot 796
it. It had two crops which they discovered
were filled with wheat, which the Indians
had never seen. They said, "The world must
be coming to an end." This happened at
nkaé´t^{ka} in the neighborhood of Okanogan.
They gathered no food, so they starved.

As soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving nor the dancers changing their positions. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance, explained David, followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky, before their great white chief. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally someone had a prophetic dream during the ceremony, and at once uttered his prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight, steal, lie, commit rape, or sin in other ways, and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching, some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers.

Dancers who had come from neighboring villages returned home to eat and sleep when the dancing was over for the day; those who had come from a distance often encamped at the site of the dance. No one ate in the daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days, till the dancers, observing that the world did not come to an end, "forgot about it for a while" and resumed their normal life. Cecile stated that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer, and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended; no one hunted, fished, or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. In Johnnie's boyhood, some people became so enthralled in the dance that they did not eat for several days at a time; and once, in his great-grandfather's day, they danced for so many weeks that they neglected to lay up food for the winter, and many of them starved. But David, who had never seen a Dream dance himself, said that he had never heard of one which lasted for more than a few days. Dream dances seldom occurred in the winter. When they did they were stopped in time for

the ordinary winter dance: the two were never combined. 796 787

Suszen described a "prayer-dance" or "thanksgiving dance" called sköūm, which had a somewhat special character. 782 This was held at any time of year when the people wished to pray and to solicit help from God, or 796 after a plentiful season of hunting, fishing, and food gathering. The prayer was sung, and had the following content: "Qōlūncōtn, you helped me in the beginning and gave me everything in the country to live on, with the medicine of my body to follow your words all the time. I'm glad of that. I'm always think about you, to follow your good words. I'm always trying to do good and not to be bad. Help me to be good and not to forget your good words to me. You gave the creatures full power before me." After the prayer the participants ate and a few of them stood up and talked about the good old days. This may have been a phase of the firs. fruits ceremony described under the food quest.

There was also a "confession dance," distinct from the prayer dance and the ordinary Dream dance. It was called sqwal'ilūx. Mary Carden said that when her grandmother was sixteen a star fell to earth with a noise like thunder. This suggested to the Indians that the world was coming to an end. They gathered in the largest house in the village, where the chief, with a stick in his hand, exhorted them to lead better lives, his sermon being repeated to them by a man selected for this purpose. Young and old stood in a circle around the chief, swaying rhythmically with loose knees and moving their right hands from and toward their bodies. As the chief confessed his own sins, the spokesman repeated his statements to the people. Then, pointing to each individual in turn, the chief cried, xō'yanōwī, "Now you!" and the person designated also confessed. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights, with short intervals for rest. It was the first "confession dance." Thereafter it was held whenever an earthquake, falling star, or other strange cosmic phenomenon frightened the community, or when a man had dreamed that doomsday was near. It was continued "till they got over being scared." Mary declared that they might "set aside a certain day each week" for the dance, till the panic had subsided, and that such an occasion might arise at any time of the year. Suszen said that each dancer in turn stood in the center of the circle, holding a handful of twigs or little sticks. (Mary denied knowledge of this.) As he threw each of these to the ground, he said, "This sin (naming the sin) I have no more. I will do such-and-such no more." Suszen illustrated this phase of the dance by strutting up and down, throwing his head back as he cast each twig to the ground and repudiated each of his sins — which, however, he did not specify. David, of the Northern Okanagon, had not heard of the "confession dance," but admitted it might have been held in the southern part of the valley, and suggested that the

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil
Colville; Lakes

these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted. 782 881

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the 776 881 532

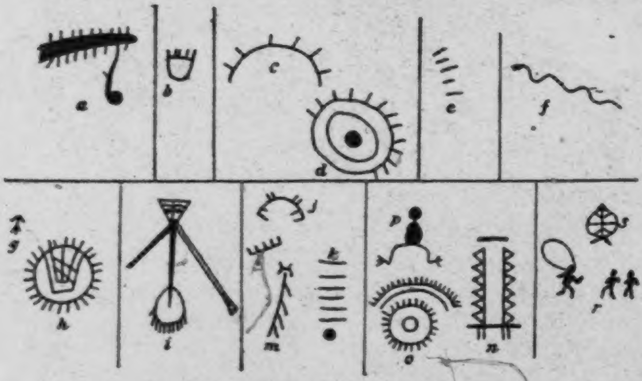

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tilun near Keremeous; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i–p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit. 776 881

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20–24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more 532 787 ● 881

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

291
531
*171
• [787]

The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some

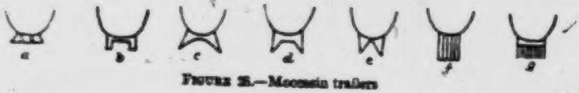

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

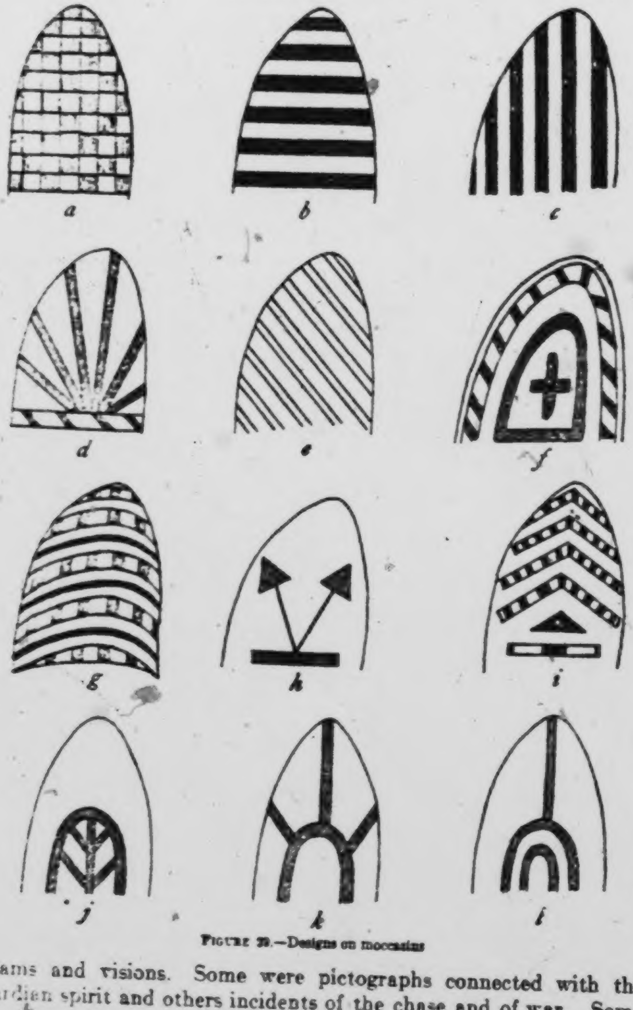

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point. 624 619

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ásqɛt* ("cloud"), *-ɛ́lst* ("stone"), *-qɛn*, *-qain* ("head"), *-ɛ'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names:

551 171* [787] ● 551 787 171* 551 171* [428]

Tena'sqɛt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Sapaaypaqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stakasətci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Ilemi'um spaka'ni' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoirspaka'ni'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead. 000

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

776 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or
*171 near their sphere of influence.

Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as
787 among the Coeur d'Alène. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain
one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course
*171 of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping
vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained
533 one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the
*171 guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not
obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the
[787] novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new
variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The
themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or
while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear,"
and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of
the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the
eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and
such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed
in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits.
There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic
nature.

778 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and
*171 birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also
charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine
cases, or small specially made parflèches. When going to battle many
men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins
of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 **Berdaches.**—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting
*171 like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people.
[756] They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor
clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed
and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's
work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and
joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either
sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's
clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is
supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women
do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite
and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8
years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males,
and not hermaphrodites.

756 **Shamans.**—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were
*171 similar to those of the Coeur d'Alène and other Salishan tribes. A
noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died
000 about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo
they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

226 796 [482] [622]

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on during the first four days each year that fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was to keep the fish at the river shore until daybreak (the first ones usually having been taken at night), and then carry them up on poles, actually spear poles, which were thrust into the gills and out through the mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders. They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves to await butchering. The butcher is chosen by the head man as one skilled in the work and deserving the distinction. He frequently does it himself.

226 796 252 788

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. A transverse cut is made into the ventral side at the base of the mandible, where the gill slits are closest together, and another transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to the backbone. The head of the fish is then bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made

[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 15 (A)

226
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796

by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh.

The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 ● 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. Here they continue their constant conversation, [521] which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listerer: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalū'ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai'wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being sinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwa'a) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi´lstEn) was a diety. In the naming myth Qölüncötn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly. 343 773
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their training for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: 515 788 [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi´lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qÜwa´ksEn qwänënmI´nEn
Take pity on me,
nöläÜtiksq'ÜAl
Let me live to be old,
kÜwä´kskInxI´tEn
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167(A)

nŏkĕnspálsq'ŏ′lxwa
So I can kill deer, 515
Iati′sak'latsI′nEm 788
Deer.
Young boys would repeat the first line, calling on Sweat House, as they heated the rocks. [539]

The bath not only contributed to one's physical health, but purified him spiritually, and was advisable or even necessary before enterprises in which luck was a strong factor. Before setting out on a gambling expedition, the players took a number of sweat baths and abstained from sexual commerce. If one violated the latter tabu during the expedition he had to take the sweat baths all over again. In attending several sweat baths I got the impression, though it was not substantiated by any direct statement of the informants, that men together in the sweat house felt a strong bond of familiarity and exchanged many confidences. 515 783

The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. Though present in the folklore, it played a very small part in the old religion, and did not become the basis of a cult until the arrival of the Dream dance.'[1] 776 177

Our informants showed the implicit distinction between the old God and the new when, after telling the myth in which the "Great Man" gave names to animals and the sweat house, they declared that God was unknown to the Indians until shortly before European contact. The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man" or "Chief" and his functions as name-giver and general overseer of the world. He was not identified with Coyote (sinkalI′p) nor was he localized to the north or the south. His present name, qŏlüncŏ′tn, translated by the informants as "man-maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question. Cecile carefully explained that though people called him this, he was really nameless. As a giver of prophecy in dreams, qŏlüncŏ′tn appeared as the great deity of the Dream dance cult. Conceptions of him as a White God who made the Indians, and as a White Child, had almost certainly a Christian origin. Under missionary tutelage, the Okanagon believed that he lived in the sky, and they taught their children that good people went to him after death, whereas bad ones went to the Devil. Cecile said that he had a wife, a daughter, and a son, but we obtained no other information on these characters. Suszen stated that "before the whites came" God looked like the rainbow.

The Devil, a figure derived from Christ-

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C), category 116. -- Analyst

p. 167 (B)

A common Indian children's game of "staying sober" was played at any season. A group of children faced one child and attempted by pointing and ridicule to make the child laugh. As soon as a player laughed or smiled he was counted out and another child took his turn at keeping a straight face. 524

SMOKING

Adults, both men and women, smoked alone for pleasure at any time. It was commonly indulged in after the heavy meal of the day. In groups, a pipe was often handed around from person to person, but no ritual was involved; such smoking was purely social. The right to smoke, however, was delayed until after a young man or woman had acquired supernatural powers and had been instructed in a vision to sing at the winter dance. They might then be as young as ten or eleven. After this the smoker invariably used a pipe whenever his special powers were invoked, but he had also the privilege of smoking for his own enjoyment. Some old people with power smoked very early in the morning or late at night while others were asleep, so that no one would walk behind them while they were so occupied. Formerly the same pipe was used for ceremonial smoking and for pleasure. At present cigarettes are smoked at social gatherings. The stone pipe, carefully preserved and carried by every shaman, is restricted almost entirely to ceremonial use. 276

Kinnickinnick (skülsü'łmEn or ckElci'łłmilEx) was smoked. Informants stated that it was never used unmixed, but did not remember what was used for the mixture before commercial tobacco became common. The leaves and fruit of the bear-berry (skülI's) were dried, crushed. and smoked in pipes. A plant called sma'nxü, apparently a species of *Nicotiana*, was formerly abundant and was smoked unmixed. At present it grows only near Riverside. A white root (xacxac) was pounded fine, dried, and mixed with tobacco to make it mild.

Pipe bowls were carved of steatite with thin reed tubes about five inches long set into the side. The specimens seen were small inverted cones or cylindrical in shape. None were carved in animal shapes, and no symbolic meanings were attached to their decoration.

Smoking was a feature of all ceremonies, and ceremonial smoking was esential whenever a shaman paused to "think about his power" during a cure, when the leader of a gambling team wished to give supernatural assistance during a game, or when a hunting leader sought to invoke his special power during an expedition. In no case does there seem to have been any idea of a smoke offering to particuler spirits. 276 788

‡[For context of these footnotes, see p. 193(B), category 116.--Analyst]

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16 On the construction, see Material Culture. ‡

17 On this see Religion. ‡

p. 193(A)

000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsɛ'ł'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwɛ'ltsɛme'pstsɛmxa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulɛnt'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titlslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tsɛsɛmɛxł' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iôlelɛmt' or *Yôlelɛmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. [439] Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. 276 • 788 *171 In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. 276 *171 A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival 224
at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, 487
of the circular or tipi type.[3] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day.

All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He 224
usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner 624
in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans.

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illus- 224
trates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved 624
with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known
hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expedi- 789
tions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out.

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[3] See page 34.

preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[4]

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There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

224

Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned.

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulá'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

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[4] Cf., the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence. 411

Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary. 411 224

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water. 411 789

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food. 262 825

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

A special feature of some of the dances was a performance to bring the Chinook 789
wind and warmer weather. It was called skwatsá'mu'xam. The dance itself did 796
not differ; only the motivation of the dancers was changed. The leader during such a period of the dance was one with weather power. Such power was not directly given by the elements. It was conferred by the spirit of something typical of the prairie country south of the Columbia river (from which direction the Chinook winds came). Thus a particular bird, only found south of the river, was often the donor of the "Chinook" power.

Sometimes during a protracted period of severe weather in late winter a special dance was called, with the approval of the chief, for the specific purpose of bringing warmer weather. Here again the actual procedure at the dance did not differ from the regular pattern, but a person with weather power was the active leader. The real excuse for the dance was to provide an opportunity for him to sing and dance and tell of the powers he possessed and promises he had been given.

At a certain dance all those with weather power had sung and danced, but to no avail, and were ready to give up. Finally a young crippled woman announced that she would bring the Chinook wind. Everyone laughed at her but she sang nevertheless. She told how she had been visited many years before by a handsome young man who was actually Mallard Duck. He had given her power to bring the warm winds. She told further that he had appeared to her again the preceding night and said that if she sang the wind would come in two days. Her singing was successful. Two days later the winds came.

All dances lasted until dawn each morning. The days were devoted mainly 796
to sleeping.

But the women sometimes spent the morning in a dance called t'ai'ɛk. A few women gathered together baskets of food and began to dance from house to house. They sang their guardian spirit songs as they danced. In each house they stayed about a half hour, dancing and giving handfuls of food to all present. Other women joined them as they proceeded.

On the morning following the last night of the dance the presents were dis- 481
tributed. All the people gathered at the dance house and seated themselves around 796
the room. The shaman in charge began to sing. Then his helpers, usually two or three young men, removed the presents from the poles and piled them in the middle of the room. The shaman picked up one article at a time, mentioned someone's name to the spokesman and handed him the present. The spokesman called out the name and gave the article to one of the helpers to carry to the person. All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive gifts. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced. During the entire procedure the shaman continued to sing. After the last gift had been disposed of the group danced for about five minutes, then broke up.

At this time individuals sometimes gave presents independently. It was common for a person to appear dressed in two or three shirts or dresses, covered

following one could be stopped without killing it by picking some grass or a few leaves and throwing them on the toad's back, saying, "Here, I pay you this. There is your blanket and your food. Now don't follow me." 821 825

The weather knew what was said concerning it. It was not well to boast of one's ability to withstand cold weather. One young hunter was admonished by his father to put on more clothes before going hunting. He objected, saying, "The cold is my wife. I don't need any more clothes." The next morning he was found frozen to death. 821

When lightning was seen but no thunder was heard, the weather that followed was very hot.

A summer in which two or three crops of berries appeared was followed by a winter with much snow.

Thick vegetation and bushes blossoming in the fall presaged a great deal of snow. Many worms on the wild cherry trees or many yellow jackets were indicative of the same thing.

Large flakes of snow falling in the spring were followed by the coming of crows. People said of the snowflakes, "Those are crows' socks."

A rainbow indicated that a storm was to follow or that "thunder was showing its wings."

The twitching of one's forehead indicated that rainy weather was to follow.

The croaking of frogs marked the coming of spring.

When the weather was foggy people said that coyote had urinated.

One's finger became sore and sometimes dropped off if it were pointed at a rainbow.

The coming of warm weather was indicated by: a dark crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the north; parhelia; dark or "colored" clouds before sunset or sunrise, if persisting; pine trees with a yellow appearance in the morning; wind "roaring" in the mountains (Chinook wind); or a new moon with tips of its horns in a nearly vertical plane.

The coming of cold weather was indicated by: a gray crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the south; a ring close around the sun or moon; anthelia; a fragmentary rainbow between the sun and the horizon in the afternoon; brilliantly colored clouds at sunset; pale clouds before sunrise; "deep red clouds" before sunrise lasting only a few moments; wind "whistling" in the mountains; a light blue, cloudless sky after sunset; "bright large stars"; pine trees with a dark appearance in the morning; many shooting stars; or a new moon with the horns pointing upward.

Black clouds resulted in rain; gray clouds gave rise to snow.

Cumulus clouds appearing in the morning brought a strong south wind.

A certain amount of control over the weather was possible to anyone who followed closely certain formulae. But major changes could only be made by those possessing spirit power over meteorologic elements. This supernatural control was usually exercised at the winter dances. 781 821

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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The common formulae follow:

To bring rain, bark from the jack pine was placed in a basket full of water or the leaves of the sulphur flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides*, Nutt., (si'a'its'qan) were mashed and similarly immersed.

To stop the rain pine cones were burned in the camp fire, Oregon grape berries were thrown into the air or head lice were thrown out into the rain. Another method was to place an otter skin in the fire and leave it until charred, then throw the ashes about.

The wind could be summoned in hot weather by charring needles from the top of the jack pine and throwing them into the air. The top needles were used because the coming of a breeze was first indicated by the motion of the topmost needles of the pines. Sulphur flower (same species as above) also brought wind if pounded between rocks, dampened and spread about.

Thunder was stopped by placing a long stick vertically in the ground and tying a knife to the upper end. Or sometimes several knives were simply stuck in the ground at various places.

OMENS

787 Twitching in the left arm indicated that bad news would be heard. Twitching of the shoulder was of the same significance.

Twitching of the right arm presaged good news.

If the heart beat fast the person was soon to become angry, or to hear bad news.

Itching below the eye was a sign that one was to cry as a result of hearing bad news.

Quivering of the eye was followed by seeing something unusual.

If the eyebrow or lip (Tom said upper lip), twitched, its owner was to have an argument and become angry.

If the heel twitched it indicated that one was to receive a horse soon.

Twitching of the bottom of the foot while riding meant that the rider was soon to be walking.

Quivering of the chin was a sign that good food was to be eaten on the morrow.

Buzzing in the left ear was followed by hearing bad news, perhaps of a death. Buzzing in the right ear meant good news.

If a tightly tied necklace fell off, it indicated that the wearer or a near relative was to die.

When a dog urinated on a person a death followed. A dog howling near a house sometimes meant death.

The falling of a tree in calm weather presaged unusual news.

If tamarack needles fell on the rump of a female bear it caused her to have a miscarriage. That is why bears hibernated before the tamarack needles turned yellow and began to fall.

If one built a fire with wood from a tree which had beed struck by lightning it caused him to have cramps.

The appearance of many mosquitoes preceded the lowering of the Columbia river.

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power 224
was needed for securing fur animals as for
food, most men having enough general power; [777]
but if a man had poor luck he would dance,
sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck
would be pitied by his relatives and an old-
er one might help by telling how the trapping
should be done, but of course no one could
approach an older man to ask this. He had to
wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer
were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting
simply the hind legs along their inner sides
and then pulling the skin off inside out.
All meat and fat is then scraped off and a
stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and
pushed into it, sometimes with a second
stick lashed across its center. The skin is
kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the
shade for four days or so, then turned fur
side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kēkawa´p) in deer hunt- 231
ing has been described above.

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224
the best were ever used. They are never
spoken to in camp today, and the idea of pet-
ting them is ridiculous to these Indians.
They were trained as pups to follow the scent
by being brought along on small hunts by
their owners, and having their heads held in
a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also
a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and
bear meat would be tied about their necks, or
the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on
their noses. They were taught not to bark
until a deer was brought to bay, since this
would scare the other deer. Before a serious
hunt they would be tied up for several days,
beyond the range of camp smells, in little
shelters with deer skins for them to lie on,
and given very little food. They might be
taken into the sweat house, where men with
appropriate power would blow into their nos-
es to give them better scent. No woman was [784]
allowed to handle them. They were not cas-
trated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492]
pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes,
but with short legs. Their colors were 231
black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They
were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, 552
Trees, or more generelly animal or bird names,
according to fancied resemblances in the
dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that prob-
ably only male dogs were named and always
for animals: cinq!allí´p, "coyote"; siniksti´a,
"skunk"; ckámxí´ct, "bear"; kílaññe, "grizzly
bear." Every dog knew its name, but they
were called by saying "come here" or whistl-
ing or making a kissing sound. If a female 562
dog was lost, in chasing game or what not,
the owner would make a little digging stick 789
and say, "Come back: think about your dig-
ging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231
arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825]
to be able to converse with dogs.

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411 531 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design in natural color on pigment"

411 321 324 Arrows for shooting small game were not provided with stone heads but were simply sharpened to a point. War arrows and those designed for large game were fitted with bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed. The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow, which was then whittled thin and sinew wrapped around the joint over an application of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in [463 778] the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads could be made only by a man with proper power. The first time he used this power to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'Istin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 278 789 Arrows for both war and the chase were sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled with wood from a tree struck by lightning. The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely psychological and its use was connect- [821] ed with the belief that contact with a lightning struck tree would prove fatal. According to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the Colville did. The distinction is doubtful. [825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in its blood. The root of a nettle plant called staátsExünt was also boiled with arrows to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow [754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic element, in food. This caused slow consumption.) No song or spells were known to help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows were kept in separate quivers, but were not protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(A)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

796 The dance was organized and led by a single person, usually a man, whose guardian spirit had instructed him in a dream to do so. If he failed to comply with this command, as with other commands of the spirit, his health was endangered. The spirit might order him to give several dances in the course of his life. The dance seemed to imply considerable power on the part of the leader; at least, a person with very weak power — that is, with a guardian spirit in which he felt little confidence — would hardly attempt an exhibition of this kind. At whatever time of the year the dream came, the dance was always held in the winter, usually in January or February, when the people had already passed two or three months in winter quarters. If he received the dream in the summer, the individual announced that he would give a dance "when the snow comes." This limitation applied only to the formal dances, not to the singing of power songs, nor to power dreams, shamanistic curing, or other manifestations of the guardian spirits, which might occur at any time. Though the Okanagon did not believe that guardian spirits went away in the summer, to return in the winter, they had a vague feeling that power was stronger or more closely present in the winter, and that sickness, against which the dance was largely directed, was more dangerous at that season. The real reason may lie in the greater concentration of the community in the large winter houses than when fishing, hunting and food-gathering in the warmer months.' [1]

• [788] In the early spring a power dance was held to make the rain come and the Chinook (south) wind blow and melt away the snow. The local whites call this the Chinook dance. This was essentially the same as the ceremonies held during the winter, but was always led by a man with power from some kind of bird, which had told him to sing for rain and wind.

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574 The winter dance was usually held in the largest house in the village, or in the house of the dance leader if that were large enough. In aboriginal days this would have been a mat-covered long-house, or a semi-subterranean earth-covered lodge(?). Occasionally the village headman lent his more commodious dwelling for this purpose, though someone else were giving the dance. One always gave his first winter dance in his own house. The leader provided most of the food and members of his family did most of the cooking, but others might contribute and assist. Chilowhist Jim said that the food for the guests was cooked by three men and three women, who were all young and strong, and that this was one of the few occasions on which men did culinary work. These cooks, he explained, were appointed by the chief. Each family coming to the dance contributed some food to the common supply and also loaned some utensils, marked so that they could later be reclaimed by their owners.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

p. 146(B)

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 773 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

539 Coyote and Porcupine were partners.'[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right!" Then I came back.'[1]

789 796 [184] The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElsIü'ʇ (Upper Kutenai ?)'[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqöli'tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

789 796 potent. A band of Colville held only one such ceremony each year. If they intended to go out to fight in the spring, they wanted the power and the advice of cpEpqōlI'tc, and his forecast of defeat would prevent them from going. The seance was held as part of the winter dances and transpired among the Colville as follows.

Before the people began to dance, three or four shamans hung up within the house a large mat, partitioning off a small space against the wall. A special door for the spirits opened into this compartment from the outside of the house. Nothing in the compartment was visible to the audience while the mat hung in place. The mat had been specially made before the dance and painted with human figures. Only the shamans handled it.

The seance was held after the people had danced for two or three nights. In preparation, the cpEpqōlI'tc shaman bound his waist tightly with a rope. His thumbs were tied behind him, and his big toes were also tied together, so that the animals could carry him conveniently by their tump-line. The other shamans then threw him under the mat partition into the sanctum. The congregation, having stopped dancing, sang his power song. When they heard the toot of a little whistle from behind the mat, a whistle which the shamans had placed there or had tied to the top of the mat, they knew that the performer had been cut in two by the rope around his waist. They heard cpEpqōlI'tc come into the compartment and take him away, but they continued to sing his song. With the spirit of the "big ling fish" entered those of other fish, animals, and so on. The people could not see these, and with the exception of cpEpqōlI'tc the spirits did not address them, but could be heard "thumping around." The ling fish, whom the congregation called by name, responded in a thick muffled voice, like that of a toothless old man, and answered their inquiries with regard to lost articles, lost relatives, or the prospects for the immediate future, such as success in a war expedition. After about an hour of this, he told them that he had to hurry away to a seance at another Indian village.

[787] CpEpqōlI'tc knew everything in the world. His special activities in locating lost things and lost people remind us of the Colville bluejay power. This emphasis on finding lost objects distinguishes the shamanism of the Colville from that of the Okanagon.

A large pipe of tobacco had been placed

in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing. 787 796

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

Papalöt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papalöt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papalöt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sümix, not papalöt. Though Cecile stated that papaiot came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost. 778 787

One who heard or saw the papalöt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papalöt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papalöt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the paphalöt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papalöt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papalöt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

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778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from pepaɫŏt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the pepaɫŏt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

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doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suszen said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

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A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, SwIpkIn, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqê'n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqê'n was curing the patient, SwIpkIn's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqê'n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suszen declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not cooperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

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times when two shamans were jealous of each other they dreamed of this as they slept. Then the less powerful one was ill when he awoke, for his enemy had taken him by surprise. If one had the eagle and the other had the hawk as guardian spirits, the eagle seized the hawk by the middle of its body, and the hawk caught the eagle by the neck. The two contending shamans felt each other's grip in their sleep, and cried, "Let me alone!" He of hawk power lost a lot of blood around the waist; one could actually see it. The other made sounds as if he were being choked. Such injuries, however, did not leave scars. If the two powers were evenly matched, both shamans survived; but if the guardian spirit of one was killed, he himself died within two or three days. One who had thus lost his power and was about to die was called pq!ŏntm.

Sometimes a stranger's power came to the winter dance intending to destroy that of a local shaman. When the latter saw it approaching he told some of his professional friends and secured their aid. During the dance the battle between the powers raged. A storm came, thunder, a high wind, and intense darkness; then snow or rain fell. The people, observing this, said, "Shamans are fighting." But they continued to dance.

Shamans could assail each other in this way while sitting together. When a member of a shaman's family had been killed by a hostile guardian spirit, his own power came to him in a dream and revealed the murderer. He then went to visit the latter and during the interview the powers of the two men locked combat. They fought each other under the ground, or, if they were birds, in the air. That night one of them went to sleep knowing that his power had been defeated and slain, and within a few hours he died.

When smoking, a shaman might "put himself right in the bottom of his pipe." If an unfriendly shaman came to harm him, the smoker's power closed the stem and the bowl of the pipe, capturing the other's power within. As a challenge to power contests, shamans often passed their pipes to each other for a few puffs.

Johnnie's Colville grandfather dreamed that a certain Similkameen shaman had caught him in his pipe. He went to see the supposed offender, who suggested that they have a smoke. They sat down. The Similkameen shaman turned his pipe to the sun, puffed three times, and lit the pipe from the sun. When he passed it to Johnnie's grandfather, the latter put his thumb over the bowl and puffed three times and the bowl split in two. He said, "I'm sorry that I broke your pipe. I couldn't help it." That ended the contest.

The same man had the Story Rock power from a hole in a bluff where he had spent a

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night on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock.

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans coöperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait by its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku´sum, destroyed the power of that hero.[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

Suszen's story of Sulktasku´sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. Sulktasku´sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes. 159

Sulktasku´sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

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p.155 (B). [1] [For footnote see p.155(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

[578] A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. 789 ● Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate 791 freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house 342 building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men 791 of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. 825 For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

A shaman with special power for hunting deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sásīō′s 224 kēláspī′χEm. Women did not customarily hunt 791 deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this 562 purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

224 791 562

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure illness. When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening.

224 791 789

If a group of hunters met with no success, they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwelhŭmĕst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatṓ's, a leader in a shammanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill.

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

224 778

One might be walking through the woods singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot.

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

224 776 778

A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It

226 789 In the "very old days," long before Suzen's father could remember, some shamans were always doing harm. They delighted especially in spoiling the salmon fisheries by letting all the salmon go through. The people had to watch these "mean doctors." They gave them food whenever they wanted it and were otherwise good to them, for they were all afraid of their great power.

726 789 In war the guardian spirits came to man's aid in numerous ways. They warned and advised him, gave his family immunity to arrows and bullets, enabled him to escape from his enemies by becoming invisible or by assuming animal attributes, fortified his morale in battle by allowing him to sing their power songs, and sometimes even restored him to life when the enemy had left him for dead. A man who had special power for warfare was much desired as a housemate because he could foresee an attack by enemies, though he never set himself up as a rival to the regular chief. Although no power songs were sung at a war dance, the warriors often took this opportunity to display their power emblems and to tell the people what their power was and how it had helped them in their exploits. A few instances will illustrate the many methods of employing power in war.

726 773 In a story told by David Isaac, the hero ktsasikwa when pursued by the Shuswap had made a fire to heat the stones for a sweat house. But as soon as he had a good blaze, his power told him, "Your enemy is near you; it's going to bite you." Ktsasikwa then threw water on the fire and the pursuers, seeing this steam from afar, thought that it was only a natural mist. Later he and his brother outwitted the enemy by changing themselves into wolves. Wearing a cap with a wolf nose in front and a grizzly nose behind, he took the scent of some Shuswap tracks by turning the grizzly nose to the front, thus using his grizzly power. Still later in the tale, when ktsatsikwa had caught on a snag while swimming under water, his frog power saved him from drowning and he made a noise like a frog.

Once some old people, some children, and one young man were making a salmon weir at Okanogan while the rest of their band were out hunting and picking berries. A war party appeared on the opposite bank of the river. The young man came out of his tipi and gave them signals for peace, but they replied in the sign language, "We want to eat and sleep. Tomorrow we'll fight you. Get ready." The young man immediately sent a boy across the river with some salmon for the enemy. He did the same the next morning, when he again urged the hostile party not to attack and signalled them that his people would give them whatever they wanted.

Now he happened to have thunder power. When he was a little child he had made, according to the command of the spirit, two sacred arrows: one painted yellow, the other red, white, yellow and black. He had kept

726 773

them high up in his lodge, and no one, not even he himself, ever handled them. Thunder had told him to make these arrows for use in such an emergency as this. He now explained to the people, "I don't want to fight. I only want to try my thunder power with these arrows. That is why I have never played with them or used them for hunting, but have kept them carefully for so long."

Having motioned to the enemy that he was ready to fight, he jumped about, hollered and shot one arrow straight into the air. It soared on for about ten seconds. It was just like waking up the thunder. There was a loud noise. When he shot up the other arrow, the thunder realized that its ward was in danger. Then thunder and lightning came and killed all the enemy. After this the young man explained his power to his fellows

726 787 789

When a little bird first came to a boy as guardian spirit, hail might fall and the bird tell him, "These hailstones are like bullets and arrows." This meant that he would be immune from bullets and arrows in war. In the account of Sülktaskū′sūm given by Suszen, the hero had received his power from a magpie when a child, and no bullets could harm him.

In other cases, such immunity was a natural quality of the guardian which it imparted to the warrior. SĕrsĕpkIn, a chief of the Northern Okanagon half a century ago, had got power from a pitch-pine stump at the foot of a rock-slide in the Similkameen valley. The stump had been worn smooth by rocks and gravel. Just before the battle of McLaughlin's Canyon, in which SĕrsĕpkIn came to blows with the white soldiers, he told his men that this stump was his guardian spirit, and ordered them to shoot him to prove his power. When they did so, the bullet flattened out against him and left him unscathed.

One's guardian spirit might come to him in his sleep and say, "Tomorrow you'll be shot. But if you paint yourself with red paint like a bullet wound, the bullets won't hurt you."

No less remarkable were the ways in which power enabled one to elude his enemies SĕrsĕpkIn and two of his warriors, qōwĕcElExkIn and sqElūxtcō, were leading a war party against the white soldiers who were encamped by the Okanogan River. SĕrsĕpkIn and qōwĕcElExkIn left their guns with sqElūxtcō and walked into the enemy's camp. They seized two guns from the soldier's stack. When the soldiers tried to catch them, the two warriors leaped around like animals and finally escaped in one great leap. Their white foes shot at them but could not hit them. QōwĕcElExkIn's power was an eel: when you grab an eel you can not hold it. At a war dance qōwĕcElExkIn recounted this adventure himself.

A girl and her mother were once attacked by Blackfoot and escaped by invoking

P. 161(A)

their guardian spirits. The mother, who had deer power, pulled her dress over her head and ran away naked like a deer; while her daughter, whose power was the eagle, took some eagle feathers from the inside of her dress, put them on her head, and flew away. 726 787 789

Once the foe made fires all around a village in which there were four men, so that the latter could not leave the village without being seen. But one of the men used his power to transform himself and the other three into mice, and in this guise they all escaped.

A passage in the Coyote tales informs us that Coyote's faeces, his special guardian spirits, advised and enabled him to transform himself into a wooden pan in order to outwit the Bird-women. In another tale he eluded his foes by invoking his power to make the air dark and foggy. 773

In the story of Marten and Fisher, Marten "thought the cottonwoods to grow right around the tent," that is, used his power to make them grow there with miraculous speed, so as to hide the tent.

In comparison with the preceding instances, the following seems more dramatic as well as more credible. Two Okanagon boys and their mother were camping on a ridge between Oroville and Osoyoos to avoid the mosquitoes. One of the boys had been sick and paralyzed for a long time, so that he could hardly move. During the night, when the old woman went out to urinate, she saw Shuswap warriors lying all around watching her. She thought if she showed fright they would kill her, and wanted first to let her healthy son know, so she pulled her dress way up and scratched herself as if she did not see them. When she told her son about them he prepared to fight. As soon as dawn came he jumped out of the tipi and shot at the Shuswap, who returned the fire. The sick boy did his best to escape, his mother walking behind him. When he tried to climb the hill, he fell back. His warrior brother turned around and continued to shoot at the Shuswap. Again the sick boy tried to climb the hill, but fell back. His mother was nearly helpless also, and the Shuswap realized in what a plight all three of them were. They wanted to terrorize the fighting boy, so they hollered at him and blew their flutes[!] and made all kinds of ugly noises. The sick boy was still trying to climb the hill. He did not succeed till the Shuswap, by pure chance, made a noise like the sound of his power animal. Then he ran up the hill full speed and his brother followed. The Shuswap caught the old woman and were going to kill her, but she had some fine swan's feathers sewed on the sleeves and shoulders of her dress. She tore these out, threw them behind her, and ran away. When the Okanagon saw them coming down the hill toward Oroville, they said, "The Shuswap must have attacked the boys and old woman and be chasing them." So they took their weapons and went out to meet the enemy. 726 778 789 539

p. 161 (B)

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxêntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxênt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.[4] Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
278 gation with certain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
flower and the plant from which love medi-
789 cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or pƚaƚ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever car-
ried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by
the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snêna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaôwil) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

508 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

756 in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of [754] driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

517 577 Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts [illegible] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

778 789 Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

[illegible] *a*, pp. 366, 367.

that telling coyote stories would make snow or cold; and burning lightning wood would make cold weather. However, wood of trees struck by lightning was never burned except by accident, as it was believed that one of the people who burned it or used it as firewood would die. Some people believed that toads had the power of making rain at will. 789

Medicines.—As among the Thompson, a number of medicines made from herbs were used as tonics, or salves, but I did not have opportunity to inquire into this subject. The scent root called *χasχas* was dried and powdered fine, then mixed with animal grease and used as a salve on sores. As among the Thompson, mother's milk was used occasionally to anoint sore eyes. 757

796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lɛl-ɛl-ɛl-ɛl!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *171 Current Beliefs, Charms, etc.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

● 789 *171 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind, 278 *171 poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

[192]

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[1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

poles were tied together near the top, one 171
of them serving as one of the frames for the
door; then a fourth pole was tied to this 342
pole near the apex and served as the other
side of the door frame. A horizontal stick
tied to these two poles completed the door
frame. The flat tule mat door was suspended
from this crosspiece.

The house of a chief was of exactly the 342
same type as the ordinary mat lodge, but it
was usually larger in order to accomodate the 622

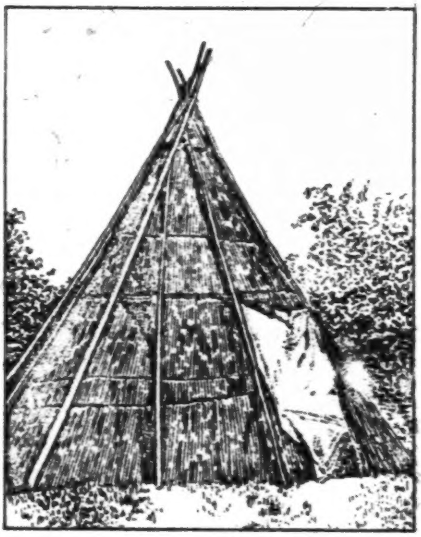

Fig. 4. Mat-covered tipi of Colville or Southern Okanagon.

greater number of families who lived with the
chief. The two highest rows of tule mats [531]
which covered the chief's lodge were decorated
on the outside, usually with vertical
imbricated strips of white material about
three-quarters of an inch wide and about two
feet apart. Shaman's houses were as large [791]
as chiefs' but less tidy. The ordinary man
feared to decorate his house with painting
or imbrication lest a shaman should then
take away some of his power.

The mat-covered tipi was a conical lodge 342
built on a three or four pole foundation.
This has been reported from all parts of our
area and from the Northern Okanagon. A circular
pit about a foot deep was dug, and
three or four poles (both numbers were regularly
used) sharpened and tied together at
the top were set up inside the excavation.
Other poles of smaller diameter were then
tucked in among the foundation poles, the
butt ends of all poles resting against the

1/∧ [For context of this footnote, see p. 39 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

4 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 69. 1/∧

304 cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman
[791] capable of drawing blood from wounds might
tattoo a line of dots from each corner of
his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not
clear whether the designs had any connection
with the power animal or other significance.
[681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a
person because he was a murderer or thief, as
Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin; this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent introduction than the first. 171 It was said to have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce 854 now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

276 specifications. They were about six inches wide by nine inches long, but varied greatly in size. They were sewed up on one side, perhaps fringed at the seam, and were closed by a draw-string at the top. They were decorated with porcupine quills. A shaman's pouch was painted on both sides. In more recent times they used a single long bag, about the length of a stocking, open at both ends, and separated into two parts by a seam across the middle. Tobacco and pipe were kept in one compartment, kinikinik in the other. A Wenatchi woman shaman was seen with a cloth bag of this type knotted several times in the middle to keep the compartments separate. One informant stated that the bag was sewn down the middle: whether this means longitudinally or transversely is not clear. These bags were fringed and decorated with quill work, though modern cloth bags were undecorated. Tobacco bags were made of ground-hog skin, buckskin, and, in later days, other materials. Otter hide was used by chiefs and other wealthy men, "strong men" who were able to (permitted to ?) make fire with the fire drill.

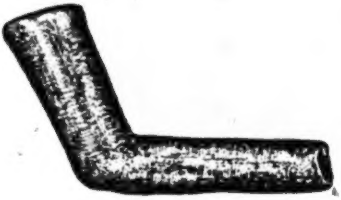

Fig. 35. Stone pipe.

276
•791 In former days the only women who smoked were shamans. Smoking always accompanied a shamanistic curing ceremony. A man shaman had a special ceremonial pipe decorated with his power animal, in addition to his ordinary or secular pipe. No other person was permitted to smoke the shaman's ceremonial pipe.

PREPARATION OF MATERIALS

Tanning

281 Deer skins were tanned by women. If the skin was not to be prepared immediately it was hung, hair side under, over a pole tied between two trees until dry, then stored away. When ready for dressing the skin was soaked in a stream for several days. The wet skin was then laid over a log leaned against a tree and the hair scraped off. This log, prepared by a man, was about six inches in diameter and about five or six feet long.

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kaietk were vigilant and constantly prepared for an attack. 721

The settlements at the mouth of the Okanogan were known to Mary Carden to have been attacked by the following: Blackfoot(?), Spokan, Moses Columbia, Nez Percé, Yakima, and Coast people (stq'wat'I'kEn). There may be some doubt as to Moses Columbia and Yakima, for on another occasion she stated that the former were always friendly allies and that the Yakima never came so far north.

Captives to be held as slaves were never deliberately sought by the Sinkaietk. A wounded enemy might be cared for by the chief and in time be identified with his captors. (On slaves see below.) 727

War Leader

A man with power from a strong animal such as cougar or eagle may be the war leader (snkEcI'lc). He was considered immune to wounds and directed the tactics of all his men. Such an individual is supposed to be able to dream of an approaching enemy attack so it is always desirable to winter with him. He is urged to stay at the regular winter villages with the chief. He has no proper title or position, but is much respected as a strong fighter and a man who has saved his people. Ixwaski'nt, a Kartar, was such a man. 701 624 [787] 791 ●

The Sinkaietk used to have an old camp on Salmon Creek at Okanogan a long time ago, a summer camp. They had a trench there to defend it. In July they would be camping up there. They used to pick berries below Okanogan, below that island where the eddy is, on the east side of the river. They had a watchman on the hill there watching for strangers. When the women saw any strangers they would let out a whoop and scatter and run away. They had canoes there to cross the river. When the other Indians used to come, they came on that hill, and the Sinkaietk used to cross the river and get back to their camp. When they had that fight with the Blackfoot, everyone picking berries except one woman was killed. She got back to camp. Those in camp got their bows and arrows and stopped the enemies before they got to the camp. Ixwaski'nt was the war leader of the Sinkaietk. He drove the Blackfoot below Okanogan and killed all except two who swam the river but were captured before they got across. Only one of the enemy was allowed to return to his tribe. Ixwaski'nt told him to tell the Blackfoot that he, Ixwaski'nt, had won the fight.[20] [1] 721 729 173

The Konkonelp people sent word to the Kartar band that the Spokan were coming to

[1] [For this footnote, see p. 79 (A), category 116.-- Analyst.]

p. 79 (B)

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
173 to skûnqwûníép to camp with them. One of the
Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot,
but he turned into a wolf. His name was
Ixwaski´nt. That night when they want to
sleep, Lxwaski´nt went over to the Spokan
camp and killed all but one. He told him,
"I will leave you, so you can go back and
tell the other people." This time, none of
the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed,
because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
with war power may sing all night and tell
791 what he had dreamed and what to do to win
the fight. There may be power contests in
advance of a fight between two warriors or
between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some
feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however,
and that a man whose wife is menstruating is
not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
war dance, neither before nor after battle.
[727] The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending
one or two enemy warriors back to their own
people, as messengers, to carry the news of
their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk.
Equally important in their war tales is the
firm belief that in times of great danger it
is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best
fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man
726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women
are picking berries or the men fishing, the
chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who
watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile,
but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in
Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always
stationed on the high tableland behind the
camp. Since attacks usually come after dark
it is his duty to keep awake to watch for
scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes
these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep
and permit surprise attacks. In giving a
warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they
merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather
up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally
paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant "[1] it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, she might smoke, if she was one with power to smoke. ● [791] A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

[1] [For footnote, see p. 120 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies *en route*, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these [791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

778 622 [791] membered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's 431
power angry. The spirit might command a
girl to dance and give blankets to the people 782
even though she had none to give, and if
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid
child to whom the guardian spirits would not [538]
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called sûksûmix.
The word for the power quest was tsûntsût or
tsôntlôt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

776 778 787 825 power emblems of the more sacred sort. The same may be said for the circle tattooed on each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake skin which men with snake power glued to their bows. The most simple point in costume or adornment which the guardian spirit might prescribe for its protégé was the prohibition against cutting his hair.

776 778 787 276 791 [531] [324] Smoking had formerly been much more closely associated with power than it was in recent times. Apparently it had been confined to shamans, but became secularized. A shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he cherished his power emblem, a little pipe for specially religious use. This pipe was called sInIaöta'kc. However numerous his guardian spirits, only one of them told him to have this. The animals which usually issued this command were strong creatures such as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle. Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer did not tell their protégés to make the power pipe. On the pipe was incised or painted a picture of the animal in question. A young boy or girl might secretly have one if the guardian spirit had requested it; but many people were thirty or thirty-five years old before they had their power pipes. In the early days, women did not smoke before middle age, though young women might own pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother if he had no father, to have one made for him, and a girl preferably told her mother. The pipe was always fashioned by an expert worker in stone, who received a price for it. One smoked his power pipe whenever he was severely ill, injured, or curing his own children, but otherwise he did not do so except in case of severe danger to himself or his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could light it from the sun in about three puffs. One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for that was dangerous, though he might inhale freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

776 342 578 Representations of the guardian spirit were never portrayed on houses or house posts, because "if they did that, some Indian doctor would think they were acting too smart and take their power away."

791 531 Only people with strong power painted pictures on rock. One did not do this until he had sung his power song at his first winter dance. When he painted these pictures, he had with him a friend who knew their meaning and who could later call on him for aid from the pictures. The painter said to his friend, "I'm painting these here so that if you ever have any illness or get hurt you can call on me to help you." The painter's companion told other members of the tribe that so-and-so had painted the pictures, which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

778 [177]

In more recent times, at any rate, the post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called cəl'acxIn, which were carried individually by the dancers. Mary Carden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow.

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

796 276 791

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.[1] People never smoked them while actually dancing, but shamans watching the ceremonies passed them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. Only those who had taken a leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit.

[1] [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

where they had sat, the women remaining on one side of the room and the men on the other. 796 Mary said that there were three intermissions during the night, of about ten minutes each. 535 During these, any guests who so desired might leave the room or go home, but they did not do so at any other time. To announce the intermission, the host told the door-keeper to call out, "Everybody can take a rest now." When the dance was to be resumed, the door-keeper cried, "The dance is going to begin." There was, Mary said, a door-keeper for every outside door.

Suszen's description of the dance was somewhat unique, mainly in including drums as an important element. He said that the people formed a circle around a central fire, or, if the house was long and narrow, formed two straight lines with the fire between them and a drum at one or at each end of the formation. The leader of the dance sometimes beat the drum while the people sang his power song. If two men were conducting the dance and there was only one drum, they took turns beating it. The congregation jumped rhythmically up and down; some remaining in one place, others dancing around the group in no particular direction.

One's actions during the ceremony depended largely on the inspiration which he received from his guardian spirit at the time. These spirits were closely present. A shaman felt his power and heard its song from within. Michel said that one saw his guardian spirit and conversed with it, though other people could not hear his voice as he did so.

When a shaman in the crowd felt his power come to him, he "went into a trance," became stiff, and was unable to dance with the others. Inspired by his power he began to talk. Anyone who wished to volunteer as interpreter came and sat beside him, repeating his words to the congregation. When the shaman who was then dancing at the center of the floor had finished, the newly inspired one arose and stood beside the post, followed by the interpreter, and continued to talk for a short while. He then sang his power song and danced around the post, accompanied by the congregation as described above, until he ceased to "hear" his power, when he suddenly stopped. Then the congregation stopped dancing and sat down until another shaman took his place at the post, when the performance was repeated. Between ten and twenty of these individual dances took place during the night. This probably means that each shaman talked, sang, and danced individually for not more than half an hour at a time. If one's power came to him and he did not stand up and dance, he was like one dead or in a trance; blood entered his mouth and choked him.

The shaman's grasping the post and shaking it brought his power to bear on the public welfare. 791 Male shamans invariably did so, unless they used the individual dance-stick; but for female shamans this was op-

791 tional, and one informant stated that women
never touched the post. If a person with insufficient power touched it, his hand "froze" to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen, however, with his theoretical turn of mind, explained that a man with absolutely no power could not be harmed by doing this, since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone, with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sInkakIūs) would leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the shamans at the offense. The latter preferred to leave the soul on the post to give himself the opportunity to cure the victim later on. If another shaman saw the soul's predicament, he might say to the shaman who had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take him away from there." The victim then stood beside the post and the shaman drew out the soul, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed whole. If no one saw the soul on the post, or if the shaman declined to take pity the offender was doomed. When the dance had ended, the post was taken up into the hills and left standing against a tree. As it dried up in summer, the person whose soul was attached to it "dried up" also. He became ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew weak, and finally died. If not too far gone, he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid by the sick man or his family. The practitioner came to the patient's house, placed his hands on him, and sang his own power song. As he sang, his power went out into the hills, drew the soul from the drying post and brought it to the shaman, who blew it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
stick instead of the central post held the
535 stick with both hands, one hand near each
end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping
776 motion so that the end of the stick touched
the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Stony

796 Rock because a myth was associated with the
535 place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure
me; my power even swallows the sun."
776 The hearers all knew that this referred to
the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 One of the shamans presiding at the
dance might tell some of the younger men, usually
522 those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 In an interval between performances, if
the congregation was thirsty they made a
535 noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that
they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced,
[271] "Go and get water from such-and-such a
mountain." The interpreter repeated this
791 loudly. Someone then fetched water from
near the house, not from the assigned mountain,
for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

796 535 791 good fortune. If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted.

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

[776] Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this.

796 431 At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (ca. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution

778 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving
food away. If it asked for all his pos-
sessions, he would have to obey in order to
424 master it. A sick man who found power in a
dream would let it go, not deeming himself
strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the
power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly
trying to cure, and if they knew
that someone with a desirable guardian spirit
was about to die, they would send their own
power to steal it.

Those attending the winter dance, especially
778 the young neophytes, stood in danger
of having their power stolen by malignant
796 shamans who were there. The latter
sometimes banded together to do this, and if
789 one of them succeeded, the power remained
his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized
this phase of the winter assemblies,
and said that the chiefs prohibited power
contests at the dances because they were so
often fatal.

Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman
778 could steal another's power while the latter
was asleep and that power conflicts took
place at the winter ceremonies. She said
that a person who had some power might hang
up a bright blanket to attract more. If he
saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized
that an additional guardian spirit had
come to him. This was not confirmed by
other informants.

Cecile told the following anecdote of
778 power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable
to cure a woman suffering from papalǒt,
791 her family called in four other shamans to
assist him. This made him jealous. He said
to the others, "You four fellows work first
and I will be the last." He went aside and
sat by himself till they had done all they
could for the patient. When he returned to
her he not only extracted the papalǒt but
stole her own power also. The patient's
brothers, being informed of this foul act by
the other four shamans, held a knife to his
throat and made him drink poison. He ran out
of the house in convulsions and tried, since
he had fish power, to reach the creek, but
died before he got there, so that his power
could not help him. The woman whose power
he had stolen died also.

When one became senile he failed to
778 hear his power song and to receive messages
883 from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly
shamans might try to find his lost power
763 for him by looking under the water, in the
mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance,
but sometimes they met with no success.
This meant that before long he would
die. Suszen explained that power abandoned
very old people because they were too feeble
to fulfill its commands as imparted to them
in dreams. It could in no wise be induced
to remain with them.

778 Husbands and wives did not bequeath
424 their power to each other. Indeed, it is

778 424 doubtful whether power was ever given away, except in the sense that an older person might help a youthful relative to obtain a guardian spirit which he himself had. At one time Suszen said that if one gave away his power he would die, but at another he declared that most people who died in advanced old age had very little power left, since they had lost some of it gradually and had given the rest away. According to Johnnie, one could transfer his power to another by blowing upon him, at which the recipient swooned and then revived, but this probably refers to a method of curing, for otherwise it would conflict with other evidence. Michel and Johnnie said that nowadays, when young Indians seldom get power for themselves, some claim arbitrarily to have their father's power, but they cannot use this successfully for it is not their own.

POWER CONTESTS

789 •791 A shaman might bring his guardian spirit into conflict with that of another to justify a boast, to thwart some attempt of his opponent, or to kill him by annihilating his power. If one of a man's guardian spirits were killed, his others died also. We may best describe such encounters in the course of a few illustrations.

They were often visualized as a struggle between the animals and birds representing the guardian spirits of the opponents and were especially liable to occur at a curing ceremony. Three powerful men, Michel's grandfather, Swīpkīn, and another, combined against a Similkameen doctor called Ntluxuluxqē'n, whom they wished to destroy because they suspected him of killing people by his spiritual arts. They persuaded him to treat a case of sickness. He had the fish-hawk as guardian spirit; one of his assailants had the eagle. As Ntluxuluxqē'n was curing the patient, Swīpkīn's power fastened itself to the back of his head and the eagle grabbed his buttocks. His power tried in vain to escape, and all three rose a little way into the air, in mortal combat. Soon they saw the fish-hawk come tumbling down. The two powers that had vanquished it, separated, one going to the north and the other to the south. When Ntluxuluxqē'n had finished blowing on the patient, he said, "That's enough." He went to bed and by the next morning he had died. On another occasion, two shamans, one having the power of the hawk and the other of the chickadee, were trying to cure a patient. The chickadee succeeded. The jealous hawk shaman made his power seize the throat of the other doctor and the latter gasped as if being strangled. Suszen declared that shamans working on the same patient did not usually antagonize each other, but that if they did so, the chief punished them for not coöperating. This idea of punishment, however, received no confirmation from other informants.

One shaman might kill another by sending his guardian spirit out to attack the other's while both men were asleep. Some-

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times when two shamans were jealous of each other they dreamed of this as they slept. Then the less powerful one was ill when he awoke, for his enemy had taken him by surprise. If one had the eagle and the other had the hawk as guardian spirits, the eagle seized the hawk by the middle of its body, and the hawk caught the eagle by the neck. The two contending shamans felt each other's grip in their sleep, and cried, "Let me alone!" He of hawk power lost a lot of blood around the waist; one could actually see it. The other made sounds as if he were being choked. Such injuries, however, did not leave scars. If the two powers were evenly matched, both shamans survived; but if the guardian spirit of one was killed, he himself died within two or three days. One who had thus lost his power and was about to die was called pq!ĕntm.

Sometimes a stranger's power came to the winter dance intending to destroy that of a local shaman. When the latter saw it approaching he told some of his professional friends and secured their aid. During the dance the battle between the powers raged. A storm came, thunder, a high wind, and intense darkness; then snow or rain fell. The people, observing this, said, "Shamans are fighting." But they continued to dance.

Shamans could assail each other in this way while sitting together. When a member of a shaman's family had been killed by a hostile guardian spirit, his own power came to him in a dream and revealed the murderer. He then went to visit the latter and during the interview the powers of the two men locked combat. They fought each other under the ground, or, if they were birds, in the air. That night one of them went to sleep knowing that his power had been defeated and slain, and within a few hours he died.

When smoking, a shaman might "put himself right in the bottom of his pipe." If an unfriendly shaman came to harm him, the smoker's power closed the stem and the bowl of the pipe, capturing the other's power within. As a challenge to power contests, shamans often passed their pipes to each other for a few puffs.

Johnnie's Colville grandfather dreamed that a certain Similkameen shaman had caught him in his pipe. He went to see the supposed offender, who suggested that they have a smoke. They sat down. The Similkameen shaman turned his pipe to the sun, puffed three times, and lit the pipe from the sun. When he passed it to Johnnie's grandfather, the latter put his thumb over the bowl and puffed three times and the bowl split in two. He said, "I'm sorry that I broke your pipe. I couldn't help it." That ended the contest.

The same man had the Story Rock power from a hole in a bluff where he had spent a

p.155(A)

might on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock. 789 791

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans coöperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait by its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku´sum, destroyed the power of that hero.[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

Suszen's story of Sulktasku´sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. Sulktasku´sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes. 159

Sulktasku´sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

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[1] [For footnote see p. 155(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

754 hers, she was bound to die somehow. Michel's sister's people were very sorry about this. They felt responsible for Suzanne's death, because they had called in the Yakima man to doctor Nancy.

789 791 Shaman's contests often took a milder form. Michel's father and another man were playing the stick game. Both had strong power. The other man took the bones. When he opened his hands the bones had been shattered. Michel's father got another set of bones and did the same thing. Though Michel said, "They must have been playing," he told this anecdote while discussing shamanistic conflicts.

[578] A certain old man had a tobacco pouch made of groundhog skin on one side and spotted fawn skin on the other. A shaman asked him for tobacco. He threw the pouch at the shaman so that it landed with the skin of the groundhog uppermost. This insulted the shaman, who made a power noise to attract the old man. But the latter merely laughed and said, as the other walked away, "His anus is full of blue mud."

Michel said that shamans never fought each other physically, but only in such acts of spiritual power.

USES OF POWER

776 778 791 The guardian spirits conferred on their wards many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and, above all, the ability to cure illness. One might employ his power for both private and public purposes. These various uses of power hardly lend themselves to a rigid classification, but I shall first discuss them as applied to individual enterprise, and then in their more communal functions such as hunting and war. Curing, the most professional activity of all, will be reserved for a special section.

One with a strong guardian spirit could easily see the power of anyone who was spiritually weaker, and could observe at any distance a person who was on the way to visit him or who was hurt. His guardian spirit warned him of impending danger. When he dreamed that harm was about to befall someone, his power might tell him to sing its song as soon as he awoke and thus protect the victim. Since he could not be approached while asleep without awaking, one might test another's power by coming to look at him while he was asleep. If the latter failed to wake, the other would say, "He's been lying. He has no power." A good shaman knew when he was going to die, even though other shamans were doing their best to cure him of his mortal affliction.

He could protect his friends by "put-

776 778 791 ting them into his pipe." This probably means that he put their powers there. In one of the folktales Fox defended Coyote and Coyote's son and grandson from the Water Monster in this way.

776 778 Stories of endurance against fatigue, hunger, cold, and other hardships are commonly told to illustrate power. Once, when ice was floating down the Okanogan River at its confluence with the Columbia, two daredevils began a swimming contest across the Columbia, while the bystanders laid bets on the outcome. One of the contestants had as his guardian spirit a deer swimming across the river in winter. The other did not tell what his spirit was, but he made his clothes wriggle through the ice to indicate that it was the otter. A canoe followed the two. Since the deer power was not very good for swimming, its possessor got cold and stiff, and was picked up by the canoe. He nearly died. But the man with otter power swam across the river and back again. When he emerged he wriggled through the snow on the shore, again showing the onlookers from what animal he had got his power.

A boy hunting on snowshoes near Lake Chelan became exhausted. A freezing north wind arose. He thought, "Well, my power is the minnow [or a little trout]. Now I wonder how it will help me. I'll try it out." He submerged himself to the neck in water and stayed there all night. In the morning he went home. His people asked him how he had outlived the storm, and when he told them, they would not believe him until they had seen the place.

In time of famine one's power might allow him to live on food which would have been worse than nothing for other people. A man with a beaver as guardian spirit would "think of his power" and the spirit would tell him in a dream to eat some little twigs or pieces of bark, just as did the beaver itself. One with salmon power who desired some of this fish might eat anything at hand; it would taste to him like good salmon.

Power which a woman received from a bitch with young or from a female eagle with a brood enabled her to bear children successfully all alone, or when travelling. This was because her guardian spirit had its young "just anywhere."

791 754 Some shamans, both men and women, had a special faculty for preparing and projecting magical darts. The dart was called qwaqō´lx. The shaman took a hair, a feather, a blade of grass, or some other small, thin object, brought it "to life" by rubbing and blowing on it, and blew it toward his victim. Or he might lay the tail feathers of a robin and the down of an eagle on a mat, dancing and singing till the tail feathers stood erect, when they were ready for use in the same way. Though he did not sing or dance while shooting the dart, and said nothing to help it along, he could regulate its strength. Sometimes it killed the victim outright. Often

791 it caused only a painful swelling, which a shaman might cure by one of the usual methods for disease extraction. If the intended 754 victim had sufficient power he could see the dart coming and catch it, thus preventing it from harming him. The guardian spirits who gave the best power for shooting these darts were spider, rattlesnake, yellow jacket, or other things that bit or stung. A shaman who had this power might keep the small red tail feathers of the woodpecker, wearing one to advertise his ability. He did not tell people about it, but they knew what the feather meant. Though these darts were not a common means of hunting wild animals for food, horses could be killed thus, and our informants knew of one man who brought down flying swans in this way. The only beings recognized as immune to this were white men and cows. When the whites first came, the Indians shot these darts at them with murderous intent, but the shamans could see the darts fall to the ground after going just so far toward their mark.

Power helped people to play games. When 776 players of two tribes came together for a 778 match, each side might have a shaman who assisted his party before the game by smoking his power pipe in silence and solitude while 526 thinking about his power. The guardian spirit of a stick game player might tell him to prepare his sticks in a certain way, and, when not using them, to hide them in an ant hill to guard them from the contaminating influence of women. Roots wrapped in buckskin and placed in an ant hill made "good power" for the stick game.

Power gave speed and endurance in foot racing. One famous racer, a relative of Suszen, was challenged by a man at Inchelium, in Colville territory. The latter said that after the race he would tell what his guardian spirit was. The two contestants ran faster than the horses of those who followed the race, but Suszen's relative lost. Shaking hands with him, the Inchelium man said modestly, "I'm sorry I beat you. I didn't expect to. When I was a little boy a mouse ran fast under my pillow and told me I would be a good foot racer. I tried that power today and won. Perhaps you have a better one." Suszen's relative replied, "I have a good guardian spirit, the sage hen. But you won with just a small power." He never ran another race.

791 Of all the animal benefactors, only bears and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form. Billy Joe knew an old woman with bear power who could do this. When his wife's mother (a Wenatchi) and another woman had seen a grizzly and reported this to the old woman's son, he laughed and explained, "I guess it's my mother playing bear." This were-bear woman always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed.

Of shamanistic practices for the public good, the control of the weather was perhaps 789 the most general in effect. Though the Colville sang their power songs for alternate 791 freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house 342 building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men 791 of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. 825 For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

A shaman with special power for hunting 224 deer was called tlakwil^{ux} sásIō´s kēláspI´x̣Em. Women did not customarily hunt 791 deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this 562 purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

off these pieces, and ate them. Other people were then free to enjoy the kill. 224
If her brother brought several deer from one hunt, 791
she ate the ear and lip pieces from only one of them. The same power enabled her to cure
illness. 562
When a man went on the warpath his wife might help him by thinking of her power and by singing her power song in the evening.

If a group of hunters met with no success, 224
they asked aid from one of their number who had the appropriate power. 791
When evening came he sat with his back toward the fire and sang for a long time. 789
Then he told his companions to go to a certain place and kill the youngest deer that they could find. If they did so, they afterwards had better luck. This performance was called cqwəlhûməst, "doing the best that one can." Another procedure was for them all to sing their power songs in the evening and on the next morning to go out and find deer. The leader of the party (xatō's, a leader in a shamanistic ceremony), who had deer power, killed the first one they found and ate a piece of the liver while it was still warm. He then gave each of the other hunters some of the liver to eat. Those of them who had power from carnivorous animals also drank some of the deer's blood as soon as they had made the kill.

Sometimes a man with deer power threw out all the entrails of the deer, with the kidneys, heart, and liver, to "feed one of his other powers" which had helped him." Cecile told of a man who had hunted for four days and got no deer. On the fourth night, coyotes howled around his house. He told his wife that the coyotes were about to aid him. The next morning he killed a big deer and threw out the entrails for them.

One might be walking through the woods 224
singing his power song, when suddenly a deer would appear and he would kill it. 778
Anyone so favored would know that he had deer power. His song called the deer, which complacently stood in his way and waited to be shot.

During a very bad winter, when David's people were starving, a man with strong power for hunting went out with his dog. The dog drove a deer down into a lake, but the hunter could not get near enough to shoot it. A second time the dog drove the deer into the lake, but again the hunter failed; and a third time. Then the deer tried to escape. As it was about to run out of sight around a hill, the hunter yelled as loudly as he could. The deer fell dead. When he told his friends this they would not believe him till he had showed them the tracks. Then they had faith in his power. At another time, when he had stalked a flock of swans unsuccessfully and they had soared into the air, he looked up and hoped for one. It dropped dead at his feet. This was due to another power which he had. Many winters this man saved the people from starvation.

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A hunter with a grizzly bear as guardian 776
spirit could kill a grizzly with ease. It 778

Sinkaietk
Colville

776 778 Guardian spirits might bestow miraculous vitality on a warrior and restore him from death. Suszen said that after the great hero sü'ktaskü'süm had been cut to pieces by the Blackfoot, his entrails moved until the next day. In the Colville story of qüinmüsq, the hero, finally done to death and thrown into the river by his Spokan enemies, was "put together" and revived by his power animals. Johnnie's great-grandfather, probably a Colville, had a dream of killing the Kutenai. Later, in a battle, he cut off the head of a Kutenai warrior and threw it into a lake. But the head revived and animals surrounded it as it floated on the water. This manifested a special power of his.

Suszen showed a picture of a man lying on his back in the forest, scalped and dead and surrounded by many animals. The man had power from the chief of these, and he had also summoned the others to help him. The crow found his scalp and brought it back to him; then the beaver brought him to life.

776 778 539 Suszen related that once, at Fort Spokane, the white soldiers were preparing to fight another group of whites who were known as the Red Shirt People. The former had with them as allies some Nez Percé braves from Nespelem. They had sent a challenge to the Red Shirts. While they were waiting for a reply, in war dance formation, Indians and soldiers all together around the fires, a Spokane warrior offered to predict what the reply would be. He said that he would twice start to leave camp and twice return, and he directed one of his friends to kill him with a club as he was about to leave camp the third time. He explained that his spirit would go to where the fight would take place, would learn the result of the battle, and would return to tell their captain. The friend killed him just as he had suggested, where all could behold the deed. Then they held the war dance. An hour after this requested murder, the slain warrior revived and informed his comrades that at noon on the next day, when the two forces met for combat, the leaders would hold parley and come to terms. His prediction was fulfilled. Though Suszen told this anecdote as evidence of power, it involves some confusion between the guardian spirit and the soul, since the warrior's spirit had to be released by his death before it could accomplish its errand.

778 776 791 Among the Colville, power derived from the bluejay differed from any recorded for the Okanagon, for it especially enabled its possessor to find lost articles and people, and sometimes impelled him to flee human society and lead an insane life in the woods. Bluejay shamans used black face-paint. A man with this power once disappeared from a settlement near Marcus just after the winter dance and was not found till the next autumn. His brother dreamed that he might be discovered with a group of wild horses at noon on the day following the dream. Enlisting the aid of a few good ropers, the brother went out to capture him. They found him as foretold in the dream, leaping from one horse's

778 776 791 back to another. The horses escaped, but the maniac was bound, fumigated with xacxac root, and restored to normal life. David, the narrator, knew of no other instance of this kind, but Johnnie's account of the behavior of Colville bluejay shamans when they went out to find lost things, and the repeated statement that they "turned into bluejays," indicate a much more violent form of spirit possession than occurred among the Okanagon. Johnnie recounted that those with this power turned into bluejays at a dance, which no one was allowed to leave. They would fly out through a crack in the door. They would stay naked in the mountains for months, living only on pitch. One such named inyás (Aeneas, Ignace?) could jump up a tree and dance on one foot on its tip. People "spoke backward" to him. If a man was lost in the mountains or drowned, or if horses were lost, he was asked to find them. He hopped out on one foot; reporting on his return, "I did not find him," meaning the reverse. Another named q!aI′Iyä would hop out and find a coin secreted in the snow. In all the cases given, the shamans had possessed their bluejay power for some time; we obtained no account of their conduct soon after getting the power.

CURING

757 Two schools of Okanagon medicine are clearly to be distinguished: one secular, employing splints, bandages, hot and cold applications, herbs, and so on, and open to all who could learn the techniques; the other religious, closely bound up with power, entered only by those whose guardian spirits, especially strong, had directed them into the curing profession, and who, usually, had given several winter dances. I shall first discuss this latter, shamanistic kind of therapy. Let us bear in mind, however, that though certain complaints were more amenable to the secular art whereas others were seldom treated in this way, a large number of cases might be treated in both ways, a shaman being called in after secular methods had failed. Some said that a white physician could never diagnose or cure an ailment from papaīōt or from other magico-religious causes, but that an Indian shaman had no ability to treat smallpox, influenza, and similar diseases recognized by the whites. This was probably a rationalization in defense of native methods.

756 791 Of all the purposes to which a Southern Okanagon might invoke his guardian spirit, healing and curing were the most professional. Though every normal adult had at least one spirit, proficiency as a physician marked the individual as a true shaman. The word tĩa·kwIlEx̣ designated any person who had power, but those who employed their spirits for curing were referred to by terms denoting the techniques which they used. Such specialists were the tĩa·kwIlEx̣ x̣al'sĩa′pEm or tĩa·qwI′lEx xEl sx̣Ex̣Elós, who cured by sucking; the pōxpōxūmēlh, lit. "blowing all the while" or pōxūmēmin, who cured by blowing; and the tĩa kwIlEx xal'áspūxEm who

cured by blowing and manipulation. The proportion of shamans to laymen varied greatly between villages. Both men and women could be shamans, but men probably predominated. 756 791

Though all shamans had some general curing ability, their powers were usually specialized. Thus, spider power and rattlesnake power were employed respectively to treat the bites of these vermin, but power from certain kinds of hawks and other birds which kill snakes also served against snake venom. A shaman with spider power could see a spider-bite, even through clothing, without being told that it was there. When a certain small boy had been bitten by a spider, his father went from the Omak district all the way up to Loomis to procure a shaman that he knew of, only to find that this practitioner could not effect the cure because he had not the spider power.

If a shaman had several powers and did not know just what was wrong with the patient, he tried first one and then another in his attempts to cure. A mistake in the treatment might bring the sickness on himself. In cases of very serious illness, several shamans might cooperate. Four, three men and a woman, struggled to save the life of the woman who had been bewitched by Suzanne. They took turns in trying to draw the sickness out of her, but to no avail.

Sometimes a shaman dreamed that a certain person was sick. On awaking he sang for a while and then went to the prospective patient and offered to cure him. He sometimes had to travel a long distance to his case, even in the days before horses when he had to go on foot. If the cure was successful, he received a small gift; if not, he gained nothing. The amount was not stated beforehand, but was as much as the patient or his family wished or were able to give: as little as a blanket or as much as a horse. The patient never gave his daughter to the shaman as a fee. Lucy Joe said that she would return the fee if her patient died. In recent years, since the white doctors are paid in ratio to the distance which they must come, some shamans require a large payment before attempting the cure. Despite the time they spent in visiting patients, shamans had to engage in the same everyday occupations as did laymen. Only Suszen declared that a shaman who refused to attend patients because of malice might, after due warning, be killed by the "chiefs and the people." They clubbed him to death, hanged him, cut his throat, or bound him, weighted him with rocks and drowned him. Arrows were not used for this purpose because many shamans were immune to them.

Aside from the more obvious cases of physical injury, the Southern Okanagon attributed sickness chiefly to the intrusion of a tangible and more or less animate object into the victim's body, to power-theft, to soul-loss, to insubordination to one's power, or to violation of a religious taboo. 753

755 A cure involving both manipulation and blowing was described as follows by Cecile. The doctor first sang for about ten minutes, presumably his power song. Then he worked his hands over the reclining patient from feet to head and grasped the sickness over the head in both hands. One or two bystanders seized him "to prevent him from dying or being carried away by the strength of the medicine," and plunged his hands, which still held the sickness, into a vessel of water. When the sickness had become quiet, the doctor took his hands out of the water and "threw away" the sickness by blowing on it. He repeated this process four times, twice working his hands up from the patient's feet and twice down from the head.

For rheumatism the shaman blew on the sensitive place and rubbed it with his hands Then he caught the illness over the patient head, rolled it between his hands, and displayed a slender dark object which he said he had extracted. Josephine, the interpreter for Mary Carden who described this method believed that this object was only dirt which the shaman had rubbed from the patient's skin. But Mary insisted it might have been projected into the victim by an enemy. When placed in water it moved like a worm.

Another method of extracting blood, worms, general illness, poison, or other injurious things was that of sucking. Shamans proficient in sucking blood wore a tattooed line from each corner of the mouth down each side of the chin. Certain guardian spirits gave power for this, notably such blood-sucking insects as the mosquito and the horsefly, and animals which were often shot or speared, such as deer and salmon. The shaman sometimes sucked the patient's blood between his (cupped ?) hands placed over the heart or over the afflicted member. After the treatment he deposited the blood or other cause of trouble in a vessel of water where it would cool down and become quiet, and where people could see it. No visible break remained in the patient's skin as a result of the sucking. Among ailments cured in this way were wounds and hemorrhage, appendicitis, a fish bone in the throat, blood-poisoning, toothache, extreme grief.

Fifteen years ago, when a man called Sam George was at the Omak agency, he suffered a severe internal injury. The white doctor held his wrist for fifteen minutes (fifteen was apparently a "pattern number" for Suszen, the narrator) but Sam died anyway. A shaman then sucked poison from close to Sam's heart and put it in a cup of water. The agent and the white doctor looked at the poison. There was no hole in Sam's skin where the doctor had sucked. Sam got well and still lives. Harry Timentwa and Old Harry's grandson both testified that they had been cured of illness by the sucking treatment.

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●791 Some shamans sprinkled water on a patient as they walked around him. If he show-

755 791 ed no signs of improvement at the fourth round, his case was hopeless. Billy Joe told of a cure performed by his wife, an old Wenatchi shaman, by this method combined with blowing. A man had been stabbed all over his body, and lay motionless and unconscious. His friends sent for Billy Joe's wife, who at once saw that the patient was nearly dead. Singing her power song, she sprinkled water on him as she walked around him three times. Still he did not move. She said, "If he doesn't move when I sprinkle water the fourth time around, he's hopeless." For the fourth time she walked around him sprinkling the water. This time he moved. She blew on him, his friends took him and bathed him in the Columbia River, and he got well.

A shaman with tobacco power smoked his power pipe and blew the smoke on the patient. A girl who had this power kept secretly a little pipe as a power emblem. If she were very ill, her guardian spirit told her to smoke this pipe. She did so, using tobacco and kinnikinnik: the smoke went all through her body as a medicine. When the community heard that she had cured herself in this way, her services were demanded for the benefit of others. Even if she had never smoked before, but was told by her spirit in a dream to go cure a certain sick person by smoking, she took her little pipe to the patient's house and smoked it there. The patient's relatives then understood and offered her money for the treatment. She refused the money, but agreed to perform the cure. This she did by smoking the pipe and blowing the smoke on the patient.

Sometimes in such cases as poisoning of the blood one touch of the shaman's fingertips sufficed for the cure. One old woman with spider power saw a horse bitten by a spider and said, "He's been bitten right by that rib." She then put her hand on the bite and healed it. Rattlesnake bite could sometimes be cured by a rattlesnake shaman in the same simple way, though the poison had even infected the bone.

One old woman who had power from the largest of all the deer could cure a sick baby by simply carrying it about. Johnnie's sister had had several children, all of whom had died shortly after birth. When her last child was born this old woman made a cradleboard and placed him in it and he survived.

To treat a sickness caused by power theft or power loss the power had to be recaptured. We did not obtain specific information as to how this was done. Presumably the shaman who was employed for the cure projected his own power out and enticed the lost power back into its owner.

The tail feathers of a robin, prepared as described for power capture on an earlier page, might also be used in curing. At night the shaman put one of these feathers in his hair. In the morning he found the feather back on the mat. Then the patient recovered.

756 791 Aside from the essential therapeutic act, be it blowing, sucking, manipulation, or touching, the practitioner did certain things to invoke his guardian spirits and to express his power. Thinking about the power, singing its song, and sometimes declaring the identity of the spirit, not only prepared him inwardly for the business in hand, but inspired the confidence of his patient and of the community. He also sang describing the condition of the patient and the gestures and methods which he would use in the cure. No two shamans sang alike, but each as his power had dictated. He sang the song which he had heard his guardian sing to him as a child. If he had several powers and did not know what was the patient's illness, he tried his powers one after another. While curing, the shaman wore no special clothing and did not carry or wear his power emblems, articles which he employed only at the winter dances. But he usually smoked his power pipe before beginning the treatment. Sometimes he danced if he had been so instructed by his guardian spirit. A passage in Suszen's evidence indicates the importance of dancing as a part of the curing process. Suszen said that the more shamans there were at a curing, the more nights they would dance and the better it was for the patient. When only a few shamans were there, they would grow tired sooner. Some shamans had to play the stick game as part of their curing technique, and hit the reclining patient with both hands on the stomach and chest, if these had been activities prescribed by their spirits. A certain shaman who had skunk power stamped his foot on the ground as he extracted illness and told the bystanders that he was a skunk.

757 Curing by means of herbs and other medicines was called mäREmän. There was no special word for those who did it. It was practised mainly by aged men and women who had learned the art more or less secretly from other old people. They had not paid for this instruction. They did not have to possess any special amount or quality of power, though they usually had some and might even be professional power shamans. One might be called to a case from a long distance, just as were the shamans, but the fees for secular medicine consisted only of food and other provisions and were less than those given for the more mystical treatment. Some practitioners specialized and became so famous for certain techniques that they did not have to go hunting and food gathering, but were said to receive all of their living from their practice. But each doctor usually knew a number of medicines and treatments In preparing his medicines he took great care to guard them from enfeebling influences, such as the glance of menstruating women.

164 753 The Okanagon believed that they suffered less from diseases before the whites came They said that in those better days they had no venereal complaints and that smallpox, chickenpox, measles, rheumatism, pneumonia, and colds had been less common and virulent.

769 These things are at the side of the
road. A little way beyond some dead people
there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I
never heeded them, just followed the road. A
787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and
woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn
child in the woman's belly. These two can
never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840"[1] a substance resembling "dry
snow" (m·qwaw xlöqülahü, "snow dirt") fell
796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the
ground to a depth of several inches. De-
posits of this may still be seen in the
821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much.
There is a question whether this led to the
performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy
Joe said, "The people just danced and danced
until they had nothing stored away for the
winter." This was the only summer dance of
which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil
or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to
him, prophesied the coming of the white men.
He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as
the later prophets did. Shortly before he
died, God promised him that he would receive
him. This seems to be our earliest hint of
the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability circa 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(4), category 116. -- Analyst]

fifty years ago.) A young man called
qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought 787
up by his grandmother and who suffered from
rheumatism in the hips. One autumn when his 792
band moved from their camping ground at
sInak'a'Ilt, above Keller, qwElaskEn was too
ill to accompany them, and they left him
there with his aged guardian. In November
he died. His grandmother, after covering
his body with blankets and letting the tipi
fall over on it, started out alone in search
of people. After two days she found some
Indians encamped near Whitestone and told
them of the death. Seven days later a party
went out to get his body. As they approach-
ed, they heard him singing. Not knowing
whether it was he or his ghost, they asked
him if he had come back to life. He answered,
"Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crip-
pling him permanently, and he was brought to
camp on a horse.

Thereafter he prayed and sang continu- 787
ously, and exhorted the people to prayer and
to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; 792
had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. At
first they laughed at him, but in the winter
about Christmas (or in the fall) — accord- 823
ing to Cecile they were then at Kartaro —
occurred a severe earthquake (hI·mömpEn, lit.
"the world moved"), which so terrified them
that they ran to his tipi and asked him what
he had seen during his death. He answered
that God had warned him of this earthquake,
and that if they failed to believe in God
and to pray, the world would come to an end
in forty days. They believed him, and fol-
lowing his wish to be taken to a better and
more populous location they conveyed him by
horse to Whitestone.

A few days later came another earth-
quake (two days later according to Cecile),
and a great mass of rock fell into the Co-
lumbia River and caused it to overflow."[1]
Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and
joined a still larger settlement at
EnpüxwE'lQ^x. Now they believed: rich people
asked to care for him.

God used to come to qwElaskEn every 787
night in his dreams and tell him what to do
on the following day. QwElaskEn assured the 792
people that Jesus Christ was right, that he 776

[1] [For footnote, see p. 173 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

himself had been to purgatory to do penance 787
for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had
returned to life to teach mankind. At one
time he told them that the end of the world 792 ●
would come ten days later, or if not then, in
eight years. He advised them to build a 776
long house for nightly congregations, and
warned them that if they did not know how to
pray when doomsday arrived they would turn
into birds, rocks, and other non-human
things. They were very frightened and obeyed
him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased
by the loss of a girl who had run
away from fright at the time of the earthquake
and had not since been seen.

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven
young men and seven young women. At night 792
he taught them prayers and songs — prayers
somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; wordless 159
songs which resembled Catholic hymns —
so that they could teach them to others during
the day. Every night these fourteen disciples
carried torches of pitch pine when
they accompanied the master to the big house.

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." QwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned
159 various parts of the construction to groups of men, and appointed a policeman to
stand over them and keep order. Someone had
an argument with this overseer and killed
him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was sūIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
792 band."[1] A few years before the priests came into the region, sūIpEqēn dreamed that they
would arrive and that the Indians would re-
177 ceive money from the Government. At that
time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use
159 the sign of the cross, to sing religious
songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer, which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites."[1] SūIpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who, after the whites had arrived, decorated his
792 moccasins with red flannel and went among
the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It involved three main conceptions: falling
796 stars (see below), earthquakes, and other
strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in warfare.

THE YEARLY CYCLE

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Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skənɩ'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpatctitsə'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

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The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

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The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared with those who had had to remain.

221 226 462 796 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards. Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 251 342 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 251 342 462 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutan,
285 "time that it snows"; ktsa'tsa'ttɑ'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kət, "time
796 that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of
the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and
mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips
but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, tell-
796 ing stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the
221 season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances
were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled
from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

221 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and
796 released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the
coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones
[160] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were
[855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned
to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to
512 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot
252 rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning
512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves. [476] [462]

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

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[10] See pages 71-73.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general
ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'ləm.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

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Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[19] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amazement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[19] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger 226
than I have ever seen."

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be 539
dreaming."

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said. "You had 773
better come down and see." 796

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it it roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the pro- 226
gram set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of 624
the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself, The building of 796
the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time.

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

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While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[30] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

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The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[31] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psəm) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon," was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[30] See pages 34-35.

[31] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

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Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npuiˈluxʷ, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and dried the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

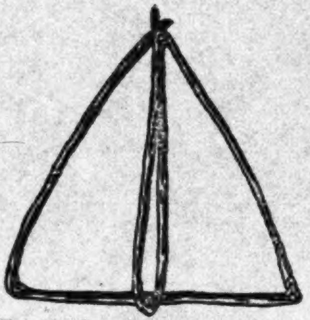

Fig. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

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The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 539 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawayi··· xawa··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi··· 224
(meaningless) 539

sqəpəntcu'əmst^x esnuqitsəxe'ł ni'xulqwa· 825
You cause the other animals to do as you have done.

à·nui' ki'qwʌtuquməts ut' itsəpəntcu'təmstx^u
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuquməts u'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwʌtuquməts ut,
You have given up to me;

sqəpəntcu'təmstx^u i·'s winu·'mtx^u i·'[illegible]kʌlami'lux^u msətstuqumənts u'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224 825

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcınəm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

771 776 The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

787 Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[5]

538 787 Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom, and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

796 Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsatsaltə'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[6] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of lonesomeness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (staxka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

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[5] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[6] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

Dances were sponsored either by a shaman, an initiate or one who had been 796
commanded by his guardian to do so. The frequency of sponsorship was in the 881
order named. There was no difference in the performance in the three cases except
that the novice was initiated as a part of the ceremonies if the dance were given 756
for that purpose. However, at dances of shamanistic sponsorship novices were 796
initiated also if seized by their spirits during the performances. Shamans never banded together to give a joint dance. Since each dance ordinarily lasted but two or three nights it was necessary that many be given to fill the ceremonial period. An attempt was made to avoid giving dances, within a considerable radius, that conflicted in time. Every prominent shaman was expected to sponsor at least one dance each winter. Prestige depended greatly upon observing this rule. John Tom often gave two dances during one period. He continued to give at least one until about five years before his death.

Dances were held in any large mat house or in structures built especially for 796
that purpose. Residences were sometimes temporarily enlarged to accommodate unusual numbers. Invitations were never given. News of the occurrence of a dance was spread from one to another and all except children were entitled to attend. It was customary for an entire group to travel from one dance to another throughout the season.

Only shamans or initiates were permitted to give dances without the approval of the chief. Before agreeing to a performnace by another, the chief satisfied himself that the applicant had actually been directed by his spirit to give a dance. He also made clear to the sponsor that he would be held personally responsible for any violence that might be committed. The chief then set the date and the dance was given. Dances sponsored by novices were in charge of a shaman.

In preparation for a dance the place where it was to be given was cleared of everything movable except the mats where the spectators were to sit. Assistants cut a small fir tree, one slightly shorter than the height of the dance building. The limbs and bark were removed for a distance of about eight feet from the base. Above that the limbs were permitted to remain. The base was sharpened. Thus prepared the tree was left outside the door of the dance house. It was to become the center pole. Inside the building poles were suspended about seven feet above the floor, running the length of the house, unless the framework of the building was such as to provide similar poles. These were for holding the presents. Fireplaces were cleaned and quantities of wood gathered, cut and piled near at hand.

The spectators and participants gathered shortly after sunset. The sponsor, shamans, chiefs and other important persons occupied the end of the room farthest from the entrance door. (Only one entrance was used, the other door being kept closed throughout the dance.) Other participants were scattered throughout the audience. Men occupied the side of the room to the right of the entrance; women the left. All not active half reclined on the mats.

The shaman in charge addressed the audience through a spokesman. The latter repeated in a loud voice and with appropriate emphasis that which the shaman spoke in a low, almost whispering, monotone. Several sentences were transmitted to the spokesman before he repeated them.

776 796 When the crowd had gathered the shaman addressed them: "Now I shall proceed just as my spirit has commanded me. I shall do everything in the proper manner." Then taking a broom or brush he swept all around the center of the room, while saying, "I am doing this for my children (that is, everyone present). I hope you may never have sore feet. I hope that you will always be fleet of foot, and that dust may never get in your eyes." After this he sent an assistant outside to bring in the tree which had been made ready. Upon receiving it he erected it in the center of the room, thrusting the base in the ground as well as possible. To hold it upright he removed his belt and with it he tied the tree to the central cross beam of the roof. During the operation he said: "Now I am putting up my helper, one of my spirits, and on the top I will have Owl sit. He will be my eyes. He will look out for us, all around the country."

624 796 But the spirit guard was not the only one used to supervise the dances and ascertain that none of the rules of conduct were broken. Persons with Owl or Bluejay power regularly impersonated their guardian spirits and guarded the dance and protected the dancers. The same persons served at place after place during the dance season. Before the first dance they removed all their clothing except the breechclout, and blackened the feet, hands and face. These qwa'skei (Bluejays) and x̣a'x̣as (Owls) did not participate in the dances or stand about as guards. They sat in the rafters of the dance building and patrolled the grounds outside. One of the principal rules which it was their duty to enforce was that prohibiting eating of any sort during the dance. Anyone attempting to eat during a dance, no matter how cautious he was, would be seen by one of these sentries who would "fly down and recover the food from the person's throat," and eat it himself. Not only was eating in the dance house prohibited but no cooking or eating in the whole settlement was allowed. If one not attending the dance began to eat the sentries immediately became aware, "flew out," and very soon returned with the food "still hot from the fire." It was displayed and the place where it had been found told, then it was thrown away. These sentries also knew when anyone was approaching the dance house and who it was but it was seldom necessary to notify the shaman of such facts for he, too, could "see" them.

796 Many other formal rules of conduct were enforced by the sentries. No one was allowed to leave the building without the permission of the leader, and then not more than one person at a time. There was an exception to this: at midnight everyone was permitted to go outside for fifteen or twenty minutes, but was required to return. Water was provided but no one was permitted to drink until after the leader, or someone designated by him, had taken a sip. The water would otherwise cause the person to choke and become ill. Smoking was prohibited while singing and dancing were in progress but not at other times.

That sentries sometimes failed to detect infractions is indicated in the following account.

A man once went out from a dance at midnight but failed to return. Instead he went to a nearby house and ate some dried venison. In a little while he became very ill. The next morning the shaman who was the dance leader visited

him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not 796
go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient—
vomited the food enveloped in blood.

Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate 776
expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been 796
actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over."

The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The 756
novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman
the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. 796
Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly 881
walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place.

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow. 756 796 881

The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit.

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater. 754 756 796

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

776 796 881 Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the correct guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian 796 spirit songs (sankwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents.

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each 181 dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night. Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given 796 a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act.

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. 533 After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly to- 796 ward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu·xiqwe'lamx°," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa··yump', axo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardized the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow: 533 796

539 796

na··xaxa··xaxana···' aiai··xaxanai··xaixainai··· a··xaaxa··
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na···	u'yata'	tsaisi'lax.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

xaxawaiyawi··xaxawiyu··xo··ai··ai··ai·· it'latcama'q°,
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'litltca·'qi'n	it'likiltmentcu't	i·kalaka'lkawa'lax°	kilaka-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit

lx·'lax	ul	a'tskasto	imal'ki'a.[8]
	and	let out	blood.

a·xaaxai··xaaa··xa··xaxa··uxaiyu··axana··
(meaningless)

tissnà'nuk'sax°,	ilxus'psulux	kxpala'p	tla'tcku·yukami'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it

kxpala'p	latcitca'lux	tlstuqtuqanin·'lax°.[9]
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).

When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping 535 796

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[7] George Serimpt's song.
[8] Bear's Cricket power song.
[9] Song of Cultus Charley.

the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. [534]
Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only
about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxłkwe'lam) or rest period of equal 535
length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the 796
center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two.

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents 431
for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center 796
pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later.

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the 756
dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent.

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great 796
deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (akluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure.

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. 756
The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision 787
had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else
the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that 796
was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others.

These visions followed a definite form. The guardian spirit of some outsider would appear to the shaman. He would perceive very clearly the location of the spirit and of its owner and the actions and intentions of both. Whenever a spirit was seen in such a manner it was possible to "steal" it from its owner and appropriate it for the shaman himself or anyone else at the dance, providing the powers of the shamans engaged in the procedure were strong enough. The following account, given by John Tom, illustrates well the nature of the shamanistic performance: 756 787 796

> A dance was being held at Whitestone about 1890. Both John Tom and Bob Covington were present. For two nights they danced without anything happening. On the third night ku'ləmtxənii, the shaman in charge saw the spirit of a hunchbacked gambler. He didn't say anything that night. But on the fourth night he asked the other shamans if they had seen anything. They all answered that they hadn't. "Well, maybe it was only clouds that I saw," the leader said. "Dance again and we'll see. They danced, all of the shamans joining in. After a while they conferred again. "It wasn't clouds you saw," the others said, "it was something all right." Then they prepared a little mat woven of willow twigs. It was about two feet square. They covered it with red feathers from the red-headed woodpecker (kulquila'qən). The fires were all put out. Then the mat with the feathers was held out of the door. The leader held one side. Another shaman, si'pasu, held the other side. With their free hands they motioned with eagle feathers for the spirit to come in. After a while the shamans had the fires rebuilt. "We have the spirit," they announced. The mat was folded up and put away. The following night the leader spoke. "We have the spirit of a hunchback gambler. He is from Colville. He has never been here before, but next summer he will come down during the fishing season in June. He is a great gambler but when he comes here he will lose everything he has. He will come with a gray horse, a gray saddle blanket, a black saddle, gray clothes and a big white cowboy hat. You, Covington, take his saddle, but don't take anything more. You, Tom, take his horse, but just that. (Etc.)" He gave each thing to a different person. Then he said, "We'll let him live, but we'll send him back naked." Then the dance continued.
>
> The following summer the gambler came to Keller. But he refused to gamble. One of his own people who had been at the dance had forewarned him. He went back home after only staying one day. But a short time later he lost all that he owned to a man at home although the latter was a very poor gambler.

The particular type of performance described above was called sklu·γa'γu, "to build a fire on a mat to bring a spirit." It was the most popular way of enticing a spirit into the dance house. The feathers "whispered, stood up and drew it in." Feathers other than those from the head of the woodpecker were sometimes used. The tail feathers of the same bird were also effective. Eagle feathers were used in the motioning because spirits liked them and came after them. Other means of drawing in a spirit were also commonly used. The particular method selected depended upon the character of the spirit and its owner. A gambling spirit was attracted by stick game bones or markers. Pretty young women were "offered" to spirits that were difficult to get. Recently brightly colored shawls often have been used.

When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power 756
to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after
depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared 787
and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with 796
the man who received it and inevitably married him.[18] It was possible to cause
the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so.
The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans.

A winter dance was in progesss at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman 753
with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman 756
was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of
the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness 796
and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were
cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance.
When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life.

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power 756
sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily 796
push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance
floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out.
After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over
to it and pull it out with ease.

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kolε'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane. 304

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[18] See page 142.

A special feature of some of the dances was a performance to bring the Chinook wind and warmer weather. It was called skwatsä'mu'xam. The dance itself did not differ; only the motivation of the dancers was changed. The leader during such a period of the dance was one with weather power. Such power was not directly given by the elements. It was conferred by the spirit of something typical of the prairie country south of the Columbia river (from which direction the Chinook winds came). Thus a particular bird, only found south of the river, was often the donor of the "Chinook" power. 789 796

Sometimes during a protracted period of severe weather in late winter a special dance was called, with the approval of the chief, for the specific purpose of bringing warmer weather. Here again the actual procedure at the dance did not differ from the regular pattern, but a person with weather power was the active leader. The real excuse for the dance was to provide an opportunity for him to sing and dance and tell of the powers he possessed and promises he had been given.

At a certain dance all those with weather power had sung and danced, but to no avail, and were ready to give up. Finally a young crippled woman announced that she would bring the Chinook wind. Everyone laughed at her but she sang nevertheless. She told how she had been visited many years before by a handsome young man who was actually Mallard Duck. He had given her power to bring the warm winds. She told further that he had appeared to her again the preceding night and said that if she sang the wind would come in two days. Her singing was successful. Two days later the winds came.

All dances lasted until dawn each morning. The days were devoted mainly to sleeping. 796

But the women sometimes spent the morning in a dance called t'ai'ɛȽ. A few women gathered together baskets of food and began to dance from house to house. They sang their guardian spirit songs as they danced. In each house they stayed about a half hour, dancing and giving handfuls of food to all present. Other women joined them as they proceeded.

On the morning following the last night of the dance the presents were distributed. All the people gathered at the dance house and seated themselves around the room. The shaman in charge began to sing. Then his helpers, usually two or three young men, removed the presents from the poles and piled them in the middle of the room. The shaman picked up one article at a time, mentioned someone's name to the spokesman and handed him the present. The spokesman called out the name and gave the article to one of the helpers to carry to the person. All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive gifts. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced. During the entire procedure the shaman continued to sing. After the last gift had been disposed of the group danced for about five minutes, then broke up. 481 796

At this time individuals sometimes gave presents independently. It was common for a person to appear dressed in two or three shirts or dresses, covered

with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were in-
vited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was 431
left only with a breechclout. 796

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed 756
in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will
be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in
exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power.
Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. 554
Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was 622
a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner
was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves 756
to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent
bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The
fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions
of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had 756
certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power 756
was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal.
Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, 776
or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

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[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

FIRST-SALMON CEREMONY

First-salmon ceremonies[1] were carried on 226
during the first four days each year that
fish were taken at a weir. The procedure was 796
to keep the fish at the river shore until
daybreak (the first ones usually having been
taken at night), and then carry them up on
poles, actually spear poles, which were [482]
thrust into the gills and out through the
mouths. A pair of boys can thus carry eight
or ten, the pole resting on their shoulders.
They are laid on a thick bed of willow leaves
to await butchering. The butcher is chosen [622]
by the head man as one skilled in the work
and deserving the distinction. He frequently
does it himself.

Each fish is scraped clean with a knife. 226
A transverse cut is made into the ventral
side at the base of the mandible, where the 796
gill slits are closest together, and another
transverse cut into the dorsal, at the base 252
of the neck. Each cut penetrates almost to
the backbone. The head of the fish is then 788
bent upwards and backwards until the backbone breaks, when the head comes off. Five longitudinal cuts are now made into the ventral side of the head piece, one in the midline (running through the mandibular symphysis) and two on each side of this, so that the head piece can be flattened out. A sharpened stick is pushed through in a lateral direction to keep the head flat. Three or four heads are thus impaled on the same stick, with their left sides all uppermost.

The butcher then kneels at the edge of the bed of willow leaves and lays the fish on its left side, its tail towards [away from ?] him. A slit is made from the anus to the proximal end of the body cavity, the viscera taken out, and the blood which has clotted along the backbone scraped away. This material is all put into a bucket or pot which is filled with water, later to be boiled as a finale to the feast. Nowadays this blood is thrown away.

A transverse cut is made into the right side, just posterior to the dorsal fin, clear to the backbone; and a longitudinal cut is made to this from the anterior end, along the middle of the right side, halfway between the dorsal and ventral sides. This is the line which marks the white ventral surface of the fish from the darker dorsal surface. This cut is also made to the backbone. The transverse cut is occasionally made before the belly is slit (twice out of four times observed). The lateral line cut was once made with the knife's direction passing from tail to head instead of from head to tail. These variations were not permitted years ago, however.

The fish is now turned about end for end so that its tail is between the butcher's knees. Two small transverse slits are made by jabbing the point of the knife into the flesh on each side of the lateral line cut and near the posterior vertical cut. By placing an index finger in the upper slit the flesh can be raised, as the knife separates it from the backbone. This upper strip of flesh is cut off and laid aside. The knife begins its work at the posterior end and advances anteriorly. Then the fish is turned around end for end and the bottom strip is cut off, with the direction of the knife from head to tail. Two strokes are needed for the upper strip of flesh, one to sever it from the backbone and another from the dorsal line, while only one stroke is needed to sever the lower strip. The dorsal fins remain with the left strip of flesh. 226 252 788 796

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 15 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

The fish is now turned on its right side, with its head between the butcher's knees and its tail away from him. Similar cuts are made on its left side, and these two strips of flesh removed, the top one first. Then the backbone is severed at the point where the transverse or vertical cuts have been made, and the tail piece, which is three or four inches long, laid aside. There are thus seven pieces of salmon, counting the backbone on which considerable flesh remains. As has been said, the ventral and dorsal fins are on the lower and upper pieces of the left side in all cases, the second side to be cut.

Sticks of wood two and a half to three feet long and pointed at one end, are being whittled from cedar splints, dry and not green, by others while the butcher is at work. Willow is used if cedar is not procurable. The salmon heads are impaled three or four together on these, and as many tail parts are put together on other sticks, posterior tips uppermost. Roe is similarly impaled, the four clusters of two females on a single stick; and the testes of male fish on other sticks, eight or ten together. These last, however, cannot be eaten until the four days of the ceremony are over. They are not roasted, therefore, but dried in the sun.

The four long strips of flesh of each salmon are now impaled each on a cedar stick. Short splints of cedar about three inches long are run through these laterally, as battens to keep them from falling apart, perhaps eight or ten to a piece. If the flesh is still not firmly fast on the splint, it is tied up with a piece of green willow twig from which the leaves have been stripped. The twig is made pliable by holding it in the two hands about half a foot apart and rotating these hands in parallel planes about the same axis, in such a way that when one hand is up the other is down, etc. This is done again and again at different points on the twig until it is pliable, the fibers being separated.

All varieties of salmon are said to be

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 252 788 796 prepared in this ritualistic way, and on all occasions, not for the ceremonies alone. That is, a salmon is always cut into seven pieces. They are always butchered the day that they are caught, and as early as possible, the feast following at once.

[171] This account deviates greatly from that of Teit for the Thompson Indians, which, however, resembles the procedure found among the northern bands of Southern Okanagon, according to our information. There the head and tail are cut off, and the head sliced as before so it could be opened out. The dorsal fin and the two lateral ventral fins are cut off, each with a small strip of meat. Slits are made along each flank so that they can be opened out; then the belly is slit, and a cut made along each side of the backbone, which is lifted out and thrown away. Finally the back is slit almost up to the neck and the fish slung over a stick on the drying rack, hanging from the neck.

226 796 574 When the pieces have all been arranged on splints, they are carried to the fire, which covers a space three by eight or ten feet. Young men and boys have gathered dead wood for this, piling it almost half a foot high. They willingly stick the splints in the ground, one row of them on each side of the fire, the windward row quite close to it and the leeward row a few feet away. The skin side of the strips of flesh is always away from the fire, lest it drop off. Meanwhile the older men move up from where they have been watching the butchering, and assemble about a second bed of willow leaves, three feet wide by eight or ten long and six inches thick. The food is to be served on this. [521] Here they continue their constant conversation, which never lags and never becomes boisterous, yet is never monotonous to a white listerer: fairly lengthy discourses and shorter remarks, much as we would make them, all well-sprinkled with laughter.

At the end of the fire nearest them a gallon bucket is placed, into which the viscera of all the salmon have been put, also the blood clots along the backbones. It is filled with water and service berries and allowed to boil about two hours. The flesh takes about one hour to cook. In former times a bark bucket was used instead of an iron pot: it would be set in a hole at the head of the fire and hot stones placed in it. This dish is called xalŭ′ps.

The pieces of flesh are turned around with the skin sides towards the fire as soon as the other sides are hard and done. Oil drips from the pieces, but it is not collected or saved during the ceremony.

When done, the head man calls the boys to bring the pieces of flesh to him at the fresh pile of willow leaves. Here he pulls the splint and support sticks out of the pieces, scraping the flesh off each one and collecting it on a tule mat of fine texture. This is to be used as t'simrai′wi. The pieces of flesh are handed out to the crowd

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 ●796 574

of men, who sit down around the bed of willow leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays they will save several pieces to take home to their families, women included, if they have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves, each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig and set aside until evening and the homegoing.

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As the men and boys eat, they throw all the hard parts of the fish which they do not care to swallow in the center of the willow bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eyeballs, etc. At the end of the feast these particles are gathered up and added to the t'simrai′wi. This is put into a burlap bag (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a branch of a tree nearby, where animals might not reach it. At the end of the four days, the accumulation is put into a pot with service berries and boiled. T'simrai′wi is said to be collected after all feasts, and kept as a last resort in case of winter famine. The xalū′ps is eaten at the end of each feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and only the older men might take it. Actually it is bitter in taste, though one grows to like it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

226 796 [773] 825

The few Indians who will give an interpretation of the salmon ceremony say that their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, according to their myths, and that therefore they must follow it. They fear that the salmon might not come in the future if they failed to observe it. The salmon have come a long distance for the Indians, and they are quite willing to please them by such recognition. The number four is used "simply because the head man always chooses four days when he announces the full plan at the winter dances." At this time he tells where the trap is to be built, how close the women may be allowed to come, and other rules and regulations. The same head man often built a weir year after year.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

a weir year after year. 000

While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found 226
here seem fairly different from those of most
tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine 796
outstanding traits, of which these Southern
Okanagon have only four: catching by a speci- 171
fied person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coastal tribes).

The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew 226
or maintain the established world, even
though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and 796
so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see 825
treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast.

Women are not supposed to come nearer 226
than a half mile from the weir, so camp is
pitched at least this distance from the chos- 796
en spot. Women might come closer if under
the escort of a man with special power, after 784
the first four days of fishing. Women may
not eat salmon until after these four days. 825
A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish.

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

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[7] Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony,

mon from entering the trap of a person with 000
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the riv- 796
er, they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, 825
they would become strict again.

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of
trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The
fact that the men were naked while building
the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of ma-
ple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about
the end of the penis as protection from the
poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon
creation myth, in which the first weir is [773]
said to have been built by two bird sisters,
far down the Columbia River. Coyote took
this away from them and gave the same sort of
weir to the people all the way up the river
and its tributaries, saying that they should
obey his laws and follow his directions in
the building of weirs and catching of salmon.
One of these injunctions was that the men
were forever to keep weirs and fishing away
from the women. In this regard the tabu is
similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could
they be a survival from the hypothetical
days when men monopolised control over the
food, and subjugated the women? Are they con-
nected with fear of blood, associated with
women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ōq'ōmū´s) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they
sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the
larger catch was in May, when traps were set
at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old [462]
men: women dried the catch which was traded
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

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226 while the point penetrates it. The pole is then jerked back so as to force the barbs into the fish. This secures it firmly so that it can be lifted out of the water by raising the pole, with very little chance of the fish dropping off.

This spear is especially desirable in winter for torch fishing from canoes, which is delicate work and demands precautions when hands are cold and quarters cramped. The torch is of shavings of cedar or pitch pine wrapped into a ball, soaked in pitch, and tied to the end of a long pole. One man holds this in the bow, a second paddles in the stern, and two more do the spearing from amidships. Five kinds of fish were taken in this way: lampreys, whitefish, steelheads and squawfish, besides suckers. The Columbia River was the best place, when there was not too much ice. Lampreys and squawfish were too lively during the day, but went more slowly at night. These two fish were also taken with the dip net.

Suckers were taken with the same spear in early spring when they are so fat they can swim only fifty yards at a time, so are easily pursued. On the lower Okanogan River they were even speared from the banks. No long trips were made for such fishing. 252 Suckers were not often caught in numbers great enough for drying, but were roasted fresh. They were butchered by slitting the belly and removing the viscera, but leaving the skin in place. They were then impaled on a splint before the fire. The backbone might have been removed and thrown away. Sometimes the viscera were boiled in a pot with berries, etc., like the salmon xalū'ps, but such sucker stew could be eaten by women or children. Usually no internal parts were used but the roe, which was dried for winter use or smashed up and boiled. 251 To dry the suckers a cut was made down the right side of the backbone and the fish kept open by running a small stick through the flesh transversely. Both sides of the backbone might be cut and the bone removed as well as the viscera. A hole was then punched through the tail and a stick run through several fish at a time. Thus they were hung on a drying rack for a week or less; not in the sun, for then the oil would drip off, but under a shelter covered with brush, rarely of tule matting. In rainy weather a small fire would be kept going beneath, using dry wood, such as would not flavor the meat. This would take perhaps only three days. Dried suckers were kept in tule mat envelopes, stored in caches or platforms. [462] This work was done by women, and the catching by men or women. Usually only older people and children took suckers. The dried fish were boiled in wintertime, after being broken up if too hard.

226 First fruits ceremonies were observed for suckers. 796 The first nights' catch was roasted next morning by the women; bitter root and service berries prepared too. Everybody present would eat all they could; the portion left was divided and taken home. Before eating, some old man "thanked the Lord" for the suckers.

p.18 (B)

224 784 825 the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. • [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

224 421 431 Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

[222 462] While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa´wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI´ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau´na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts 222
were left in the sun for the rest of the day
and stored for winter in tule sacks. 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they 252
were gathered from the fallen cones. They
were not pounded or stored, but used as a tit- 824
bit while they lasted.

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pI´tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi´lna, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[18]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in 261
winter, or when they had neglected gathering
because of preoccupation with the Dream [796] ●
dance, the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokōI´na)
were of first importance. Large beds of 226
these were found in the Okanogan River every three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River.

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI´tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[17] For medical plants, see the section on religion.

[18] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.[1]

p. 29 (A)

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot.* The ceremony was called cqEpö'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would toe; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skŭm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SüIpEqĕ n after a dream.* His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

* [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stła′łēm) has 535 been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. 171 The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being 796 ● those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the 439 Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum 439 dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying 431 tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, 527 presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand [834] the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accom- 527 panied by drumming and dancing. The guests 439 settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

Sinkaietk

For any specific activity like hunting, all group projects have a recognized head whose authorization is from his spirit power. 361 621 622

After the fall hunt, the chief announces his choice of a winter site at a meeting, and all who choose, follow him. Relatives like to winter together. Four or five sites are inhabited simultaneously by the band, each group moving as wood or hunting gives out. The quantity of available firewood at any given site determines its desirability as a winter camp. Two or three houses are always built together, a family never attempting to winter in isolation.

The mat houses are built in a single row along a creek or river (sometimes there is more than one row), their long axes running parallel to the stream, north and south, in order to afford the greatest security from the strong north winds. (The winter winds blow only from the north.) Beside these there are a few tule mat tipis and one or two underground lodges. Winter mat lodges had twenty to thirty occupants, thought Chilowist Jim; some up to fifty. Ten or twelve such lodges were found in each winter village. Michel gave the size of a winter village as one long house holding three to six families, with one or two tipis, or a larger village as three or four long houses with five or six tipis. 342 361

All working together, they build first the chief's house, which is the largest, and then the others. There is some question as to whether others than those who are to occupy a dwelling feel called on to assist. Yet cooperation is essential, for the efforts of several people are necessary in preparing the structure and setting the heavy poles in position. 342 476 622

In each house live a number of people who are not necessarily related but who are congenial. The house group is not formed casually, but by special invitation. Actually, the winter house is composed predominately of the same group from year to year, stability of the house and village group depending to a great extent upon the compatibility of personalities and the manner in which individuals treat each other's children. Laziness is tolerated but disapproved. A man too indolent to assist in keeping the snow scraped away from the house is not apt to be invited to share a winter house. Lazy, improvident and unfortunate people are cared for, however. They are provided with food without expectation of return, as such people are usually in continuously impoverished circumstances. 342 592 621

When all the houses are finished, and then only, individuals move into their private dwellings and store their provisions. The following day the chief's wife selects women to prepare food for a feast to be eaten in the middle of the day. The chief (without the assistance of a speaker) makes a speech and then the men eat. There is no singing or festivity. In earlier days, in- 342 574 796

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342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
296 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
342 a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here, near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not ob-
ligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no auth-
ority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

David Isaac says that in a raid, some Northern Okanagon people kill captive children; others adopt them. He has heard of children being roasted to tantalize the enemy. He recounts the capture of a woman in recent times. 171 727

After the whites came a man put red flannel on his moccasins and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing the young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went up and avenged him. While there they captured a nice girl at Cariboo and brought her back. She married a Douglas Lake man."[1] 668 796

[1] [For footnote, see p. 99(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 99(B)

[p. 100 is blank]

778 622 [791] membered by posterity than were they. Shamans were simply those men and women whose power enabled them to practice curing as a profession. They were not necessarily richer than ordinary people and they lived in no special manner, though they were often fairly opulent and, if male, had more wives than other men. Their houses might be somewhat larger than ordinary, but, according to Chilowhist Jim, were not as clean as those of the chief, since he had to keep up appearances. When a great shaman lay dying, many people came to see him, and a storm might arise and lightning strike near the house. His corpse, however, was not treated in any special way.

776 778 There were special ways and occasions for one to announce his power. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills. One of the men later told people that his comrade had painted these to show his power. When one had performed some special feat, as in hunting or war, he might declare his power to those who had witnessed the deed or benefited by it.

776 778 •796 At the winter dance a person with power had opportunity to display it, and the audience and other participants, glad to behold such a demonstration, contributed gifts to the performer. They sang his power song with him, probably to assist him to control his guardian spirit; and commented among themselves on the first performance of a novice, perhaps saying, "It's funny that boy got power, when he's so awful scary. I wonder where he got it from." During the dance, the dancer voiced his wish for the popular welfare as a kind of prayer, and in return considered his audience as friendly helpers. If he was the host, he entertained them with lavish hospitality and after the dance they received the gifts which had been bestowed on the dancers. Guests who had come to the dance from far away received a larger share of gifts than did those from nearby and if there were not enough gifts to go around, they had the preference. Suszen told us that the host thus rewarded his guests for helping him to dance and sing.

776 778 578 People who had power from the same kind of animal or object "knew it as soon as they met, without telling each other." Ideally they never quarreled among themselves, but worked and fought in unison. These beliefs, when we consider that such people must often have clashed, give further evidence of the vague and subjective nature of the power endowment.

776 431 782 796 To some extent, power was identified with the social group. The goods distributed at the winter dance were offerings to the power or powers there represented. The guardian spirit often demanded gifts of its protégé, who then bestowed them on the people; and feeding the community, especially the very young and very old, was the same as feeding the spirit itself and would increase

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the people 782
even though she had none to give, and if
her relatives did not provide them for this 796
purpose she would die. When the girl was
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to 776
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats,
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid [538]
child to whom the guardian spirits would not
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either 857
by accident or design, was called sŭksŭmix.
The word for the power quest was tsŭntsŭt or
tsŏntĭŏt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose sŭmmer

animals told their human wards not to eat 776
certain parts of their bodies, for example, the brisket. Such restriction applied only
to cases in which the guardian animal had 784
been killed by the individual who had its
power. Subsequent failure in hunting was 262
the penalty for breaking them. Other rules for the disposal of game — especially of deer, bear, and salmon; we did not secure specific information on other animals — depended on the idea that the good will of the game must be preserved, and that the spirit of an animal whose carcass had been properly treated would be reincarnated in the same form for the benefit of future hunters or fishers. The slain animal must not be ridiculed, all of the flesh must be properly consumed, and women must not come close enough to contaminate the kill. Violation of these rules offended the animal and led to its scarcity. They have been discussed in more detail in the section on hunting.

If a menstruating woman came too near a 784
man who had power, he punished her by prolonged menstruation. When he finally "took
pity on her," he killed a deer and gave her 776
a bit of the liver or kidney to eat, placing it on a rock and saying to her, "Come over here and take this." He went away; she came and ate the morsel and was cured. If a man approached the women's menstruation hut too closely, he lost his power. During a woman's ten-day confinement there after childbirth her husband should not touch her or the child on pain of offending his guardian spirit.

The spirits became very angry at dis- 776
obedience and if the offense were repeated
they might desert their wards entirely. By
failing to obey his power, one might incur 784
the worst physical afflictions; might become
ill, crippled, or blind, or lose his son or 753
good horse, or meet with some other ill fortune. Michel lays his blind, lame, and diseased condition to such negligence, having not paid proper regard to his father's power which had become his own. Lucy Joe says that Michel did not comply with his power's command to dance and sing — except when drunk — and paid no regard to the admonitions of a shaman who had tried to cure him.

THE WINTER DANCE FOR A NEOPHYTE

In the dream described above,[1] the spir- 796
it commanded the individual to distribute
gifts among the people and to give his first 776
winter dance. It is not clear whether he
always fulfilled both commands at the same 787
time. He probably did, for gifts were al-
ways exchanged at the dances and we heard of 431
no specific case in which this was done for the same reason on other occasions. I shall therefore discuss these gifts later on, among other phases of the dance.

Suszen outlined as follows the conduct 776
of the individual after the dream. As soon 787
as he awoke, but before he arose, he sang
his power song, in which his family might 574

[1] [Cf. 142(a), cat [illegible], for reference to the "dream" -- Analyst]

join if they wished. An old man or woman 776
then asked him about his dream experience.
He replied, "I want more people to come and 787
sing my song in two or three days." He felt
somewhat afraid, and might dance and sing 574
the song at intervals for a number of days.
His relatives invited friends to come to the
house for his first winter dance. People
were glad to attend, to learn about the new
power and to accompany its master in his
song. When they arrived, the dreamer fed
them, sang, and gave them various gifts in
return for saving his life by helping him to
control the power.

Mary Carden's account of one's first 796
winter dance emphasized his critical health,
the preliminary singing, and the importance 776
of the master of ceremonies as a leader of
ritual and as the neophyte's religious guard-
ian and physician. 787

The account proceeds thus. When the
power acquired in childhood returned to the
young adult, it told him that it was lone-
some and ordered him to sing, to give a
dance, and to distribute property among the
people. This "brought luck" to him, for in
a short time he would receive even more pro-
perty back. At this time he fell ill. Ap-
parently a shaman was called in to diagnose
the case, for we are now informed that a sha-
man told the individual, "Your power has
come and wants you to give a dance." If this
happened in the spring, summer, or fall, the
neophyte replied, "I can't dance now. I'll
have to wait till winter." The shaman's
power told that of the patient to wait till
winter. When winter came, the neophyte had 796
a power dream, from which he awoke singing.
His family then sent news of this to their
neighbors in the valley, and sang his power
song with him, while the shaman, as master
of ceremonies, came and planned the dance
and tied the power emblem of the neophyte to
the central post. The guests arrived in the
evening. For as long as the dance would
last, they would be provided with food by the
young man's family. The neophyte had been
singing "every night," probably every night
since his recent dream, and the shaman sang
to guard the neophyte's power from theft.
Feeling tired and ill, the young man lay
down or sat while the shaman, with closed
eyes, sang over him and blew on him. After
dark they both began to dance and sing in
the center of the room. Having danced for a
while, the neophyte called for his stick,
which was handed by a member of his family
to the master of ceremonies. The dancer then
gave his power emblem to the latter, who tied
it to the stick and silently handed both
back to him. The song and dance were then
resumed. To end a song, the shaman grasped
the center pole with both hands, the neo-
phyte grasping similarly above him, and both
slid their hands down singing xwʊʊ xwʊ´yʊʊ.
"When people call this sound, they are bring-
ing power from the mountains. Power is with
a person all the time, but the spirit can go
far away." Any guests arriving after the
dance had begun were stopped by the door-
keeper, who announced them to the company.

796 The neophyte or the master of ceremonies waved his stick in the air, struck it on the ground, sang for a moment, and then said, "Let them in. Tell them to walk two or three times around the room." Men were placed on one side, women on the other. The master of ceremonies stood with the dancer and his interpreter in the center of the dance formation and prompted the neophyte in singing. When the latter had finished his dance, the master of ceremonies announced through his interpreter that anyone else who wanted to take the floor might do so. The neophyte told the master of ceremonies what he wanted the audience to do and the latter told the audience. Mary believed that the master of ceremonies acted as a kind of intermediary between the dancer and the guardian spirits. In general, the company followed the song and dance of the young neophyte or whoever was dancing individually at the time.

THE WINTER DANCE IN GENERAL

574
796 The dance in which people displayed their power was called sEnqEnI′m strq'a′m, "sing-dance" in the local English, the "winter dance," the "medicine dance," and, in its later seasonal phase, the "Chinook dance." At the beginning of the dancing season the people said waI köksEqūnI′xa, "We're going to sing." The dance had several different functions. On this occasion the host, who was also the chief dancer, discharged an obligation imposed on him by his guardian spirit in a dream. He displayed his power by singing its song, by painting or dressing himself in a special way, by dancing, and by performing various feats. He enjoyed the cooperation and support of the community in their reverent attendance and in their united singing of his power song. He enhanced his social position by feeding and entertaining a large number of guests. The other dancers shared these advantages. Those who possessed power gave vent to their own, as well as rallying to that of their host and helping him to "tame" it. As a reward for their aid they received blankets, skins, food and other gifts at the end of the dance. They undoubtedly vied with each other in fervor and religious claims, but they did not often attack each other's power on this occasion, and the guardian spirits which a man scarcely dared to mention at other times he could now reveal with propriety and some degree of safety. The spectators not only enjoyed a social good time and the excitement of the power show, but participated in the dancing and singing as a kind of outer circle, thus uniting themselves for the moment with the most influential members of their society. To the possessors of great power they made their most vital wishes known, and from them they received some hope of aid, if not the promise of fulfillment. It was the one time at which the religious resources of the group and its friendly neighbors were pooled for the common good.

1/A [For context of this footnote, see p.146 (B), category 11b. -- Analyst]

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1 Compare the midwinter sacred period and ritual of the coastal tribes. — L.S. 1/A

p.146(A)

796 The dance was organized and led by a single person, usually a man, whose guardian spirit had instructed him in a dream to do so. If he failed to comply with this command, as with other commands of the spirit, his health was endangered. The spirit might order him to give several dances in the course of his life. The dance seemed to imply considerable power on the part of the leader; at least, a person with very weak power — that is, with a guardian spirit in which he felt little confidence — would hardly attempt an exhibition of this kind. At whatever time of the year the dream came, the dance was always held in the winter, usually in January or February, when the people had already passed two or three months in winter quarters. If he received the dream in the summer, the individual announced that he would give a dance "when the snow comes." This limitation applied only to the formal dances, not to the singing of power songs, nor to power dreams, shamanistic curing, or other manifestations of the guardian spirits, which might occur at any time. Though the Okanagon did not believe that guardian spirits went away in the summer, to return in the winter, they had a vague feeling that power was stronger or more closely present in the winter, and that sickness, against which the dance was largely directed, was more dangerous at that season. The real reason may lie in the greater concentration of the community in the large winter houses than when fishing, hunting and food-gathering in the warmer months.[1/]

[789] In the early spring a power dance was held to make the rain come and the Chinook (south) wind blow and melt away the snow. The local whites call this the Chinook dance. This was essentially the same as the ceremonies held during the winter, but was always led by a man with power from some kind of bird, which had told him to sing for rain and wind.

796
574 The winter dance was usually held in the largest house in the village, or in the house of the dance leader if that were large enough. In aboriginal days this would have been a mat-covered long-house, or a semi-subterranean earth-covered lodge(?). Occasionally the village headman lent his more commodious dwelling for this purpose, though someone else were giving the dance. One always gave his first winter dance in his own house. The leader provided most of the food and members of his family did most of the cooking, but others might contribute and assist. Chilowhist Jim said that the food for the guests was cooked by three men and three women, who were all young and strong, and that this was one of the few occasions on which men did culinary work. These cooks, he explained, were appointed by the chief. Each family coming to the dance contributed some food to the common supply and also loaned some utensils, marked so that they could later be reclaimed by their owners.

[1/] [For footnote, see p. 146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

p. 146(B)

The dance leader determined how many nights the dance should last. This varied from three to thirteen or fourteen, but was usually five or six. During the intervening days, the people slept, ate, and enjoyed a social good time. They began to dance soon after sunset and continued nearly to dawn. 796 574

One hundred seems to have been considered a fairly large congregation. People came from neighboring settlements, sometimes even from a distance requiring several days of travel. Except the host, whose power had commanded him to give the dance, no one was obliged to attend. Menstruating women were forbidden, though the informants could not explain why. Cecile said that a boy who had got his power but had not yet had the dream which authorized him to use it did not come to the winter dance, lest the power be stolen from him.

Among the properties used in the dance,[1] the central and most conspicuous was the post called nīɫ′pōs or tēkīkstēn or yaɫpostn. Before the dance the host chose from the forest a straight fir sapling seven or eight feet tall, according to the height of the room in which the dance would take place. Thenceforth this object had religious or magical value. It was felled by a youth under the supervision of the man giving the dance, who told the youth on which side of the tree to stand, and who guarded him from harm. The youth carried the post home and left it resting against the outside of the house until other preparations had been made. When the people were ready to begin the ceremony, he brought the post into the house. It was trimmed of its branches and twigs, except for the uppermost section, and the bark was peeled off. It might be painted with a red spiral band about two inches wide or a series of encircling bands of the same width and color, or some other simple design. This decoration was not necessary, and other forms of painting might be applied according to the shaman's dreams. From the top or smaller end of the post the giver of the dance hung one or more of his power emblems. It was then erected in the center of the room, probably being tied from its top to the roof-frame as well as being stuck into the floor. Deer-hoof rattles, according to some of the informants, were tied to the upper end, a notch having been cut there so that they could not slide down. In a Colville story the man-eater had human bones hung on his dance-post "to make the cold and the snow come." As I shall show when describing the dance itself, the post contained during the ceremony a concentrated and dangerous potency. After the dance it was removed to the woods and placed upright against a tree, where it was abandoned. 796 778

Mary Carden said that among her people the dance-post had gone out of use since modern houses came in (perhaps twenty-five years ago), because it was formerly set in the ground forming the floor of the lodge, and would now have to be nailed to the wooden floor. This seems hardly a sufficient 796 778 177

[1] [i.e, the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

reason to explain the loss of an important ceremonial object. 796

In more recent times, at any rate, the post has been more or less replaced by short sticks called cə̄l'acxin, which were carried individually by the dancers. Mary Carden said that they were carried only by the giver of the dance; possibly she was referring only to the neophyte at his dance. Michel asserted that only about one person in twenty, a shaman of considerable power, possessed a dance-stick and used it instead of the central post. Suszen, on the contrary, declared that many people had them, having dreamed they were so instructed by their powers. Johnnie doubted that the Southern Okanagon ever used these sticks, though they were the usual thing among the Colville. (Colville shamans shot fire from their sticks during the dance.) They might be of any kind of wood, were three or four feet long, and had rattles of deer-hoofs or bear-incisors and the power emblems of their owners attached. Suszen, following his usual symbolic trend, stated that the sticks were sometimes painted: red by a fighter, black for ability to cure, yellow "to help people who haven't married because no one likes them." The painted decoration was straight lines, spirals, or circles, with the picture of the spirit animal. Though the stick acted as a vehicle of power during the dance, it did not become animated or hard to control in the shaman's hands, and did not permanently contain the power. The shaman "sent his power" through the stick as he danced. If a woman dancer, obeying her guardian spirit, beat time with a stick, people knew she had special power to dig camas root, or a man, that he had power to spear salmon. A man might sing with his power-stick before hunting in order to gain the ability to kill with his bow. 778 [177]

I have previously described the power emblems, the most virtue-laden if not the most conspicuous objects used in the ceremony. Some of them, having been hidden away in sacred bundles during the rest of the year, came to light on this occasion only. Symbolizing the guardian spirits, they were made, owned, and cherished by the individual, and were handled by him alone, with great reverence. Some he wore or carried during the dance, others he merely displayed, while one, at least, if he were giving the dance, hung from the central post.

Tobacco pipes played a minor part.[1] People never smoked them while actually dancing, but shamans watching the ceremonies passed them among themselves, each shaman enjoying a few puffs. Only those who had taken a leading part in the dances might join in the smoking. Female shamans also smoked at this time, but not while the men were smoking, and they used smaller pipes. Johnnie said that if he saw someone smoking his power-pipe privately during the dance, he would surmise that the smoker was either defending himself against the power of another shaman present or was attacking another's guardian spirit. 796 276 791

[1] [in the Winter Dance.--Analyst]

p.147 (B)

●796 292 302 The shaman painted figures of his most powerful guardian spirit on some article of his clothing if the spirit had told him to do so and wore this garment at the winter dance only. Women did not do this, but might have special dance garments with perforations, or feathers attached to the shoulders, according to the dictates of their power. The marks which the dancer had painted on his face or body were determined individually in the same way. All such adornments helped the wearer spiritually and displayed his power. The dancers unbound their hair and let it hang loose during the ceremonies.

796 787 534 Deer-hoof or bear-tooth rattles or small bells acquired from white traders were used by the dancer if his guardian spirit had so directed. A rattle of any kind was called stca´sla. Sometimes, as we have seen, a set of rattles may have been tied to the dance-post or to the small dance-sticks. If, in a dream, the shaman had seen his guardian spirit wearing rattles or bells in a certain way, on a thong around the neck or over the shoulders for example, he himself did likewise at the dance. The individual had only one set of rattles during his life, but he might add to it more bear teeth or deer's dew-claws if his power told him to do so. Unlike the power emblem, the rattles had no religious potency other than their musical value in the dance. Suszen said, "The rattles had no power, but they helped the power."

796 522 The young men who amused the people by mimicking animals at intervals during the night wore or carried animal heads. We did not determine the exact nature or use of these disguises. They were not sacred and had no direct reference to the guardian spirits.

796 534 According to most of our informants, the Southern Okanagon used no drums or wooden instruments of percussion at the winter dance. Suszen disagreed, describing a dance in which drums were employed.

796 [783] A feather, or bunch of feathers, was used at the beginning of the ceremony for the symbolic sweeping of the house.

Around the walls was hung a rope of rawhide line to receive the skins and blankets dispensed in the power potlatch.

796 535 In the dance organization[1] there were four special officers: the host, the interpreter, the door-keeper, and, when the host was a young man giving his first winter dance, a master of ceremonies. As leader of the ritual the host was called ha'tûc, a term also applied to leaders in other shamanistic rites (cf. the hunting ceremony). He summoned the people together, fed them and their horses, exhorted them to enjoy themselves and to be good to each other, procured and decorated the dance-post and hung on it the emblems of his own power, led the ceremonial sweeping of the house, performed the first song and dance as the central figure,

[1] [i.e., the Winter Dance. --Analyst]

p.148(A)

796 535 and determined how many nights the dance should last. He and his power were the center of interest. Apparently two people could act as hosts on the same occasion, for Michel described a dance given by a man and a woman, at which the woman was the first to sing.

The interpreter (cöxqElpItEm or tlspItum), a man or woman chosen for good stage presence, a strong voice, and general intelligence, stood beside the dancer and repeated to the people in loud, clear tones whatever the dancer said. Any adult might volunteer for this position. If he performed his work well he received a gift from the dancer, perhaps a deerskin, a blanket, a horse, or merely a favorable prediction for the next summer, but he never asked for recompense. The informants were vague as to the number of interpreters functioning at the same dance and their association with the dancer. Several interpreters sometimes took turns throughout the night, for their work was very arduous. On the other hand, the same one might work for all the dancers, unless a shaman from another tribe required one who could speak his language. The choice of the interpreter seems to have rested with the dancer himself.

Someone stayed at the door to prevent people from entering while an inspired dance was in progress and so endangering the dancer and themselves by "frightening away" his power.

The position and duties of the master of ceremonies have been described in the account of the winter dance for a neophyte.[1]

Women sat on one side of the room, men on the opposite side. Age-mates usually took places near each other. The host, if he were an amiable man, prefaced the rites with a little speech of friendship.

[783] The dance opened with a symbolic sweeping of the house, an act called c'Inöücöltn, whereas ordinary housecleaning was called klaxöulp. Several of the shamans assumed the common sitting posture, with both legs folded to one side and, led by the host, circled around the room in a counter-clockwise direction, dragging themselves along in this position and brushing the floor with feathers or with brushes made as the sweepers' guardian spirits had directed. The alleged purpose of this was to ensure the health of those present. If any of the congregation were about to die, this ceremonial cleansing saved their lives.

796 533 535 When they had gone around the room once in this way, the host stood up, grasped the central post and danced around it, holding both feet close together and advancing slowly forward in short jumps, with knees slightly bent and feet falling flat on the ground. In doing this he shook the post rhythmically so that the rattles hanging on it were brought into play. As he danced, he sang. Much of the singing was wordless and, theor-

[1] [Cf. pp. 145(A)-146(A), category 116.--Analyst]

etically, the songs of no two shamans were 796
ever alike. The dancer sang "whatever his
power told him to sing," the songs taught
him by his guardian spirits in his previous 533
visions and dreams. He declared in more or
less veiled terms the identity of the spirit 535
and its sex if it were female, named the mountain or other locality with which it was associated, and exalted the spirit's potency He also sang short prayers for the people's health and success. He did not mumble, but spoke or sang clearly, and his interpreter repeated his words to the congregation in louder tones. When he had finished he called out, "All right. You can dance now, if you wish." Another man or woman then came forward and performed in a like manner.

Through most of the night the congregation, except for those who danced individual- 796
ly and their interpreters, stayed in their
places at the sides of the room and simply 535
kept time to the dance by jumping up and down. As long as the leading dancer was standing, they stood; when he sat down, they sat down also. People entering the house joined the congregation at once, sitting or standing as the latter did. They did not enter while a dance was actually going on, however, unless given permission to do so by the dancer, since such an intrusion might frighten away the dancer's power and cause him to faint or die, as well as endanger the intruder. By dancing in this way and singing with their leader, the people helped him to control his power. As morning drew near they danced around the room in circular formation, with the same jumping step, each holding his feet close together. Following the instructions of their guardian spirits, they moved their arms in various ways while dancing, some holding their hands to represent horns or feathers on the head, and made noises to imitate their power animals or birds. All the people "who had their song," that is, who had achieved the initial power experience, might dance around the post in the throng, even the young people who had not had the dream authorizing them to dance individually. Those who had not had even their first vision danced around further from the post.

Mary Carden knew of four possible dance-patterns, any one of which the host might choose, but she had never heard of more than one being used at the same dance in a single night. In all of the dances, the leader and his interpreter, with the master of ceremonies if it were the leader's first dance, stood together in the center. In one, they were surrounded by a half-circle of men on one side and a half-circle of women on the other. In another form, a line of men danced in one direction on one side of the central figures, while a line of women danced in the opposite direction on the other side, the two columns reversing their directions at every few steps. In a third form, the two columns progressed in the same direction and reversed at the same time. In the fourth pattern, the dancers simply jumped up and down, without leaving their places

where they had sat, the women remaining on one side of the room and the men on the other. Mary said that there were three intermissions during the night, of about ten minutes each. During these, any guests who so desired might leave the room or go home, but they did not do so at any other time. To announce the intermission, the host told the door-keeper to call out, "Everybody can take a rest now." When the dance was to be resumed, the door-keeper cried, "The dance is going to begin." There was, Mary said, a door-keeper for every outside door. 796 535

Suszen's description of the dance was somewhat unique, mainly in including drums as an important element. He said that the people formed a circle around a central fire, or, if the house was long and narrow, formed two straight lines with the fire between them and a drum at one or at each end of the formation. The leader of the dance sometimes beat the drum while the people sang his power song. If two men were conducting the dance and there was only one drum, they took turns beating it. The congregation jumped rhythmically up and down; some remaining in one place, others dancing around the group in no particular direction.

One's actions during the ceremony depended largely on the inspiration which he received from his guardian spirit at the time. These spirits were closely present. A shaman felt his power and heard its song from within. Michel said that one saw his guardian spirit and conversed with it, though other people could not hear his voice as he did so.

When a shaman in the crowd felt his power come to him, he "went into a trance," became stiff, and was unable to dance with the others. Inspired by his power he began to talk. Anyone who wished to volunteer as interpreter came and sat beside him, repeating his words to the congregation. When the shaman who was then dancing at the center of the floor had finished, the newly inspired one arose and stood beside the post, followed by the interpreter, and continued to talk for a short while. He then sang his power song and danced around the post, accompanied by the congregation as described above, until he ceased to "hear" his power, when he suddenly stopped. Then the congregation stopped dancing and sat down until another shaman took his place at the post, when the performance was repeated. Between ten and twenty of these individual dances took place during the night. This probably means that each shaman talked, sang, and danced individually for not more than half an hour at a time. If one's power came to him and he did not stand up and dance, he was like one dead or in a trance; blood entered his mouth and choked him.

The shaman's grasping the post and shaking it brought his power to bear on the public welfare. Male shamans invariably did so, unless they used the individual dance-stick; but for female shamans this was op- 791

P. 149 (B)

791 tional, and one informant stated that women never touched the post. If a person with insufficient power touched it, his hand "froze" to it so that he could not withdraw. Suszen, however, with his theoretical turn of mind, explained that a man with absolutely no power could not be harmed by doing this, since it was one's own power which punished
791 him for it. Cecile said that no one except the shamans when leading the dance must come
778 in contact with the post, and that if anyone, with or without power, foolishly touched it
784 out of his turn, his soul (sînkakîûs) would leave his body and become attached to it.
774 This was caused by the anger of one of the shamans at the offense. The latter preferred to leave the soul on the post to give himself the opportunity to cure the victim later on. If another shaman saw the soul's predicament, he might say to the shaman who had affixed it, "Take pity on him and take him away from there." The victim then stood beside the post and the shaman drew out the soul, rubbed it once or twice between his hands, and blew it back to its owner, who departed whole. If no one saw the soul on the post, or if the shaman declined to take pity the offender was doomed. When the dance had ended, the post was taken up into the hills and left standing against a tree. As it dried up in summer, the person whose soul was attached to it "dried up" also. He became ill, did not want to eat or drink, grew weak, and finally died. If not too far gone, he might be saved by a shaman, highly paid by the sick man or his family. The practitioner came to the patient's house, placed his hands on him, and sang his own power song. As he sang, his power went out into the hills, drew the soul from the drying post and brought it to the shaman, who blew it back to its owner.

796 A dancer using a small individual dance-
535 stick instead of the central post held the stick with both hands, one hand near each
776 end, and swung it repeatedly with a sweeping motion so that the end of the stick touched the floor.

If one had acquired the guardian spirit of his living parent through the latter's supervision of his quest, and the parent attended the dance, both of them danced and sang at the post together, for both had the same power song. Anyone else with power from the same animal, however, did not sing his song with them, for it was not the same.

Some were afraid to disclose the identity of their powers even at the dance. Michel's father and aunt never declared what their guardian spirits were, though they often sang at the winter dances. Others, who had great confidence in their power and had been commanded by the spirits to do so, made point blank statements such as "I'm a grizzly" and told what special faculties their power had bestowed. Usually one referred to his power in veiled but unmistakable terms while leading the dance. A certain man who had found a guardian spirit at a cave in a cliff, a power known as Stony

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796 535 776 Rock because a myth was associated with the place, said as he danced, "Nothing can injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The hearers all knew that this referred to the Story Rock.

791 Shamans used various other devices to display their power on such occasions. One might send out to the hills a boy who had never shot a deer, telling him that he would find one in a certain place and ordering him to shoot it and to bring back a certain portion of the kill, such as an ear, an eye, a piece of the nose or of the kidney. The boy then did so, and the shaman, obeying his guardian spirit, made a noise and swallowed the portion whole. The other men went out and brought in the remainder of the carcass to be used as ordinary meat. Any animal would serve for this display, but it was usually one not normally found at the place to which the boy was sent.

While attending a winter dance Cecile once saw a man with wolf power drinking fresh deer blood. The deer was hung from the ceiling near the dance-post, the lights were put out, and the man leaped up and drank the blood as it dripped from the deer.

Very few Okanagon shamans bled through the mouth when dancing. This was more a Colville trait. Johnnie's Colville uncle, when he danced, struck his chest to send a stream of blood from his mouth. Among the Okanagon, such bleeding was said to be the result of neglecting the command of one's guardian spirit to sing.

Colville shamans sometimes went into a frenzy while dancing and plunged through the mat wall of the tipi like an arrow. They had to be pulled back by their feet. A shaman who knew that he was apt to do this directed a friend to paint his face in a certain way during the seizure.

791 522 One of the shamans presiding at the dance might tell some of the younger men, usually those who had got power but had not yet had the dream instructing them to sing, to get up and have a good time. They then put animal heads on their heads and amused the company with buffoonery while the shaman was singing, by talking, mimicking animals, and singing profane songs of their own. This burlesque did not directly concern power or other sacred matters, but was simply "for fun."

796 535 [271] 791 In an interval between performances, if the congregation was thirsty they made a noise like frogs. If a shaman knew that they were thirsty, he might sing as he danced, "Go and get water from such-and-such a mountain." The interpreter repeated this loudly. Someone then fetched water from near the house, not from the assigned mountain, for that was "just make-believe."

The ostensible purpose of the dance was to protect the health of the people, to help them in hunting, and to bring them general

good fortu[illegible] If any sick members of the congregation brought their complaints to the attention of the shamans, their health might improve. While leading the dance the shaman might say to the group, "Ask for whatever you want: a bear, a deer, a horse of any color you want, and when I get through dancing you can get it. If you call out, 'I don't want to get sick, and I want my family to be here next year,' I'll do my best so that your family and all of us will be happy again." The interpreter repeated this loudly to the people. In the intervals between the dances they called out their wishes. If a man had had ill fortune in hunting, for example, he went up to the shaman and told him about it in detail. The latter replied, "All right, I'll look around and see what I can find to help you." Thus the wishes might be communal or personal: the group's desire for life and health in the following spring, to be reunited at the dances next winter, or a man's wish to meet a certain girl "when the green grass comes." David said that the shaman's interpreter repeated the individual petitions to the audience, and that the shaman went to each supplicant on the last night of the dance and told him that at a certain time and place he would get what he wanted. 796 535 791

This occasion gave shamans the opportunity to advertise their profession. One revealing his power for the first time might say to those dancing for him, "I haven't anything to pay you, but if you ever get sick or in trouble don't be afraid to call on me. If it's at night and I'm asleep, just come and yank me out of bed and I'll go."

Shamans leading the dance, or even those dancing with the throng, sometimes had premonitory visions concerning an episode of war, the sex of a woman's offspring, and so on, of which they informed the people.

Suszen claimed that one's guardian spirit might bring another spirit with it to the dance, the second spirit then giving him additional power. No other informant confirmed this. [776]

At every winter dance property changed hands. In earlier times simple household commodities were distributed to the guests. A female shaman carried bundles of Indian hemp on her shoulders as she led the ceremonies and other women came up to her and took them. While the host was conducting the first dance of the night, his wife might give food to the congregation; and while singing on the final night of the assembly, he carried a basket of food, such as camas or service berries, and offered them to all. Later the guests commented on the quantity of hemp and food which had been given away. Lucy Joe believed that at about the time of the great earthquake (ca. 1872 ?) this custom gave place to a larger feast and a more formal distribution of blankets on the morning following the last night. She said that when she began to live at Kartar (which must have been after 1870) the final distribution 796 431 of blankets was already customary; but that she saw a gift-giving of the old style at sqwent when she was a little girl, so long ago that it now seemed like a dream. Mary Carden said that this type of distribution began after trading posts were established by the whites.

In its modern form the power potlatch consisted of an exchange of blankets or skins, contributed by all who were showing off their power at the dance, to all who were doing likewise, or to those who, having power of their own, accompanied the shamans by singing. Anyone who intended to take a leading part in the ceremonies had to bring a blanket, buckskin, or bearskin to be given away. He handed this to the host on the first night, and the host gave it to the interpreter for deposit on a thong or pole hanging from the wall. A shaman would not dare to conduct a part of the dancing if he had not brought this gift, lest he incur the anger and desertion of his power. The host seems to have contributed more to the fund than anyone else. Members of his family wanted him to make a good showing, so they brought all the gifts that they could afford. While a shaman danced and sang on the last night of the ceremonies, his friends threw upon him blankets, handkerchiefs, and the like, and his interpreter took these things and hung them on the pole or the thong. By the end of the rites the hanger was loaded with gifts. Early the next morning the host, the shaman, or the interpreter appointed by him distributed these objects among the deserving. The articles were gathered at the center of the house, where the interpreter handed them as the host told him. Those who had danced best and longest in accompaniment to the shamans, or those who had come to the assembly from the greatest distance, received the largest share or, if there were not enough gifts to go around, were the only ones rewarded. No one received the object which he himself had brought, and gifts contributed by people from one neighborhood were given preferably to people from another. Sometimes in recent years, but not in the old times, a gift left over after the division had been made was gambled for by the dancers with playing cards and stick-counters, the first player to win all the sticks obtaining the gift. As the objects were distributed the congregation sang the power song of the host. The gifts were used by the receivers as ordinary goods.

The host gave away, as we have seen, far more articles than anyone else. Though these were a reward to the people for helping him to control his power, they were likewise regarded as gifts to his guardian spirit. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the

796 sake of his power.

431 This potlatch was the very last act in the ceremony. As each participant received his due, he departed. The host continued to sing until all the guests had left.

796 773 539 The following story, told by Andrew Tillson, not only illustrates a winter dance, but shows the humorous way in which such sacred matters were sometimes treated in the mythology.

Coyote and Porcupine were partners.'[1] Porcupine told Coyote that the latter's son, Muskrat, would lead a dance that night. Coyote replied, "Well, we'll go." When they approached the dance house, Porcupine warned Coyote, "You'd better behave yourself, because your boy is pretty powerful. He's liable to kill us." Coyote answered, "No, my boy's not ahead of me." When they came to the house, Porcupine said to Coyote, "Don't enter first; let me." But Coyote said, "No. My power's better than yours. Let me go ahead." So when they entered, Coyote went first. Muskrat had a lot of little maggots dancing for him. When Coyote saw his son dancing and heard him singing, he himself started to do likewise and told the maggots to come to him. [Andrew here jumped up and danced and sang, being somewhat drunk.] Coyote told the maggots to feed on him, and they all rushed upon him and ate him. Before he had danced once around, the maggots had eaten him all up. His partner Porcupine was behind him, but as soon as the maggots got on Porcupine he shook himself and they dropped off. Porcupine danced till he got to Coyote, and looked at him. He was nothing but a skeleton lying there dead. Porcupine took him by the wrist and told him to get up. Coyote yawned and made believe he had been asleep, saying, "I went this far and lay down and went to sleep." And Porcupine replied, "I guess you were asleep all right!" Then I came back.'[1]

789 796 [184] The power seance called skEtö'tsüt, "to be cut in two," in which a shaman with special power cut himself in two by a cord around the waist, did not take place among the Southern Okanagon. Cecile reported it from a people "way up the Columbia," the sqElslö'ɫ (Upper Kutenai ?)[1] and Johnnie described it as practised among the Colville. To perform this feat, a shaman must have power from the kind of fish known as cpEpqöll'tc, translated by Johnnie as "the big ling fish." This spirit-fish came to the seance from the distant ocean and would not attend unless the shaman cut himself in two. It was the "boss" of all the other spirits that came to the seance and the most

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 152 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 152 (A)

789 potent. A band of Colville held only one such ceremony each year. If they intended to go out to fight in the spring, they wanted the power and the advice of cpEpqōlI′tc, and his forecast of defeat would prevent them from going. The seance was held as part of the winter dances and transpired among the Colville as follows.

796 Before the people began to dance, three or four shamans hung up within the house a large mat, partitioning off a small space against the wall. A special door for the spirits opened into this compartment from the outside of the house. Nothing in the compartment was visible to the audience while the mat hung in place. The mat had been specially made before the dance and painted with human figures. Only the shamans handled it.

The seance was held after the people had danced for two or three nights. In preparation, the cpEpqōlI′tc shaman bound his waist tightly with a rope. His thumbs were tied behind him, and his big toes were also tied together, so that the animals could carry him conveniently by their tump-line. The other shamans then threw him under the mat partition into the sanctum. The congregation, having stopped dancing, sang his power song. When they heard the toot of a little whistle from behind the mat, a whistle which the shamans had placed there or had tied to the top of the mat, they knew that the performer had been cut in two by the rope around his waist. They heard cpEpqōlI′tc come into the compartment and take him away, but they continued to sing his song. With the spirit of the "big ling fish" entered those of other fish, animals, and so on. The people could not see these, and with the exception of cpEpqōlI′tc the spirits did not address them, but could be heard "thumping around." The ling fish, whom the congregation called by name, responded in a thick muffled voice, like that of a toothless old man, and answered their inquiries with regard to lost articles, lost relatives, or the prospects for the immediate future, such as success in a war expedition. After about an hour of this, he told them that he had to hurry away to a seance at another Indian village.

[787] CpEpqōlI′tc knew everything in the world. His special activities in locating lost things and lost people remind us of the Colville bluejay power. This emphasis on finding lost objects distinguishes the shamanism of the Colville from that of the Okanagon.

A large pipe of tobacco had been placed

789 796 in the compartment for him, and before he left he "smoked this to ashes in just one little draw." The spirits who had carried the shaman away to the mountains returned him to the house after four or five hours, and threw him under the mat into the public room. He lay there unconscious, but the people restored him to his senses by the smoke from xacxac root burned on a piece of bark. He then resumed his singing and dancing.

No power contests ever took place between shamans at this seance.

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER AND LOSING IT

778 787 Papałöt, power inherited from a dead relative, belongs in a special category, for it came to one regardless of his wishes and brought severe difficulty and peril. It was somewhat rare, but came to people of all ages and sometimes even to an adult who had never received power before. One never sought it, but encountered it first in a dream during sleep. Apparently the sex of the new owner was not necessarily the same as that of the former one: a woman might receive her grandfather's guardian spirit as papałöt, or a man that of his grandmother. A brother and a sister might both obtain that of their dead father. In this case, only the elder of the two used it for curing, though both sang the power song. Lucy Joe said that the descendants of a shaman noted for his medical ability often acquired his power as papałöt, making a family line of famous doctors. On another occasion, however, the same informant declared that a professional curing-shaman must have found his main guardian spirit for himself; that it had to be sümix, not papałöt. Though Cecile stated that papaiot came more often to children in recent times than in the old days when more children went out on the power quest, Suszen explained that nowadays, owing to the scarcity of wild animals, a dead person's power did not return to a member of his family, but was permanently lost.

One who heard or saw the papałöt in a dream for the first time should send his guardian spirit out to capture and "tame" it He baited it, said our informants, as one would bait a fish, and by "easing it along" his power "made friends" with the papałöt and drew it within him, where it remained as his own. This baiting process might take as long as a year. One with sufficient power of his own paid no attention to the papałöt if he did not want it, and it could not harm him. If his guardian spirit was not strong enough to master or withstand the papałöt, or if he could not comprehend and obey the orders of the latter, he might fall seriously ill. The shaman employed to cure him, having diagnosed the case, tried to discover the papałöt and learn its song, which he and the people helped the patient to sing. This might bring the papałöt under control. If the patient did not want it, the shaman sent it away to Moses Mountain or some other haunt of the spirits. On the other hand, if

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778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papaɫöt, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papaɫöt but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

769 These things are at the side of the road. A little way beyond some dead people there said, "Come on. We're killing people 539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I never heeded them, just followed the road. A 787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn child in the woman's belly. These two can never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840[1] a substance resembling "dry snow" (m·qwaw xlōqūlahū, "snow dirt") fell ● 796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the ground to a depth of several inches. Deposits of this may still be seen in the 821 earth. It frightened the Indians very much. There is a question whether this led to the performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy Joe said, "The people just danced and danced until they had nothing stored away for the winter." This was the only summer dance of which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as 792 the result of a dream in which God talked to him, prophesied the coming of the white men. He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as the later prophets did. Shortly before he died, God promised him that he would receive him. This seems to be our earliest hint of the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability *circa* 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He assigned
various parts of the construction to
159 groups of men, and appointed a policeman to
stand over them and keep order. Someone had
an argument with this overseer and killed
him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was
sŭIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
792 band."[1] A few years before the priests came
into the region, sŭIpEqēn dreamed that they
would arrive and that the Indians would receive
177 money from the Government. At that
time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use
159 the sign of the cross, to sing religious
songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in
the resurrection of the dead, and to leave
their children unburied for three days after
death. SŭIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming
of the whites, since they had already been
seen in the district, but he told the Indians
that the people who were coming to teach
them were white men, and warned them not to
let the priests baptize them, since the
priests were "only after money." That is
why the mission found it so difficult to
make converts here. He introduced a form of
prayer which was incorporated specifically
in the first fruit rites."[1] SŭIpEqēn, like
qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at
Riverside about a year after he moved away
from Kartaro and his band never had another
chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream
dance must have occurred among the Northern
Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who,
792 after the whites had arrived, decorated his
moccasins with red flannel and went among
the tribes leading a religious revival and
seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo.
His followers from Douglas Lake went
north and avenged him. They captured a girl
at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a
wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream
dance complex may not have taken form among
the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It
796 involved three main conceptions: falling
stars (see below), earthquakes, and other
strange happenings in nature portended the
destruction of the world; certain prophets,
having communicated with God in their dreams
or having gone to the land of the dead and
returned, predicted doomsday when they would
rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

177 eous and God-fearing life; and these proph-
ets led special dances and song concerning
the salvation of mankind. Dreamed prophecy
796 of the coming of the white men (such prophe-
cy being called qEpèktsa′) and the downfall
of Indian culture was a minor element and ap-
parently of considerable antiquity.

Indians always believed that some day the world would come to an end. They did not know when, but were always expecting it. So an earthquake or a falling star would scare the people (Mary Carden).

The dream was called sEmIpEnōmt; the dreamer was s'maIp'nōmpt (the two words may be the same). This word meant "finding things out in one's sleep." The Creator-God Qōlūncōtn told the dreamer that after a certain period the world would "break up," and that the Indians would go to a new and better land in which the dead would join them. David called the God who appeared to the dreamer a "white chief." This chief declared that white men like himself would come into the region, take the best lands from the Indians, exterminate the game, bring fatal diseases, and introduce railways, automobiles, and airplanes. The land would dry up and the Indians finally pass away.

776 The "white chief," explained David, was
called sEwImstwItl'n, meaning "already made,"
and was believed in long before the whites
787 came. He had created everything, and to him
all good people went when they died. Some-
times people saw him in trances, without
796 being called on to give the Dream dance, and
they prayed to him wherever they were at any
time. Most prayers to him, however, were
rendered at the Dream dances. They were call-
ed sqwai′lIp (this may be the name of the
dance), and were wordless songs which had
been heard in dreams by the prophets lead-
ing the dances. This "white chief" was prob-
ably identical with Qōlūncōtn.

The dreams came as often, Cecile said even more often, to men who had little power than to men who had much, and brought no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one or two prominent dreamers in every tribe. At whatever time of year one had the dream, he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house in the evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesied the speedy end of the world, and told them at what hour they would see the "messenger bird" as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day, usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out-of-doors in a circle around the dreamer. They wore no paint or special clothing, and used no drums, dance pole, or other paraphernalia. At the time prophesied they saw the bird fly-

ing very low back and forth over them. Cecile said it was almost always a two-headed goose, but that it might be bodiless with two heads and wings, or might have a body and a very long tail. 776 787 796 ●

Lucy Joe's statement was that in the time of her grandmother, before the whites came but after the fall of "dry snow," a goose with two heads and four legs flew from the southeast, the direction from which the whites were supposed to appear. They shot it. It had two crops which they discovered were filled with wheat, which the Indians had never seen. They said, "The world must be coming to an end." This happened at nkaĕ´t^{ku} in the neighborhood of Okanogan. They gathered no food, so they starved. 787 796

As soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving nor the dancers changing their positions. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance, explained David, followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky, before their great white chief. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally someone had a prophetic dream during the ceremony, and at once uttered his prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight, steal, lie, commit rape, or sin in other ways, and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching, some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers.

Dancers who had come from neighboring villages returned home to eat and sleep when the dancing was over for the day; those who had come from a distance often encamped at the site of the dance. No one ate in the daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days, till the dancers, observing that the world did not come to an end, "forgot about it for a while" and resumed their normal life. Cecile stated that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer, and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended; no one hunted, fished, or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. In Johnnie's boyhood, some people became so enthralled in the dance that they did not eat for several days at a time; and once, in his great-grandfather's day, they danced for so many weeks that they neglected to lay up food for the winter, and many of them starved. But David, who had never seen a Dream dance himself, said that he had never heard of one which lasted for more than a few days. Dream dances seldom occurred in the winter. When they did they were stopped in time for

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the ordinary winter dance: the two were never combined.

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Suszen described a "prayer-dance" or "thanksgiving dance" called skōūm, which had a somewhat special character. This was held at any time of year when the people wished to pray and to solicit help from God, or after a plentiful season of hunting, fishing, and food gathering. The prayer was sung, and had the following content: "Qōlūncōtn, you helped me in the beginning and gave me everything in the country to live on, with the medicine of my body to follow your words all the time. I'm glad of that. I'm always think about you, to follow your good words. I'm always trying to do good and not to be bad. Help me to be good and not to forget your good words to me. You gave the creatures full power before me." After the prayer the participants ate and a few of them stood up and talked about the good old days. This may have been a phase of the firs. fruits ceremony described under the food quest.

There was also a "confession dance," distinct from the prayer dance and the ordinary Dream dance. It was called sqwaī'īlūx. Mary Carden said that when her grandmother was sixteen a star fell to earth with a noise like thunder. This suggested to the Indians that the world was coming to an end. They gathered in the largest house in the village, where the chief, with a stick in his hand, exhorted them to lead better lives, his sermon being repeated to them by a man selected for this purpose. Young and old stood in a circle around the chief, swaying rhythmically with loose knees and moving their right hands from and toward their bodies. As the chief confessed his own sins, the spokesman repeated his statements to the people. Then, pointing to each individual in turn, the chief cried, xō'yenōwī^x, "Now you!" and the person designated also confessed. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights, with short intervals for rest. It was the first "confession dance." Thereafter it was held whenever an earthquake, falling star, or other strange cosmic phenomenon frightened the community, or when a man had dreamed that doomsday was near. It was continued "till they got over being scared." Mary declared that they might "set aside a certain day each week" for the dance, till the panic had subsided, and that such an occasion might arise at any time of the year. Suszen said that each dancer in turn stood in the center of the circle, holding a handful of twigs or little sticks. (Mary denied knowledge of this.) As he threw each of these to the ground, he said, "This sin (naming the sin) I have no more. I will do such-and-such no more." Suszen illustrated this phase of the dance by strutting up and down, throwing his head back as he cast each twig to the ground and repudiated each of his sins — which, however, he did not specify. David, of the Northern Okanagon, had not heard of the "confession dance," but admitted it might have been held in the southern part of the valley, and suggested that the

P. 175 (B)

782 sticks might have been cast away to avert
796 the end of the world.

The Dream dance prophecies functioned
796 in a special way during the smallpox epi-
demic. A certain man who, it was specifi-
cally stated, had no power, dreamed that he
751 saw the smallpox advancing "in a kind of fog"
over the villages, killing people as it pass-
ed. Then he sang, though he did not dance,
and all his relatives were saved.

Suszen gave far more importance to pray-
782 ers (sk'aūm; compare the word for the "pray-
er dance") than did the other informants. He often told of them in no apparent reference to the Dream dance. In the old days, he said people prayed to Qōlūncōtn at sunset to allow them to see the sun on the morrow; at noon, to see the sun go down; and in the morning, for the joy at the sun's reappearance. "All the people" were called together for these prayers, but even when one was alone he voiced them aloud. The prayers were all the same, except for changes to suit the time of day. "Just thinking," explained Suszen, "wouldn't be believing much;" that is, one should show his faith by prayer. Since Cecile denied that communal prayers to Qōlūncōtn were ever said in the old days, it seems safe to consider this as an aspect of the Dream dance cult.

THE WORLD VIEW

The Southern Okanagon believed that the
773 universe had been created by the supreme god
qōlūncō'tn. This idea, however, may have
539 come to them from Christianity. They had no
story of the creation, and the naming myth, their nearest approach to an origin tale, assumes the existence of qōlūncō'tn and a host of indeterminate beings. In the course of the story, these beings received from qōlūncō'tn their names and identity as animals, birds, and the sweat house, and from him they also received their power. The myth follows, as told by Andrew Tillson.

When God (qōlūncō'tn) first finished the world and had made everything in it, nothing yet had a name. After he had fixed everything he waited for a while and then thought, "I haven't given names to anything that I have put on this earth. Then he came back. He gathered everything that he had already put on this earth, gathered all things into a bunch, to give them all names. He told them, "The first one that comes here tomorrow morning will be the chief." Then Coyote, who did not yet know that he was a coyote, thought to himself, "Here's where I get to be a chief." God told them, "You can go back to your houses now." Coyote thought, "I won't sleep tonight, and I'll be the first one to get to God, so I'll be chief." Then he sat down, and sat there till he went to sleep. He awoke and went to sleep twice again. Then he took a stick and set it on the ground and knelt back, and every time he fell asleep on the stick it woke him up. Then he thought that he was going to sleep and would not become chief. He was afraid

DIVERSIONS

By RACHEL S. COMMONS

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

221 517 796 Activities occupying leisure time were distinguished somewhat according to season, although most of the customary diversions might be engaged in throughout the year. The chief events of winter were the power dances, given by different shamans during the course of the season. These brought large numbers of people together for several nights and days at a time. This winter dance was a source of entertainment as well as a sacred occasion. Many who had not the intent or privilege of singing, attended the dance as a social event and for the opportunity of sharing in the feast always provided by the host. Some individuals managed to stay alive all winter on the provisions of others, by making the rounds of the winter dances.

517 525 The long winter evenings between dances were spent chiefly in story telling but "sitting games" such as the hand-game and dice were played in small groups. Gambling was a feature at all times; few adult games were not commonly played for stakes.

221 526 Summer was the great season for group recreation, when large bands from different localities were joined for several weeks at a communal fish trap or harvest ground. Rival teams were then formed for every possible form of competition. Outdoor games, such as shinny or hoop-and-pole, foot races, horse races, or wrestling took place by daylight; dice and the hand-game occupied the summer evenings for both sexes, as well as most of the day for men, who were generally idle in summer, while women were busy digging roots or gathering berries.

STORIES

517 538 Stories were told at any time, although the confined leisure of winter evenings made this season best for recounting legends. Suszen stated: "Stories are always told at night in the winter because whoever tells stories in the daytime or in summer, gets bald. That is why only old men and women can tell stories in the daytime and in summer." Anyone might tell them, but in each family or village one or two old men or women were recognized as having the greatest talent and the largest repertoire of tales. Such an individual would entertain a group, often invited for the purpose, throughout an evening, recounting one myth after another. Sometimes guests at the gatherings brought small gifts for the story-teller.

1/^ [For footnote context, see p. 185(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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1 See also Individual Life Cycle. 1/^

A "first-smoking ceremony" for boys and girls was reported by one informant (Billie Joe). This seems to have been a Wenatchi custom. Other Southern Okanagon informants denied that any ceremony was connected with the first smoke, other than the first use of the pipe during the winter dance when a young man or woman first sang his power song. 276 796

The ceremonies described are as follows. When a boy had power to cure and wanted to smoke, he told his father, who made a pipe for him. He was at this time about sixteen years old. The boy was sent out to hunt a deer and did not come back until he found one. On his return the old men of the band were called in during the evening, and the deer meat distributed among them. Then they all sat in a circle, the youth sitting on his father's right. The pipe was passed around the circle of adults, coming back to the father, who took a few puffs and handed the pipe to his son, saying, "You can smoke any time from now on and do as you like." The father always smoked on this occasion, even though he might not have "curing power" and thus the right to smoke at other times.

A girl at about eighteen years of age would tell her mother that she was ready to smoke. She must buy her pipe, since she was under the tutelage of her mother, and women did not make pipes. On the day of the ceremony the girl picked berries and brought them home to the old people. The father did not sit in the girl's circle, but the mother did so, with other old men and women. The pipe was passed around, as in the boys' ceremony, and the girl was told by her mother that she was henceforth free to smoke and to do as she chose.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was used all the year around."[1] Aside from its ceremonial and religious importance,"[2] it was a place of diversion and social meeting. Sweat houses of men and women were separate; that of the men was in more frequent use, possibly because men on the whole had more leisure time. Each village had one large sweat house which could accomodate as many as ten men at the same time. A sweat house was also constructed for each temporary summer camp. Sweat houses were commonly near a stream. It was used by all adult men every day, the men waiting their turn to enter the lodge. There was no special order of use: a man with little power or influence might precede an important personage if he chanced to arrive first. After sweating they bathed in the river. In fact older people never went swimming without first sweating. While the men were at the sweat house, maidens had to get water for household use from another place. If women were planning to sweat, they would warn the men to get what water they might 343 515

[1,2] [For footnotes, see p. 193(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

782 ers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqɛn*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

776/782 It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*,[219] who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear [533] he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

786 It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

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[219] See Thompson, A'motɛn, c, p. 345.

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[330] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[331] 784

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes. 801

DANCES AND CEREMONIES, FIRST-FRUITS CEREMONY, OR HARVEST DANCE.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqɛn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqɛn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time. 796

PRAYING DANCE.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[332] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqɛn* or *Amū'tɛp*, and also as "chief." 535 796

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[330] *a*, p. 349.
[331] See Thompson, *a*, p. 348; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 619, 620.
[332] *a*, pp. 351-354; *e*, pp. 603-605; *k*, pp. 283-285.

535 821 Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

[531] Sun Dance and Sun Worship.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqǝn*, the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

535 796 Horse Dance, Thanksgiving Ceremony.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqǝn* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

Medicine Dance.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[illegible] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

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[illegible] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.

bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with 535
the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything 796
in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather 535
according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made 756
game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could 796
be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[224] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing. 535

War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before 721
going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, how- 796
ever, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late

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[224] b, pp. 262-264.

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days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all the men danced.

When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after [illegible] the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

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Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[325] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding

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[325] a, p. 356.

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one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

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SCALP DANCE.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and con-

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tinued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.[228] The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days. 535 727 796

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[228] b, p. 267.

TSUWIKT DANCE.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[327]

TRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL WAR DANCES.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of [203] war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. Intertribal games took place at the same [524] time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

MARRYING DANCE.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, 584 was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, 796 Yakima, and Klickitat.[328] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[327] *b*, p. 267.

[328] See Thompson, *e*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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Festival or Gift Dance.—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the "*stle*'i" dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.[229]

Woman's Dance or Round Dance.—In late years the dance called "squaw or woman's dance," or "round dance," was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holding his arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Cree origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

Weather Dances.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

Game Dances.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

776 **Guardian Spirits.**—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson[230] and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

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[229] *a*, pp. 385, 386.

[230] *a*, pp. 354-357.

773 His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

MYTHOLOGY.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Kereineous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

776 VARIOUS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

771 PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES.—The prayers and observances of the
796 Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 126, 141-161.

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a 771
bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" 796 ●
who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1]

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had [755]
occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth."

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, [825]
and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said.

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and 224
guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips.
If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the 782
particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting.

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother 731
was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country.
It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a 796
white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They

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[1] See Thompson, e, pp. 349, 350.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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535 one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and food was distributed at the dances.

535 721 The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs, in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

535 727 The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

535 776 In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

535 583 The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the same as among the Thompson.

535 796 A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

757 MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

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797 *171 died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

796 *171 CEREMONIES AND DANCES.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

000 Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

796 535 *171 *Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkᴇn* to keep them well and preserve them

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from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole.

First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tkən* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song. In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

Hunting dances, buffalo dance.—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

Guardian spirit.—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tkən* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

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Turkey and other animal dances.—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or

with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty 535
cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; 171*
a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been [177]
introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by 000
some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had 796
numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including 171*
several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory 72
dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The [702]

796 women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting
*171 ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally
72 before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat
[702] the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that
a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress
555 and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the
*171 coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors
according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according
to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and
[778] the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects
were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers,
the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with
decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes,
specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters.
Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers
[622] appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs
and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore
or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense.
These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle
and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields
and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off
arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any
society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by
membership in age societies.

574 A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a
meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a
*171 friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were
undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to
meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a
line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke
into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within
striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of
them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick.
576 This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known
*171 he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to
meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met,
one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When
touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he
had seen buffalos.

555 The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting
796 of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war
*171 exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat
down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by
535 around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, 565
and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered 796 •
in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, 171*
and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left 535
the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount 555
his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared 796
wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below 171*
the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this [292]
way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a
great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial [302]
weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of [178]
their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing 535
and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance 796
chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers 171*
squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

535 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*"
("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers
• 796 as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the
dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping
*171 one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other
foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears
796 and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes
and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in
292 their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins,
301 breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those
who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's
302 hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare
*171 arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also
used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles.
[534] The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the
color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

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cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

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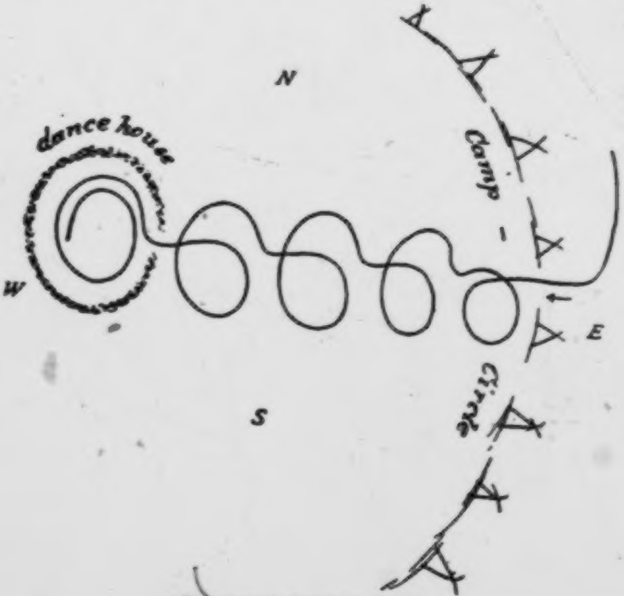

FIGURE [illegible].—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lsl-sl-sl-sl!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *171 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 * Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind, 278 *171 poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[192] [1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denominating a person as a dog.

681 304 say, "If you kill an animal and throw it away, it dies forever. If you eat it and throw away the bones, it will come to life again. That is why things are dead forever now, because white men kill for pleasure and do not eat everything." The chief warns wasteful Indians three times. Then, if they do not improve, the chief says, "Take them over here and cut off their hair and tell them to go some place and never come back." Such culprits might come back later, declare their good intentions, and be accepted into the group again.

The above information was denied by all other informants, each declaring that the Sinkaietk never tattooed, cut hair, nor banished culprits.

681 693 ● 797 Punishment of crime has become much more rigid since the advent of the Catholic priests. They are said to have introduced a simple judicial system with policemen (cūlEnka′m), trial (cqwakwa′lIckIm), witnesses (sIn·mIpa′lˣ), a judge, a whipper (cō′ĭtsEm) and a counter of the strokes (tsEka′m).

696 625 The policeman, who carries a stick when summoning a culprit, takes his prisoners to the chief. For doing this work, he receives no payment. The only punishment meted out is whipping. The people all assemble in front of the village to hear the trial and to watch the whipping.

695 At the trial, the chief appoints a man as judge to determine the number of strokes to be given. Witnesses speak before the assembled people, reporting the culprit's misdemeanors.

681 696 From fifty to one hundred lashes are given for the first offense of murder, adultery, or stealing. Before the whipping begins, the chief exhorts the criminal to behave in the future, for a second offense will bring an even more severe punishment.

696 Most bands place the culprit facing a tree and tie his wrists behind it. Among the Tukoratum, the victim, with arms folded across the breast, both palms flat against the ribs, kneels with forehead touching the ground. Men with clubs stand nearby, ready to kill the culprit should he try to escape. The whipper takes his place and lifts his whip as the counter counts the strokes.

The whip used is a long leather thong with small stones and sand caught in the braids. It usually draws blood after a few lashes. If the whip should break, it is attributed to the man's power. If the whip breaks three times, the whipper will fear the man's power, so the man will be freed. If the man dies in the course of the whipping, it is considered just. If either the whipper or the counter exceeds the verdict

[1] [For context of these footnotes, see p. 94 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

47 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 292.[1]
48 Ibid., 293.[1]

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power un-
less a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal
as guardian spirit, that animal or some [825]
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xŏtsĕxIl, "giving power to the son," or sŏxtsExIltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cher- 787
ished for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
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would take his drum and sing, making them all join in the song. 000 After singing a while, he would say, "The Piegan have made medicine and keep the buffalo. I will break their medicine and make the buffalo come. In four days the buffalo will arrive, and you will see many of them." Buffalo never failed to be found or seen in the time and numbers he stated. Sometimes Bear-Track would say to the chiefs or to the people, "The Crow [or Blackfoot, as the case might be] are on their way to steal horses. They will be here to-night. Make ready and kill them." His prophecies always proved to be true. He could tell when battles would be fought, foresee the results, and the numbers killed. He could tell where friendly and hostile camps were, and where and when persons would be found or met. The Crow and Blackfoot knew him well, and were very much afraid of him. If some of them happened to hear his drum they would run back and give up the attempt to take horses. They believed he could see them as soon as he began to drum and sing. Many hostiles, as soon as they learned he was in the camp, would at once leave and abandon the attack. They believed he could frustrate all attempts to take horses and scalps; and that if they tried to open a fight they would certainly be killed.

MISSIONS.—Nominally almost all the people of the Flathead tribes 797 are Catholics, but they do not appear to be as much under the control 171* of the church as, for instance, the Coeur d'Alêne. Revais told me the following about missions. The first priests to come west of the Rockies to the Columbia or Oregon country were the two Blanchets and De Mars from Canada. The first missionary among the Flathead was Father De Smet. He had no fixed headquarters, but traveled about among the Indians. A special mission was founded in the Bitterroot Valley about 1840 or 1841; but it was given up after a few years, on account of Indian wars and the frequent raids made for stealing horses and cattle. Father McGraney[1] was the first resident priest of the mission. He moved to Oregon about 1842 or 1843. In 1843 (?)[2] Father Hogan founded a mission at Kalispel and had a church built there. The mission at this place was given up and transferred in 1854 to the present one on the Flathead Reserve at St. Ignatius. Some of the Iroquois who settled among the Flathead interested them in the white man's religion and in the Bible, and persuaded them to send to St. Louis for priests. Four young Flathead men started in 1831 and reached St. Louis, where they wintered. Two of them died there, and the other two set out for home in the spring, but never reached there. It is supposed they were killed or captured on the road. Some authorities say seven men started—three Flathead and four Nez Percé. Three of them turned back, two

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[1] I give the name as it seemed to be pronounced by Revais.

[2] Revais seemed to be sure of some dates, and not so sure of others.

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*171 died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

796
*171 Ceremonies and Dances.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

000 Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

796
535
*171 *Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkEn* to keep them well and preserve them

As among the Thompson men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[320] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[321] 784

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes. 801

DANCES AND CEREMONIES, FIRST-FRUITS CEREMONY, OR HARVEST DANCE.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqɛn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqɛn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time. 796

PRAYING DANCE.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[322] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqɛn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqɛn* or *Amū'tɛp*, and also as "chief." 535 796

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[320] a, p. 349. [321] See Thompson, a, p. 348; Shuswap, e, pp. 619, 620.

[322] a, pp. 351-354; e, pp. 603-605; k, pp. 283-285.

821 The winds:

uxumu’s.............	“north wind”
sqwa’’ats.............	“south wind”
scuxuli’kᵘ.............	“whirlwind”
słə’mpənm’tcu’t.....	“storm,” “heavy wind,” “fog” (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

ki’łat...............	“short distance”
luku·’t, qumi·’ut......	“long distance”
kułwi·’na............	“small,” “little,” “few”
xui’i’t...............	“large,” “big,” “many”

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125
822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englihs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[23] and two of tints.[24] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[23] Or full colors as seen in the shadow.

[24] Or full colors as they appear when “mixed” with white.

The following were the divisions of day and night: 805 821
snpaktsi′n, early dawn
chEtlpō′laûh, early daylight, dawn
cq!éq!ōtlap, sunrise
nōōic, about 9 A.M.
ctlap, lit., "stop;" the time when the sun "stops" before noon
ntōxōxqên, noon
nlaqōqē′n, early afternoon
maa′n, late afternoon
kcaō′cic, sunset
cnkwōkwōa′tc, night
cncō′hōtcEn, dark, late evening
cnqElōhtcēn, dark, late evening
txwē′ōcīn kōkōatc, midnight

Knotted string time records were sometimes kept, especially by parents after the death of children. Some people kept count of their age this way. To do this one might tie a knot in the string each day; two knots were tied close together at 200, three at 300, and so on; and at 1000 a small piece of string was tied around the main string. The conception of 1000 (ō′pEnīgst ′a′pEnīgstqEn) may have been derived from the Europeans (see also Material Culture). 802

p.181 (B)

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub- 800

101 207 This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot.*—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood.*—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan.*—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho.*—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne.*—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow.*—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow.*—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue men"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux.*—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cutthroats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

COUNTING, GREETING, SIGNALS

201 802 125. *Counting.*—In counting, the Coeur d'Alêne begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two 201
shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 202

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on
meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right 201
hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as 576
most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and 202
other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to 224
other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[279] *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. 201
The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when 576
they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson 861
hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

ed there. Each color was wrapped in a sep- 386
arate buckskin bundle. These paints were
sometimes traied from the north; a fistful
being worth a robe or a blanket. The paint [439]
was mixed with water in the bowl of a moun-
tain sheep horn spoon and applied with the
thumb. According to Mary Carden, of the most 386
southerly group, clays were bought from the
Spokan. About two tablespoons of clay dust 317
were gotten for a gallon measure of camas: a
small sack of the dust was worth a deer hide. 438
Clay paints were carried in buckskin bags
about four inches square. She named the following paints obtained from them: Enaqa′lsp-EmEnū′laū, "Kalispel earth," chocolate red; tū′l'man, dull light red; Enkw'Rēōlaū', "yellow earth"; Enp'ōmūlaū', "brown earth." Other clays obtained at Keller on the Sanpoil River, "were not so pretty," since the colors were duller. Here there was a dull red and a yellow brown, duller than Spokan yellow, known by the names for light red and yellow above.

Black paint was made of charcoal and 386
grease. A white was obtained from a lake
above Riverside (?). This, called q'ēĪō′q'- 317
ētc, was presumably a diatomaceous earth, since it was said also to have been applied to buckskin clothing to render it clean.

Porcupine quills were dyed yellow with 386
Oregon grape. The quills were placed in the
boiling concoction until soft, when they 237
were run between the fingers to press them flat. In sewing, the quills were bent over the sewing sinew.

MENSURATION AND TIME COUNTS

Some information was obtained on stand- 804
ards of measurement. These were all based on parts of the body.

Measurement by the arm:
- pĪteqwl′ōcI′kst, from closed fist to inside of the elbow;
- ntla′pa′cxEn, from closed fist to shoulder of the same arm;
- ntqō′cElȧq, from closed fist to the pit of the throat (the arm extended to the side);
- kēaqōsa′xEn, the same to the opposite shoulder;
- nikōcwhēpkst, the same to the wrist (?) of the opposite extended arm;
- kEřmixq!ō′tsEnikst, from the tip of the middle finger across the palm to the wrist.

Measurements by span of thumb and first finger:
- nȧq!ōtEqēōcEmĪn, one span;
- acĪ′ltEqēōcEmIn, two spans;
- katEltEqēōcEmIn, three spans.

The stem, tEqēōcEmIn, was said to mean a central transverse stick or part, e.g., of an H-shaped object.

Measurement by thumb's breadth:
- nȧkcqē′nIgst, one thumb broad;
- acIlqē′nIgst, two thumbs broad.

804 The common word for thumb was ctō´nigst.

296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

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137 278 757

38. An umbelliferous species, (ålâpi'spəs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

39. tcuqtcuqti'łpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

[841]

40. məməsain'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[21]

41. tcstcu'sləmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a smal amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulquləmi'łpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush fo about a half hour.

43. xa'sxəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[303] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soqe'imən ɬi'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'łutən	"time that it snows"
kɬsa'ɬsa'ltə'n	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kəɫ	"time that it is white"
skənı'γumən	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpətctitə'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[21] Cf. page 134.

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ki'i'âtən	"time that si'i'a are ripe"
qlaẋqtaẋtə'n	"time that chokecherries are ripe"
sala·'mṗ	"time of wilting (withering, dying)"
skalu'ı'c	"time the white (silver) salmon run"
ska'a'i	(?)[33]

The seasons were determined by the solstices and the equinoxes.

ske·'pıtcʷ	spring
stca·kumınu'x	summer
ka'a'ilʷ or ska'a'i	autumn
si'ist'kʷ	winter

Time of day was expressed in relation principally to the position of the sun. Each day was called naqsxaia'lənxʷ, "one sun."

tcənpa·q'tci'n	"sky becoming white"
xuƙlapu'lau	"morning"
skukuƙla'p'	"sun just appearing"
stcınu'i's	(a position in the sky) 8:30-9:00
kikəntoẋoẋqi'n	"nearly noon," 11:00-11:30
əntoẋoẋqi'n	"noon"
nu'utskaqi'n	(a position in the sky) 2:00
ma'á'n	(a position in the sky) 4:00-5:00
tikəqa·'tu's	"nearly sunset"
ksa·γu'səs	"sunset"
qa'k'səs	"almost dark"
unəququa'a'tcs	"night"
tuxui'us	"midnight"

Four directional points were recognized, the same in general as the ones we isolate. The zenith and nadir were also named. 823

cixumu's; cixumsu'la'	"direction of the cold country"; "direction from which the cold wind comes"; north
stcaxa'lkʷ; kaltcı'xtsəxtəmxula	"direction of the warm country"; "direction from which the warm wind comes"; south
sqıtipəta'n	"direction from which the sun rises"
sqalıxuta'n	"direction in which the sun sets"
kalstıkəmá·'skət	zenith
kalıkəli·xu't	nadir
naqa·qeu's	center, middle

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[33] Covington translated this term as "fall"; he could give no literal translation.

804 The common word for thumb was ctô´nəgst.

296 804 A woman measured the length of buckskin needed for a moccasin as the span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger plus the length of the back of the middle finger to the knuckle. She might measure this with the material lying flat, or having measured the span bring the material over the back of the fingers to the middle knuckle. (The terminology for this was unknown to the male informants.)

171 804 Measurements were never made between tattooed marks as among the Yurok.

● 805 Michel reported knotted strings for keeping track of time. One knot was tied in the string for each day, two knots close

● 805 together for two hundred, three for three
hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied
on to represent a thousand days. While the
device is indiginous, being known also to
neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earlier
existence of the higher counts (see also
[843] Religion). It was also said that women kept
track of the passage of the nine lunar
months of pregnancy by making a knot for each
month, counting from the first failure to
menstruate until one month after the birth
[765] of the child. Old people were said to keep
track of how long their children had been
dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt
this. Knotted string records were called
[211] catca'sq!. They were not used as memoranda
sent with messengers who carried invitations.

p. 70 (B)

823 East: skʷltẑpta'n, "the sun rises.
West: skēlōxta'n, "sunset."
North: kar''tlkt or kanêtxûkt, "up the river."
South: k!a'ūti'mtk, "down the river."

Each of these terms was used for the entire Quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkama'cq!ê; anything high overhead was qanwê'ct, while qalhō't meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, cl̄xxm̄c, the cold south wind, n'x̄rēlux, and the warm wind, ctchaxq. The North Wind was a character in the folk tales.

821 The Okanogon year (cpinkt) comprised
twelve or thirteen months, which bore names
referring to weather, plants, and food-gath-
● 805 ering. These were not grouped into summer
and winter series, but there may have been
221 six general seasons: winter (piclctk), spring (picckētc), early summer (pichwū'ltk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcxa'k), early autumn (picxntsūū'x), and autumn (picka'al). The early fall was sometimes called ałnsā'x̄ûwi'lxh, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

821 roughly equated with nameless lunar months, each extending from new moon to new moon, which were used in counting duration of time. 221 Widows, for example, observed mourning for twelve moons. Though the word for month was 805 xbaînăx, "moon," the months were not accurately adjusted to the lunar count, and the Okanagon showed little interest in the exact number of days in any calendrical period. There was no week and no count of years.

The first month of the year was cqaa'l, that in which the large winter houses were first occupied, nearly equivalent to our November. It was preceded, however, by one or two brief periods which were not considered as months, and which may correspond to the "between month" of the Masset and other northwestern tribes. This interval was called sĕnqō´ĕxĕm, "when one builds the winter homes;" or, when divided on the basis of the local salmon runs, pĭcqĔl'Ewĕc and qtlákamĕ´cĭtn, salmon time on the Okanagon and on the Columbia respectively.

In the following table I present the months as given by four informants, with translations and approximate equivalents in our own months wherever such were stated. Aside from differences in spelling, much variation appears in the month names and there are several discrepancies in the sequence.

p. 180 (B)

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

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Sequence of the Seasons

Cecile Brooks	Johnnie and Billy Joe	Chilowhist Jim	Andrew Tillson
sqa'al: autumn,"when the tamarack and everything turns yellow and dries up"	sqas'I: autumn	skEa'l: November	sk!a·a'l: fall,about November
	sII'stk: winter	cEI'st'k: December	sI'I's^{tk} or sEI'st'q: December, "when the snow falls"
kEmé'qutEn: "when the snow falls"	qmé'qötn: "lots of snow"		Ikamé'kütEn: December
k!tsatsaIta'm: "very cold time"	ksatsalxta'n: lit., "cold, cold time"		lEtsatsa'xtEn: January
		cqüacö'et: January	
spakt: "when the snow is very white and the peoples' skin bleaches"		cpakt: February	
	claqwa'ks: "toward spring"		sIaq!üa'qsEn: February
	putckElte'm: "leaf time"		kEpEtskIE'n: March
skEni'rEmEn: "buttercup time"	ckine'rmin: "buttercup"	cEné'rEm'n: March	skEneé'RimEn: April

p. 180(c)

Sinkaietk

821
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kĔpĔtskĭta'n: "leaf-budding time"

k!pĭ'tĭEmtĔn: "bitter-root time"

kĔmĭ'ktōtĔn: "when the sunflower seeds are dry"

kĔĭ'atĔn: "service-berry time"

tĭōĭoxta'n: "wild-cherry time"

sqĔlĔwĭ'aĔm: "when the salmon turns white"

aĔnqatwĭ'aĔ: "when the salmon spawn in the Columbia"

swatqōqĔnō'x: "lots of water"

sta'mō'laūh: "no more snow"

staaqō'laūh: "flowers on the ground"

sinsaxōxwē'lh: "toward autumn"

tlōxtlōxta'n: "cherry time"

patckĭta'n: April

cpaĭ'txlēnten: May

k'maĭ'ktōtēn: June

cĭ'atēn: July

cĭōĭe'tēn: August

sinkat'q^{ūĭ}'lt: September

ckālōwa'ctēn: October

swaĭūmnō^{x}: May; lit., "high water"

staĔmūle^{xū}: June; lit., "snow is gone"

sts'a^{qū}: July

ntsahūhwēlx: August

xĭōxtĭa'xĔn: September; "cherry-picking time"

tk'asʒtĔn: "October"

p. 181 (A)

The following were the divisions of day and night: 805
snpaktsi´n, early dawn 821
chEtlpō´laûh, early daylight, dawn
cq!éq!ōtlap, sunrise
nōōIc, about 9 A.M.
ctlap, lit., "stop;" the time when the sun "stops" before noon
ntōxōxqên, noon
nIaqōqē´n, early afternoon
mae´n, late afternoon
kcaō´cic, sunset
cnkwōkwōe´tc, night
cncō´hōtcEn, dark, late evening
cnqElōhtcēn, dark, late evening
txwē´ōcIn kōkōetc, midnight

Knotted string time records were sometimes kept, especially by parents after the death of children. Some people kept count of their age this way. To do this one might tie a knot in the string each day; two knots were tied close together at 200, three at 300, and so on; and at 1000 a small piece of string was tied around the main string. The conception of 1000 (ō´pEnIgst 'a´pEnIgstqEn) may have been derived from the Europeans (see also Material Culture). 802

P.181 (B)

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub- [illegible] pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way. 251

SEASONS.—The Coeur d'Alêne recognize five seasons—spring (*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsaq*), late fall (*stc'e'ᴇd*), winter (*sitsitk*^{w}). 221 805

Months and seasonal employments.—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *stc'e'ᴇd* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *squa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'čqwe'panᴇᴇ* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stcᴇnä''rᴇmᴇn*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winds blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *.skwaxkwaxhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yaltsk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *sᴇla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa''aq*^{w} ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

221 805 The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

224 Game and Hunting.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and [223] snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

173 224 According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

624 728 War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief 622 exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated 624 in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as 805 host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

177 621 COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not 463 employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special 484 duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that

from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers. 226

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, 177
antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting 224
among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes,
were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. 226
Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes.

Seasons.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pxskaai'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are— 805

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pxske'pts*	*ska'pts.*
Summer	*spa'nnick*	*spa'nnick*
Early fall	*stxmalt'k*	*txmalt'k*
Late fall	*pxskaa'i*	*stlwéi'st*
Winter	*pesil'stxk*	*sil'stxk*

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of
the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkʷ) that surrounded the
land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753
lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826
had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777
no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821
dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable se-
quence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with
sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by
the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was
not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a quali-
fying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821
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844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change
in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If
the child were a boy the first change was called skaltəmi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influ-
ence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ilə'má'skət, "woman's influence." If the
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When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821
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tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil. 813

539
775

A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they
were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a
825 spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain
ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed
[823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks,
particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly
acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly.
However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had
[821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as
spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such
phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no
hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others.
Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat,
spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others
were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by
malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel
(in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits
were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that
were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog,
muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from
these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very
powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which,
for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature
were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength.
If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance,
776 grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case
its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other
hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

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following one could be stopped without killing it by picking some grass or a few 821
leaves and throwing them on the toad's back, saying, "Here, I pay you this. There 825
is your blanket and your food. Now don't follow me."

The weather knew what was said concerning it. It was not well to boast of 821
one's ability to withstand cold weather. One young hunter was admonished by his father to put on more clothes before going hunting. He objected, saying, "The cold is my wife. I don't need any more clothes." The next morning he was found frozen to death.

When lightning was seen but no thunder was heard, the weather that followed was very hot.

A summer in which two or three crops of berries appeared was followed by a winter with much snow.

Thick vegetation and bushes blossoming in the fall presaged a great deal of snow. Many worms on the wild cherry trees or many yellow jackets were indicative of the same thing.

Large flakes of snow falling in the spring were followed by the coming of crows. People said of the snowflakes, "Those are crows' socks."

A rainbow indicated that a storm was to follow or that "thunder was showing its wings."

The twitching of one's forehead indicated that rainy weather was to follow.

The croaking of frogs marked the coming of spring.

When the weather was foggy people said that coyote had urinated.

One's finger became sore and sometimes dropped off if it were pointed at a rainbow.

The coming of warm weather was indicated by: a dark crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the north; parhelia; dark or "colored" clouds before sunset or sunrise, if persisting; pine trees with a yellow appearance in the morning; wind "roaring" in the mountains (Chinook wind); or a new moon with tips of its horns in a nearly vertical plane.

The coming of cold weather was indicated by: a gray crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the south; a ring close around the sun or moon; anthelia; a fragmentary rainbow between the sun and the horizon in the afternoon; brilliantly colored clouds at sunset; pale clouds before sunrise; "deep red clouds" before sunrise lasting only a few moments; wind "whistling" in the mountains; a light blue, cloudless sky after sunset; "bright large stars"; pine trees with a dark appearance in the morning; many shooting stars; or a new moon with the horns pointing upward.

Black clouds resulted in rain; gray clouds gave rise to snow.

Cumulus clouds appearing in the morning brought a strong south wind.

A certain amount of control over the weather was possible to anyone who 789
followed closely certain formulae. But major changes could only be made by 821
those possessing spirit power over meteorologic elements. This supernatural control was usually exercised at the winter dances.

789 The common formulae follow:

821 To bring rain, bark from the jack pine was placed in a basket full of water or the leaves of the sulphur flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides*, Nutt., (si'a'its'qən) were mashed and similarly immersed.

To stop the rain pine cones were burned in the camp fire, Oregon grape berries were thrown into the air or head lice were thrown out into the rain. Another method was to place an otter skin in the fire and leave it until charred, then throw the ashes about.

The wind could be summoned in hot weather by charring needles from the top of the jack pine and throwing them into the air. The top needles were used because the coming of a breeze was first indicated by the motion of the topmost needles of the pines. Sulphur flower (same species as above) also brought wind if pounded between rocks, dampened and spread about.

Thunder was stopped by placing a long stick vertically in the ground and tying a knife to the upper end. Or sometimes several knives were simply stuck in the ground at various places.

OMENS

787 Twitching in the left arm indicated that bad news would be heard. Twitching of the shoulder was of the same significance.

Twitching of the right arm presaged good news.

If the heart beat fast the person was soon to become angry, or to hear bad news.

Itching below the eye was a sign that one was to cry as a result of hearing bad news.

Quivering of the eye was followed by seeing something unusual.

If the eyebrow or lip (Tom said upper lip), twitched, its owner was to have an argument and become angry.

If the heel twitched it indicated that one was to receive a horse soon.

Twitching of the bottom of the foot while riding meant that the rider was soon to be walking.

Quivering of the chin was a sign that good food was to be eaten on the morrow.

Buzzing in the left ear was followed by hearing bad news, perhaps of a death. Buzzing in the right ear meant good news.

If a tightly tied necklace fell off, it indicated that the wearer or a near relative was to die.

When a dog urinated on a person a death followed. A dog howling near a house sometimes meant death.

The falling of a tree in calm weather presaged unusual news.

If tamarack needles fell on the rump of a female bear it caused her to have a miscarriage. That is why bears hibernated before the tamarack needles turned yellow and began to fall.

If one built a fire with wood from a tree which had beed struck by lightning it caused him to have cramps.

The appearance of many mosquitoes preceded the lowering of the Columbia river.

821 The winds:

uxumu's.............	"north wind"
sqwa"ats.............	"south wind"
scuxuli'kʷ.............	"whirlwind"
skə'mpəmən'tcu't.....	"storm," "heavy wind," "fog" (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

ki'kat................	"short distance"
luku·'t, qumi·'ut......	"long distance"
kukwi·'na.............	"small," "little," "few"
xui'i't................	"large," "big," "many"

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125
822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englihs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[23] and two of tints.[24] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[23] Or full colors as seen in the shadow.
[24] Or full colors as they appear when "mixed" with white.

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411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
531 in natural color on pigment"

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow,
which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads
could be made only by a man with proper
778] power. The first time he used this power
to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'Ïstin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
278 sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake
heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely
psychological and its use was connected
•[821] with the belief that contact with a lightning
struck tree would prove fatal. According
to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
[825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called
stsâtsZxûnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
[754] other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic
element, in food. This caused slow consumption.)
No song or spells were known to
help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows
were kept in separate quivers, but were not
protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

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21 Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-272, 2-273.

845 ciation of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

There was believed to be a connection between perturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcȫ´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind,"nqEcȫ´ps.

●821

844

846 About ten days after the birth (some informents say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby ~~was~~ wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

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[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
● [821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

p.134 (B)

776 787 857 they had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 787 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 778 787 825 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used as a power emblem (cla'ût). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
● [821] Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to 821
stop lest the wind start to blow.

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwaI'a) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qōlūncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition
justified in actual practice. Constructing 773
a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when 515
they learned to do so as part of their training 788
for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer:

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn [539]
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qūwa'ksEn qwânēnmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlāūtiksq'ūâl
Let me live to be old,
kūwá'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167 (A)

769 These things are at the side of the road. A little way beyond some dead people there said, "Come on. We're killing people
539 here." These are murderers, fighters. I never heeded them, just followed the road. A
787 little beyond I saw on the road a man and woman in flagrante delicto. I saw an unborn child in the woman's belly. These two can never leave there.

I saw white peoples' house and a man standing by the door. The man opened the door and I went in. The man stood there and said, "You can put your knees in those two holes and must pray to the Father."

This Indian in the dead land did not know what he should say, but he put his knees there and said three words, "Father, help me." He did not know why, but just did it. The man opened a door and three stood there together. There was an open place outside. He saw many people join hands and dance in a circle. Policemen with wings stood all around. The chief policeman, standing under a tree, said, "You are coming? These people are all under sentence here now. You have not paid for your evil ways. You must work off your sins if you want to come in easy next time. We will not keep you now. You still have your sins."

He came to, woke up where he was dead and thought he had been sleeping for two nights. The people were scared. They said, "This dead man got up again." "No, I have just been sleeping." "No, you were dead." "Maybe that is right." And he told them all that he saw.

787 About 1840[1] a substance resembling "dry snow" (m·qwaw xlôqûlahû, "snow dirt") fell
796 from the sky so heavily that it covered the ground to a depth of several inches. De-
821 posits of this may still be seen in the earth. It frightened the Indians very much. There is a question whether this led to the performance of a Dream dance. However, Lucy Joe said, "The people just danced and danced until they had nothing stored away for the winter." This was the only summer dance of which she knew.

787 Years after this a Keller man [Sanpoil or Colville ?] called mcel (Michel ?), as
792 the result of a dream in which God talked to him, prophesied the coming of the white men. He was virtuous and did not seduce girls as the later prophets did. Shortly before he died, God promised him that he would receive him. This seems to be our earliest hint of the Dream dance among the Okanagon.

Some time later there appeared another prophet, of whom the best accounts come from Mary Carden and Cecile. (The reference below to the earthquake fixes the time in all probability *circa* 1872. David also referred to the boat-building episode as happening

[1] [For footnote, see p. 172(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

773 539 too long. There were long days and short nights. Newly married people did not like this: they wanted to go to bed, but the sun was still up. So they took Crane down and put Coyote in his place. Coyote was an awfully good sun: he did not make a very hot day and he did not make a very cold day. He was just right. But just as soon as he had come over the hill, he started to tell everything about the people that he saw on earth. There was nothing hidden from Coyote nor from the people on earth: anything that went wrong, he told it. They got tired of that. Coyote also made a long day because he had a long nose, long ears, and a long tail. So the people decided they would take Coyote down and put somebody else in his place, because he made a long day and told too many scandals. They took him down and put Woodpecker up there. He was the sun. Just as soon as he came over the hill, it would be so hot the people could hardly stand the heat. They would go to the river to bathe, but the river would be so hot from the sun that they could hardly stand the river. So they took Woodpecker down. He was too hot: the people could not stand it.

Coyote had two nice looking sons. They were strangers there, and did not know to what tipi to go. A big female Frog saw them. She thought she would make it rain [to force them to come into her tipi]. It rained awfully hard, and everybody else's tipi was leaking just as if it was outdoors. These two fellows went to every tipi, but it was just like outdoors. They tried every tent they could see, but there were none dry enough for them to stay in. Finally they saw a little tipi quite a way from the others. They thought they would go into it. When they looked in, they found it nice and dry inside, so they went in. It was Frog's tipi. As soon as they entered, Frog told the younger to sit across on the other side, and told the elder to come and sit beside her. He did not want to sit by her; he wanted to sit by his brother. But she would not let him. She leaped up and bit him on the cheek and hung there. He tried to get loose from her, but he could not do it. After it had stopped raining, the Indians tried to cut her off with a knife, but they could not cut her loose. They finally decided to make the moon out of him. They made the younger brother the sun throughout the day. The people were then satisified with the sun and the moon. The sun was not very hot through the day and the moon was not very bright at night. Michel and I [Johnnie, the interpreter] expected to be the sun and moon ourselves, but we could not, so we came back."[1] [Johnnie later said that the incidents of this story took place at Brewster Flat. One can still see the Frog hanging on the moon's cheek.]

821 An eclipse of the sun or moon indicated that the weather would turn cold. Weather

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[1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 178(A), category 116. --Analyst]

forecasts were also made by counting the parhelia (sun dogs) to the north and south of the sun.

The moon had no special affiliation with women. When it waxed it was said to be coming out of the sky, and when it waned the sky was hiding it. Its dark period was called tsĕsa'pxĕaɫnux. If one slept out in the moonlight, the moon drew his mouth to one side, and a child was never allowed to do so without a shade over his face.

The summer solstice (qElqàta'cq!) and the winter solstice (tqĕqàta'saq) were both recognized, though they seem to have had no functions in the calendar or ritual.

The word for star was ckEkō'cEn or skEkō'sEnt. Some of the distinctive stars had names. The north star was tŭkwIlEc and the Pleiades tŭxŭō's. Apparently there was no separate term for planet. The morning star was called kwakwIcElaqEn, "has lots of lice," because long ago, before he had turned into a star, he had been lazy and afflicted with these vermin. When children were slow in getting up in the morning, their parents might say to them, "Look out for kwakwIcElaqEn; he will bring you a lot of lice." The evening star was kEcIlxEōs. The same two words were applied to morning and evening stars for every day of the year. Falling stars indicated that the weather would turn cold. When a child saw one, his parents might tell him that a star was defecating. It was believed that a noise like thunder used to accompany the falling of a star, and that the star dropped into the ocean.

Thunder was produced by an invisible bird called hŭlahŭlaskIt (lit., "to have rain" or "live rain"), which flew very high. The bird had just to think and the thunder would fly out. People used to say to children during a thunder-storm, "Keep still! The thunder is flying around." This bird shot certain rock-like things through the sky, perhaps meteors or lightning. These were his power. They travelled as fast as lightning until they grew hot, and their impact with a cloud caused it to sizzle and break up into rain. Thunder, not lightning, did the damage; lightning was harmless. When thunder struck a tree it spiralled down to the ground, in which it deposited a small pointed stone. People sometimes dug up these stones and used them for arrow-points. They were more effective than ordinary points for killing bear and other big game. A tree that had been struck by thunder was called stk!ĕcElp and was very dangerous. At the base of the spiral which had been burned on it, there was a kind of sap mixed with splinters. This, when applied to people or animals, caused rheumatism, cramps, or withering of the limbs, and often death. If an Indian wished to impair a fast race horse, he put a little of this into each of the horse's ears; then the horse could not run. Foot racers could be stopped in this way by some of the stuff secreted in their shoes. It could also be used to make one blind. A man might kill his wife by burying some of her underclothes under a thunder-struck tree for a few days; she "drew up into a knot and died." As we have seen, wood from such a tree was one of the ingredients of arrow poison. One night Suszen Timentwa and his wife were coming along the Nespelem road and camped near Kartaro. They were short of firewood, and used some from a thunder-struck tree nearby. That night they both suffered rheumatism. 821

Though Suszen denied the existence of a flood tradition, Michel and Johnnie gave the following account. Once in the distant past, torrential rains caused a great flood which drowned all the Indians and left a cottonwood or poplar tree as driftwood lying on the top of Moses Mountain where no such trees grow. The tree was still visible there fifty years ago. Johnnie saw only its rotten trunk, but he had heard old Indians explain it as the tree left by the flood. The whole world must have been under water to this level. After the flood had subsided, more Indians came. We heard from Billy Joe, whose wife was a Wenatchi shaman, a myth concerning Marten, Fisher, and the Water Monster, in which the climax was a flood. The incident, he said, occurred in Wenatchi territory. It is probably a Wenatchi tale.

One summer or autumn about 1840"[1] occurred a rain of ashes, now designated as m·qwaw xlöqûlahû, literally "snow dirt." (This was during the lifetime of Michel's grandmother, before that of Cecile's father, and when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl.) The ashes fell at night in a dark haze, and were followed by something resembling hail and shining like stars, probably from reflected moonlight. The whole deposit covered the ground to a depth of several inches, and may still be seen a foot or two (?) beneath the top-soil. It frightened the Indians very much.

The four directions were designated as follows: 823

[1] [For footnote, see p. 179(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19

Sinkaietk

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17 The true date is about 1790. This is fixed with reasonable accuracy by members of Wilkes' exploring expedition, who in 1841 were told by a Spokan chief that the event occurred when he was about ten years old, about fifty years before (Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 439). Again, in 1853, Suckley referred to the fact that some Kalispel were still living who remembered the event (Stevens, Report of Explorations, 298). Teit dates the phenomenon inferentially about 1770 (Salishan Tribes, 291). Teit's historical information is on the whole much more reliable than ours. The only specific dating we have for the shower is that it occurred when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl. It is much more likely that her grandmother was meant. – L.S. †

†[For context of this footnote, See P. 179 (B), category 116. -- Analyst]

P. 179 (c)

823 East: skʷItłpta′n, "the sun rises.
West: skēlōxta′n, "sunset."
North: kan‘′tlkt or kanētłūkt, "up the river."
South: k!a′ūti′mtk, "down the river."

Each of these terms was used for the entire quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkama′cq!ē; anything high overhead was qanwē′ct, while qałhō′t meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, cIExEmūc, the cold south wind, n·xErélux, and the warm wind, ctchałxq. The North Wind was a character in the folk tales.

● 821 805 221 The Okanagon year (cpinkt) comprised twelve or thirteen months, which bore names referring to weather, plants, and food-gathering. These were not grouped into summer and winter series, but there may have been six general seasons: winter (picIctk), spring (picckētc), early summer (pichwū′Itk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcEa′k), early autumn (picEntsūū′x), and autumn (picka′ał). The early fall was sometimes called sEnsá′xExwi′lEx̣n, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

821 roughly equated with nameless lunar months,
each extending from new moon to new moon,
which were used in counting duration of time.
221 Widows, for example, observed mourning for
twelve moons. Though the word for month was
805 xêaĩnûx, "moon," the months were not accu-
rately adjusted to the lunar count, and the
Okanagon showed little interest in the exact
number of days in any calendrical period.
There was no week and no count of years.

The first month of the year was cqaa′l, that in which the large winter houses were first occupied, nearly equivalent to our November. It was preceded, however, by one or two brief periods which were not considered as months, and which may correspond to the "between month" of the Masset and other northwestern tribes. This interval was called sEnqō′ɫxEm, "when one builds the winter homes;" or, when divided on the basis of the local salmon runs, pIcqEl'Ewēc and qtlákamē′cɪtn, salmon time on the Okanagon and on the Columbia respectively.

In the following table I present the months as given by four informants, with translations and approximate equivalents in our own months wherever such were stated. Aside from differences in spelling, much variation appears in the month names and there are several discrepancies in the sequence.

p. 180 (B)

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Sequence of the Seasons

Cecile Brooks	Johnnie and Billy Joe	Chilowhist Jim	Andrew Tillson
sqa'al: autumn, "when the tamarack and everything turns yellow and dries up"	sqaa'I: autumn	skEa'l: November	sk!a·a'l: fall, about November
	sII'stk: winter	cEI'st'k: December	sil's^{tk} or sEI'st'q: December, "when the snow falls"
kEmə'qutEn: "when the snow falls"	qmə'qötn: "lots of snow"		Ekamə'kütEn: December
k!tsatsafta'n: "very cold time"	ksatsalxta'n: lit., "cold, cold time"		lEtsatsa'xtEn: January
		cqüacö'ct: January	
spakt: "when the snow is very white and the peoples' skin bleaches"		cpakt: February	
	claqwa'ks: "toward spring"		sIaq!Ua'qsEn: February
	putckElta'n: "leaf time"		kEpEtskEE'n: March
skEni'rEmEn: "buttercup time"	ckina'rmin: "buttercup"	cEnə'rEm'n: March	skEneə'RimEn: April

p. 180(c)

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821
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Sinkaietk

kEpEtskīta'n: "leaf-budding time"

k!pI'tĪEmtEn: "bitter-root time"

kEmI'ktō^{t}En: "when the sunflower seeds are dry"

kEI'atEn: "service-berry time"

tīōīoxta'n: "wild-cherry time"

sqElEwī'sEm: "when the salmon turns white"

sEnqatwī'sī: "when the salmon spewn in the Columbia"

swatqōmEnō'x: "lots of water"

sta'mō'laūh: "no more snow"

staaqō'laūh: "flowers on the ground"

sInsaxōxwē'lh: "toward autumn"

tlōxtlōxta'n: "cherry time"

patckīta'n: April

cpaI'txlēnten: May

k'maI'ktōtēn: June

cI'atēn: July

cīōīa'tēn: August

sInkat'q^{ūI}'lt: September

ckAlōwa'ctēn: October

swaīūmnō^{x}: May; lit., "high water"

steEmūla^{xū}: June; lit., "snow is gone"

sts'aq^{ū}: July

ntsahūhwēlx: August

xīōxtīa'xEn: September; "cherry-picking time"

tk'ealtEn: October

p. 181 (A)

The following were the divisions of day and night: 805 821
snpaktsi´n, early dawn
chEtlpō´laûh, early daylight, dawn
cq!éq!ōtlap, sunrise
nōōIc, about 9 A.M.
ctlap, lit., "stop;" the time when the sun "stops" before noon
ntōxōxqēn, noon
nIaqōqē´n, early afternoon
maa´n, late afternoon
kcaō´cic, sunset
cnkwōkwōa´tc, night
cncō´hōtcEn, dark, late evening
cnqElōhtcēn, dark, late evening
txwē´ōcIn kōkōatc, midnight

Knotted string time records were sometimes kept, especially by parents after the death of children. Some people kept count of their age this way. To do this one might tie a knot in the string each day; two knots were tied close together at 200, three at 300, and so on; and at 1000 a small piece of string was tied around the main string. The conception of 1000 (ō´pEnIgst 'a´pEnIgstqEn) may have been derived from the Europeans (see also Material Culture). 802

p.181 (B)

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I sub- 80

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nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

773 **Conception of the World.**—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[314] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

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In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[315]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people be-

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[314] a, pp. 337–342. In regard to the deity *Amo'tqən En*, see p. 184.

[315] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Shahaptian tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

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came too warm they in turn squeezed their bag and a cold wind rushed southward. The Indians who lived in the country between were thus troubled with successive hot and cold winds.

There is another tale which relates that Heat and Cold were brothers, the former good-looking, and the latter ugly. Once when his brother was away, Cold got angry at the people and said he would kill them. He made such cold weather that the people began to freeze to death. Heat, hearing that the people were dying and that many were already dead, hurried home to save them. He made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then heat can always kill cold, and ice and frosts and snow melt away and die. As long as the two brothers lived together at home the qualities of the one counterbalanced those of the other, so that the weather was always temperate and there was no danger to the people; but if one went away then the remaining one had the power to cause extreme heat or extreme cold.

Another version of this tale is that the two brothers lived part of the time with the people; and it was then always fair, temperate weather, because the influence of the one counteracted that of the other. At a certain season, however, Cold went away on a journey; and as Heat alone remained, his influence was much felt, and there was then summer. At another season Heat always left for a journey, and Cold remained, whose influence became great, and the people had winter. Cold was of an erratic, ugly disposition; and one time when his brother was away he became very angry at the people and caused extremely cold weather. Many froze to death; and all would have perished had not Heat rushed back, as warm weather now sometimes does in the spring after a protracted winter, to save the people, and made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then cold has not had the power to kill people except very rarely, when they were foolish; nor has extreme cold had the power to remain longer than a few days at a time.

I did not hear of any beliefs relating to the origin of light and darkness, clouds and fog, although I inquired for them. It seems, however, according to some tales, that the world at one time was always dark, and that people had to grope about. To make things better, they thought they should have a sun and a moon. They chose Robin to be the sun, and he went up into the sky. He was sometimes so hot that the people were nearly burned up, and had to submerge themselves in the water during his day's course in the sky. Those who could not reach water died. The people deposed Robin and put in his place a one-eyed man called *Sᴇntaqo'tsalts ᴇł tc'ä'ᴇqᴇw*, son of *Tc'äᴇqᴇn* the one-eyed one. Since then it has never been too hot.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

773 When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him
to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some
821 time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged
what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did
not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the
moon the old man or Chief *Sp*[illegible] traveled around on earth,
inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote
[776] had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether
helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the
Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his
work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of
Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote
had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote
was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards
a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before
this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *hɛntc'ɛnqe'nonpɛwɛn* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones

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disliked him. One day when they were out hunting they told their youngest brother they would kill the bear. He would not agree to this, and followed him, who had already gone hunting, to warn him. The other two brothers started in pursuit and overtook them. They were about to shoot at the bear when the youngest brother called out, "Brother-in-law, they are going to kill you!" As they were in the act of shooting all were transformed into stars, and may now be seen as the four stars forming the corners of the Dipper. Some people say that the four stars in the square are the bear and the stars forming the handle of the Dipper are the three brothers.

It seems that the Pleiades are called "Cluster." They are said to have been a group of people. To the side is a small star, and behind it a large red star. The small star is called "Coyote's child"; and the larger one, "Badger." The latter stole Coyote's favorite child. Coyote pursued them. When he had nearly overtaken them they were transformed into stars. It seems that some people include the Pleiades in one name with these stars.

A group of stars forming a circle, with one to the side (probably Auriga), are said to have been a group of women cooking camas in a pit in the ground. The roots were nearly cooked, and the women sat around it, ready to take out the roots. Skunk went there with the intention of spoiling the cooking.[216] As the women quite encircled the oven, he could not get near, so he sat down a little distance off to await a chance. As all were in this position they were transformed into stars. The Thompson call what seems to be the same group of stars "cooking in an earth oven," and say that these stars were women cooking.

Another group of stars is called "the canoe." Five men were making a canoe. A man was working at each end and one on each side. The fifth one was standing between one of the side and end men. As they were in this position they were transformed. The Thompson call the stars of Orion "bark canoe"; and another group of stars, "canoe with men in it."

Another group of stars is claimed to have been a lake, with a bird called *t'áq'tul* ("snow goose"?) on it. Some hunters shot it, and as it died it spread out its wings over the water. All were transformed, including the bird with its wings outspread. This is probably the same group as that called "lake with swan on it" by the Thompson, also called by them "lake" or "swan."

A group of stars consisting of three in a line is said to have been three persons running a race. These are probably the same stars as

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[216] See taboo against men approaching an oven when the roots were cooking (p. 188).

773 those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another
821 group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

776 DWARFS.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

TREE MEN.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'xmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming
[538] themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'xmqestci'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'xmqestci'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people

535 821 Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

[531] Sun Dance and Sun Worship.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqɛn*, the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

535 796 Horse Dance, Thanksgiving Ceremony.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqɛn* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

Medicine Dance.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[23] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to

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[23] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 286.

821 The winds:

uxumu's	"north wind"
sqwa'"ats	"south wind"
scuxuli'kᵘ	"whirlwind"
ska'mpumu'tcu't	"storm," "heavy wind," "fog" (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

ki'kat	"short distance"
luku·'t, qumi·'ut	"long distance"
kukwi·'na	"small," "little," "few"
xui'i't	"large," "big," "many"

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125 822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englihs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[23] and two of tints.[24] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[23] Or full colors as seen in the shadow.
[24] Or full colors as they appear when "mixed" with white.

Wave length in ten millionths of a millimeter	Bradley designation	Native Terms		
		Standard	Shade No. 2	Tint No. 2
	Red-violet[23]	xɛ'n	qwa'i	pa·'[27]
	Violet-red[23]		xɛ'n	xɛ'n
6571	Red	kẃɪ'l	tłka'tłxa	
	Orange-red		kẃɪ'l	
	Red-orange			
6085	Orange	kuγa'i	ṕu·'m[26]	ṕu·'m[26]
	Yellow-orange			kuγa'i
	Orange-yellow			
5793	Yellow		qwi'n	ṕu·'m[26]
	Green-yellow			pa·'[27]
	Yellow-green	qwi'n		
5164	Green			
	Blue-green			
	Green-blue	qwa'i[28]	qwa'i[28]	
4695	Blue			qwa'i[28]
	Violet-blue			pa·'[27]
	Blue-violet			
4210	Violet			

Fig. 23. Color names and classifications.

The standard colors constitute an unbroken series from one end of the spectrum to the other.[29] The native classifications are of much the same nature as our own, except that there is no term in the native nomenclature corresponding to our violet or orange. The latter is divided between the reds and yellows. The violets

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[23] Non-spectral colors.
[26] Translated "buckskin."
[27] The term applied to the grays.
[28] Probably the diminutive of black.
[29] That is, no one term is applied to two non-contiguous segments of the spectrum.

822 are grouped with the blues and called qwa'i, a term which may be etymologically equivalent to "dark colors," since it seems to be a diminutive of the term for black, which is q̇wa'i. There is no confusion between the greens and blues, or a combining of these concepts, as is so often the case with primitive peoples. It is interesting to note that the two extra-spectral colors, red-violet and violet-red, are classed together and separate from the rest of the series, (xɛ'n).

To be accurately represented the colors on the chart should be arranged in a circle. If such were the case the shades, too, would show as a continuous series instead of qwa'i appearing once at the top and again at the bottom of the list. If my analysis of the term qwa'i is correct, (that is, "dark color"), it is quite understandable that red-violet, which as a standard color was called xɛ'n, should become qwa'i as a shade, for the shade is markedly darker. Another noticeable feature of the shade series is the designation of red by a new term, tlka'tixa, and the fact that the term is applied exclusively to this color.[30] The word ṗu·'m, which means "buckskin," makes its appearance in this series also. Evidently certain colors which correspond to the various shades of smoked buckskin[31] have been singled out of the total range and have come to be designated by this term. The shade of yellow is included with the greens but this not unusual, for the distinctive quality of yellow is almost entirely lost in the shade.

In the tint series ṗu·'m is the name given for two tints (orange and yellow) but is not applied to the tints intermediate between these two. This may be explained by the fact that smoked buckskin is either left quite light in color (yellow) or is twice smoked to deepen the color (orange), but is seldom finished in the intermediate tones. The xɛ'n group in the tint series includes all of the spectrum reds, whereas in the standard series only extra-spectral colors are designated by this name. However, the latter colors both contain red, so it is apparently a subtle combination of tone and shade that determines this classification.

The outstanding feature of the classifications of the tints is the inclusion with the grays of a large proportion of this group. All of the grays[32] are classed under the designation pa·', and in addition this term includes all of the tints from green-yellow, through the greens and blues, to red-violet, inclusive, with the single exception of the tint of pure blue which retains the same name as the standard. This exception is no doubt due to the fairly intense chromatic quality retained by the tint of blue as compared with adjacent colors whose characters are more or less lost in the tints.

The native term for white is pa·'ik, to which "color" the word is applied exclusively. Black, likewise, is known by an exclusive designation, mentioned above, q̇wa'i.

It is true, of course, that pure spectrum colors are seldom seen in nature, except in the rainbow. However, the range represented by the standards, shades and tints is sufficiently wide that most of the "natural" colors are closely enough

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[30] My informant translated the word into English as "brown."

[31] Unsmoked buckskin is pure white.

[32] The eight Bradley grays are light and dark neutral gray, light and dark green gray, light and dark warm gray, and light and dark cool gray.

approached for present purposes. Certainly the native nomenclature is indicated 822
in its entirety, and I feel that the classifications have suffered very little as a result of the artificiality of the materials used.

We have seen where the name for a material object, buckskin, has crept into 822
the color scheme, and has more or less distorted it. This tendency to objective
reference is more marked in the case of animals, for which there exists an entirely 192
exclusive series of color names. The designations applied to horses alone form a list practically as long as the group of more universal terms which we have just considered.[33] Following are the designations recalled by my informant: gray (horse), tce·'lps; buckskin, tlpa·'luxʷ; spotted, ma'man; pinto, kei'luxʷ; mouse colored, tlpo'kuluxʷ; and tan, kpi'kulups.

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[33] Those skeptical of the flexibility and plasticity of primitive languages will please note 192
that here is an instance where a primitive group met a new situation (the coming of the horse), by incorporating into its language an entirely new series of words, in this case color terms, immediately upon feeling the need.

791 531 Often both men made rock paintings at the same time. There was no formal obligation in such friendship, though the two shamans usually remained friends for life and told their trouble to one another. These pictures, in some vague way, assisted the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. To these petroglyphs children were sent on the power quest, sometimes many years after the painting had been done. A fine group of rock paintings appears on the left side of the road from Loomis to Blue Lake, about three miles south of Loomis. This is in Northern Okanagon territory. There are other groups in the neighborhood of Omak Lake and on the road from Omak to Disautel, in the region occupied by the Sinkaietk.

776 787 778 791 [822] The shaman often had a special stick as an insignium or instrument of power. In his first vision his guardian spirit had appeared carrying a stick, saying, "I bring this stick to you and hand it to you." One never had more than one of these during his lifetime. Sometimes he picked it up at random and used it undecorated, but often he painted it with symbolic colors. Red, according to Suszen, stood for power in fighting or healing, yellow for the ability of the shaman to help unpopular people to marry, yellow or black for curing sickness. One might even paint on the stick a picture of his power animal, but straight lines, spirals, and circles seem to have been the most common form of decoration. This baton was used primarily at the winter dances, its owner carrying it while he danced. It might indicate that he had power to spear salmon, or might aid him to do so. Before going on a hunt he could augment his ability to kill with bow and arrow by beating time with this stick while singing. A hunter's power baton helped him to locate game and one belonging to a woman who had special power to gather roots and berries aided her to find them. Suszen asserted that one might borrow another's baton for such purposes, but this is very doubtful, since our information on the power emblem, power pipe, and other shamanistic instruments, indicates that they were never loaned.

778 791 A shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three or four feet long, to the end of which deer-hoof rattles were attached by a piece of buckskin. This stick will be described later in the discussion of the paraphernalia of the winter dance. It may have been identical with the baton recorded above but our notes do not make this clear. Only the owner of this stick could use it.

778 538 In the story of Marten and Fisher, told by Billy Joe, each of these characters had a long cane in which his power resided. In another tale, probably Colville in origin, the boy hero placed his "little power, that he had got when he was a child," on the end of a stick, and used this as a weapon against a supernatural tree which blocked his path.

P. 144 (A)

To obtain a vocabulary of colors I submitted to the informant the color chart for house paints in the Sears Roebuck catalogue. Twelve primary colors appear:

pɪq, white
q!waɪ, black, chocolate brown
p'ōm, brown (various shades)
pöm, buff
   mɪcpö'm, russet brown
q!ōlx, beaver brown
   mɪcq!ōlx, seal brown
łō'c, lilac, light pink
   mɪcłō'c, leather brown, chocolate brown
qörê', Chinese yellow,tangerine,burnt orange
   mɪcqörê', Colonial yellow
   hanɪcqörê'c, light brown
pa', gray, buckskin, fawn
   mɪcpa'', dark fawn or dark buckskin
tx̣êlpc, gray
kwɪl, Turkey red,terracotta red,light fawn
   mɪckwɪ'l, dark wine red,oxide red,maroon
   hanɪckwɪ'lc, maroon
   łōcɪckwɪ'lc, maroon
qwal, pure blue, marine, sea blue, the color of the night sky; myrtle green, the color of the dark green leaver
   qwaɪcqwaɪc, dark blue, slate gray
   hanɪcqwaɪc, lead color
   mɪcɪocɪcqwaɪc, dark steel gray
   łōcɪcqwaɪc, dark stone gray

p. 181(c)

822 qwên, green, jade green, apple green
micqwên, Nile green
qElqa´tElüh, meaning walnut brown or mahogany brown, is probably a comparative term, since philologically it does not seem to belong with the other colors.

My method in securing this vocabulary was obviously very poor, and I would not want to vouch for the accuracy of the re-

p. 182(A)

822 sults. They show, however, the grouping together of pink and brown, of black and dark brown, and of the darker shades of blue and green. Mic and hanIc were apparently prefixes to denote the darker and duller tones, and the primary term could be repeated for the same purpose (e.g., qwaIcqwaIc) or combined with another primary term to express an intermediate shade (e.g., IōcIckwIlc).

p.182 (B)

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

539 775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 925 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed [823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had [821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, 776 grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horisontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiuikʷ) that surrounded the land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were carelessness, simple accident and uncleanliness. 753

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin had stretched. 826

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had no woman to sleep with." 777

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less predictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused by thunder. 821 821

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The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skəltəmi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ila'má'skət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at the time of his birth. 821

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821
tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil. 813

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ki'i'átən	"time that si'i'a are ripe"
qlaxqtaxta'n	"time that chokecherries are ripe"
sala·'mṗ	"time of wilting (withering, dying)"
ıkalu'ı'c	"time the white (silver) salmon run"
ska'a'i	(?)[23]

The seasons were determined by the solstices and the equinoxes.

ske·'pıtcᵘ	spring
stca·kumınu'x	summer
ka'a'ilᵘ or ska'a'i	autumn
si'ist'kᵘ	winter

Time of day was expressed in relation principally to the position of the sun. Each day was called naqsxaia'lənxᵘ, "one sun."

tcəupa·q'tci'n	"sky becoming white"
xuklapu'lau	"morning"
sƙukukla'p'	"sun just appearing"
stcınu'i's	(a position in the sky) 8:30-9:00
kikəntoxoxqi'n	"nearly noon," 11:00-11:30
əntoxoxqi'n	"noon"
nu'utskaqi'n	(a position in the sky) 2:00
ma'á'n	(a position in the sky) 4:00-5:00
tikəqa·'tu's	"nearly sunset"
ksa·γu'səs	"sunset"
qa'k'səs	"almost dark"
uṅəququa'a'tcs	"night"
tuxui'us	"midnight"

Four directional points were recognized, the same in general as the ones we isolate. The zenith and nadir were also named. 823

cixumu's; cixumsu'la'	"direction of the cold country"; "direction from which the cold wind comes"; north
stcaxa'lkᵘ; kəlteı'xtsaxtəmxula:	"direction of the warm country"; "direction from which the warm wind comes"; south
sq̇ıtipəta'n	"direction from which the sun rises"
sq̇aləxutá'n	"direction in which the sun sets"
kələstıkəmá·'skət	zenith
kəlıkəli·xu't	nadir
naqa·qeu's	center, middle

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[23] Covington translated this term as "fall"; he could give no literal translation.

MATERIAL CULTURE

By RICHARD H. POST and RACHEL S. COMMONS

DWELLINGS

342 The principal dwellings of the Southern Okanagon were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi.[1]* The underground or [178] semi-subterranean house appears to have been a common type in early days here as among the northern groups, but its use has been so long discontinued along the lower Okanogan River that southern informants did not remember seeing any of them. Remains of their pits are extant at Methow. At present the Okanagon live in log or frame houses, so that all information concerning the aboriginal dwellings is contingent upon the memories of informants. Only one mat tipi was found still in use on the present reservation. It was occupied by an old woman who lived in it all the year around, on the land of relatives who lived in a frame house nearby. No evidence was found of the "square or square-topped lodge" mentioned by Teit.[2]* Each winter village may have had a house, presumably a mat lodge, built by the women as their working place, but this information may well refer to the Wenatchi. In addition to winter dwellings, temporary living shelters were 343 erected for summer camps. Sweat lodges and menstrual huts were also to be found near every permanent or temporary settlement.

The long mat lodge, the most common type of winter dwelling, was A-shaped in cross section and oblong in ground plan, with rounded ends.[3]* An opening was left at one or both ends for entrance, depending on the length of the house. One door preferably •[823] faced south or the stream. The framework was of poles, entirely covered by mats except for a narrow opening along the ridge running the length of the house, to permit the escape of smoke from the fires, which were situated directly underneath on the center line. These houses were as high as twenty feet at the apex, smaller ones ten or twelve feet. The slant of the sides was uniform for large and small houses.

The framework consisted of two pairs of end poles and as many interior pairs between them as the length of the house required. Most lodges had four pairs or frames in all, which made a "three section house." Five frames were used when making the less common "four section house," which would house a chief, a shaman, or other wealthy man. Houses were even as long as eight sections. As a rule the larger houses were not so crowded

*[For footnotes, see p. 37 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 37 (A)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon.""[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as
to allow these to fall out. This sets the 881
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with
power he would be harmed, and might punish 881
her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823 ●
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

6

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

p.134 (B)

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object. 776

Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects. 776 778

Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite. 776 825

A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa'qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa'qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInûhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power. 776 773

Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants. 776 826 825

p.135(A)

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power unless
a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere, certain places and scenes were most propitious. First among these stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no others were specified. Rock paintings, the scene of a mythical episode, a place where a deer had been killed and the bones left, an old camp site where a woman had given birth, or where a bitch had produced young, all might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825]
as guardian spirit, that animal or some trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would have the best chance to obtain deer power where deer had left their tracks or their hair, or where hunters had left a deer's horns or bones. Some even considered that such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsÜntsÜt, but was also called xötsöxîl, "giving power to the son," or söxtsExîltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cher- 787
ished for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
778

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist." 825

When children threw rocks into a small, deep lake, the older people told them to stop lest the wind start to blow. 869 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823 ●

Though the bat (stIntanẊwaIá) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect. 761

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi′lstEn) was a diety. In the naming myth Qölüncötn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly. 343 773
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their training for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: 515 788 [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi′lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qüwa′ksEn qwánënmI′nEm
Take pity on me,
nöláütiksq'üál
Let me live to be old,
küwá′kskInxI′tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

dead." The speaker had a gray horse; he gave the hunter power to get gray horses as well as to kill deer. 776

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (C); category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167 (A)

TsEatlEmûx was an old woman who travelled through the tree tops with a baby on her back. Wherever she passed she left the trees scorched as if by fire. Her baby cried ceaselessly. Sometimes she descended to the ground, climbing on all fours and head first down the tree trunk, while neither her long hair nor her infant changed their position. Many people had seen this old woman. She did neither harm nor good, but simply moved on through the tree tops as she would do till the end of the world.

Water-monsters of unknown form infested Lake Omak and perhaps other lakes. Michel and Johnnie referred to them as "sea-cattle," though they may or may not have had horns. Michel reported that about twenty years ago some white people saw a large dog-like animal rise out of a lake and drag down a goose which they had shot. Fangs projected from its lower jaw up over its upper lip. This animal, said Michel, had never been seen by Indians. Michel's father once "saw something" under the surface of a lake, which appeared to be an animal about twenty feet long.

More specifically, a large moose with enormous horns dwelt beneath the water. He was called simply papala´tsa, "moose." He played a part in the myths and may still be alive. 776 825

Children might receive power under the water from animals called nExaxa'Itka, but this word may refer to all animals living within the lake rather than to any particular kind.

NhIthItwûlh was a large bird about the size of a condor. No one ever saw it, but the trees rang with the great noise which it made, and when people heard it they became numb and did not feel right again till it had flown overhead. It could transform itself into any large bird, such as an eagle, or into a deer, etc.

In several instances rocks or groups of rocks were regarded as petrified people. Just below McLaughlin's Canyon, between Tonasket and Riverside, lies a large boulder or outcrop of curious shape, the remains of a man and woman who, asleep in each other's arms, were turned to stone "when the world turned inside out," that is, at the end of the mythical age. This landmark is called kItlăqölötpĕcxIn, literally, "lying by a rock." The same thing happened to a number of people who were trapping fish at a place beyond Nespelem. Two women among them were fighting; they, as well as all those who were with them, can now be seen as rocks. This occurrence is, like the previous one, as- 776 823

p. 171 (A)

cribed to a reversal of nature which took place at the beginning of the present world era. 776 On the summit of a mountain between Oroville and Chesaw appears a rock called naamtûc, literally, "set on top of a ridge." 823 This is the woman who came bringing camas from the east, over whom the mountains fought in the mythical times when mountains were men. Indians sometimes made offerings there.

DREAMS AND OMENS

787 Dreams about the dead showed that the dead wished the dreamer to think of them. If he saw one of his living friends or relatives among them, this foreshadowed that person's death. One winter Johnnie had a dream of this kind, in which he saw his mother among the departed. She died very soon afterward. If one dreamed that he was in a strange country that he had never seen before, his death might follow.

787 763 Most omens foretold death. Seeing a flying squirrel (sx̣û'phûp) was interpreted in this way. Lucy Joe and her little daughter once went way up in the hills, cut down a tree and found the nest of a flying squirrel inside it. The little girl died soon after. Billy Joe said that if a ground-hog was seen climbing a tree in front of a house, someone in the house would die soon. (Johnnie had never heard this.) The ô'hô'lEm (prairie dog ?,[1] a dog-like animal about six inches long, which barks like a puppy) might be seen or heard by a family soon before one of their members died. Cecile's husband once woke in the night at Kartaro, saying that he heard one, though Cecile herself did not hear it. Shortly afterward he passed away. In the old days when people heard a coyote howl, they said to each other, "We are going to have a death;" but in more recent times they merely believe that this indicates that the coyotes are mating. If an owl talked to a person it might tell him which member of his family would next die. Billy Joe said that an owl talked to him before he lost his step-mother. On a dark night as Suszen was walking home, an owl said over and over to him, "I am hooting at a caller you will have." After that his mother, sister and brother died. A bird flying into a house, a frequent occurrence in modern times, since the doors are left open and many of the windows have no panes, presaged a death in the family. Josephine said, "Last spring a bird flew into the house and lit on my baby girl's bed. Several days later she fell from the hammock, and the next night she had a fever and was very ill. The doctor said she had spinal meningitis. Four days later she died." Johnnie had never heard of this as an omen. He said that if a hen stood in front of the house and crowed like a young rooster it might mean a death in the family; but he once killed a hen which had done this, and found a stick lodged in its throat which had choked it and made it crow.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 171 (C), category 116.-- Analyst]

fifty years ago.) A young man called qwElaskEn was an orphan who had been brought 787
up by his grandmother and who suffered from rheumatism in the hips. 792
One autumn when his band moved from their camping ground at sInak'a'Ilt, above Keller, qwElaskEn was too ill to accompany them, and they left him there with his aged guardian. In November he died. His grandmother, after covering his body with blankets and letting the tipi fall over on it, started out alone in search of people. After two days she found some Indians encamped near Whitestone and told them of the death. Seven days later a party went out to get his body. As they approached, they heard him singing. Not knowing whether it was he or his ghost, they asked him if he had come back to life. He answered, "Yes." One of his legs had been frozen, crippling him permanently, and he was brought to camp on a horse.

Thereafter he prayed and sang continuously, and exhorted the people to prayer and 787
to belief in God. He was not a Catholic; had, indeed, never heard of Catholicism. 792
At first they laughed at him, but in the winter about Christmas (or in the fall) — according 823
to Cecile they were then at Kartaro — occurred a severe earthquake (hI·mömpEn, lit. "the world moved"), which so terrified them that they ran to his tipi and asked him what he had seen during his death. He answered that God had warned him of this earthquake, and that if they failed to believe in God and to pray, the world would come to an end in forty days. They believed him, and following his wish to be taken to a better and more populous location they conveyed him by horse to Whitestone.

A few days later came another earthquake (two days later according to Cecile), and a great mass of rock fell into the Columbia River and caused it to overflow."[1] Now quite in a panic, the band moved on and joined a still larger settlement at EnpÛxwE'lÜ^x. Now they believed: rich people asked to care for him.

God used to come to qwElaskEn every 787
night in his dreams and tell him what to do on the following day. 792
QwElaskEn assured the people that Jesus Christ was right, that he 776

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 173 (c), category 116.-- Analyst]

called stk!ócElp and was very dangerous. At the base of the spiral which had been burned on it, there was a kind of sap mixed with splinters. This, when applied to people or animals, caused rheumatism, cramps, or withering of the limbs, and often death. If an Indian wished to impair a fast race horse, he put a little of this into each of the horse's ears; then the horse could not run. Foot racers could be stopped in this way by some of the stuff secreted in their shoes. It could also be used to make one blind. A man might kill his wife by burying some of her underclothes under a thunder-struck tree for a few days; she "drew up into a knot and died." As we have seen, wood from such a tree was one of the ingredients of arrow poison. One night Suszen Timentwa and his wife were coming along the Nespelem road and camped near Kartaro. They were short of firewood, and used some from a thunder-struck tree nearby. That night they both suffered rheumatism. 821

Though Suszen denied the existence of a flood tradition, Michel and Johnnie gave the following account. Once in the distant past, torrential rains caused a great flood which drowned all the Indians and left a cottonwood or poplar tree as driftwood lying on the top of Moses Mountain where no such trees grow. The tree was still visible there fifty years ago. Johnnie saw only its rotten trunk, but he had heard old Indians explain it as the tree left by the flood. The whole world must have been under water to this level. After the flood had subsided, more Indians came. We heard from Billy Joe, whose wife was a Wenatchi shaman, a myth concerning Marten, Fisher, and the Water Monster, in which the climax was a flood. The incident, he said, occurred in Wenatchi territory. It is probably a Wenatchi tale.

One summer or autumn about 1840"[1] occurred a rain of ashes, now designated as m·qwaw xlōqūlahū, literally "snow dirt." (This was during the lifetime of Michel's grandmother, before that of Cecile's father, and when Mary Carden's mother was a little girl.) The ashes fell at night in a dark haze, and were followed by something resembling hail and shining like stars, probably from reflected moonlight. The whole deposit covered the ground to a depth of several inches, and may still be seen a foot or two (?) beneath the top-soil. It frightened the Indians very much.

The four directions were designated as follows: 823

[1] [For footnote, see p. 179 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 179 (B)

823 East: skwItłpta'n, "the sun rises.
West: skēlōxta'n, "sunset."
North: kan''tlkt or kanētłūkt,"up the river."
South: k!a'ūti'mtk, "down the river."

Each of these terms was used for the entire quadrant, no intermediate points of the compass being recognized. The words for north and south referred to the course of the Okanogan River, but might also be applied to other streams, even those flowing east and west. There were no special words for zenith or nadir. The sky was called ctkama'cq!á; anything high overhead was qanwē'ct, while qałhō't meant underneath.

Three winds were distinguished: the north wind, cIExEmūc, the cold south wind, n·xErēlux, and the warm wind, ctchałxq. The North Wind was a character in the folk tales.

821 The Okanagon year (cpInkt) comprised twelve or thirteen months, which bore names referring to weather, plants, and food-gath-
805 ering. These were not grouped into summer and winter series, but there may have been
221 six general seasons: winter (picIctk), spring (picckētc), early summer (pichwū'Itk, lit., "lots of water"), summer (pictcEa'k), early autumn (picEntsūū'x), and autumn (picka'aI). The early fall was sometimes called sEnsá'xExwi'lEwh, "after the salmon run." The months, indicating the time of year, were

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

000 them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments
301 or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they
*191 were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were
common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian
and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar
317 to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and
*191 body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and
[302 yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A
303]

[291]
[531]

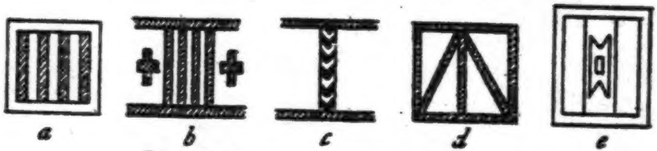

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'tsːmɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

[291
531]

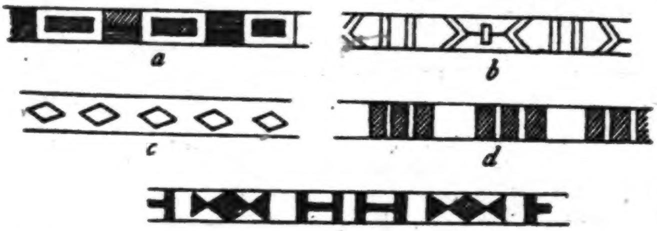

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered
[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks
[823] falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much
302 of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and
*171 connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

ceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks. 766 171*

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition. 000

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkEn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkEn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkEn*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkEn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkEn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. 775 The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. [823] • The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero. 773 171*

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. 776 171* Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

137, 824 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

[Latin botanical names of plants occurring in Coeur d'Alene territory have not been excerpted in this category, but may be found throughout the source in category 116--Analyst.]

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825]

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 263 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824 ●

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERĕ'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage. 222 251 824

1/^ [For footnotes, see p. 25 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1/^
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1/^

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or into wooden or bark tubs if destined for 222
summer consumption.

Today the fresh berries are boiled and 251
eaten with sugar, though in the old days
they were eaten raw or perhaps boiled for a
half hour with bitter-root or salmon eggs. 222
Dried berries were never cooked alone: us-
ually they were mixed with bitter-root and 252
boiled, often also with salmon, which was
separated when served and placed on mats. A 824
special delicacy was salmon eggs and dried
berries, boiled or eaten cold, but never
mashed. The dried berries were sweet and
thus very desirable for mixing with the many
bitter foods.

(2) Red or orange foam berries (sxō′sum) 222
were gathered the last part of June and the
first of July. They were dried two or three 251
days on tule mats, then sacked and stored,
but were sometimes used fresh. They were pre-
pared by first being soaked in hot water half 252
an hour, squeezed with the hands when soft,
then stirred vigorously with the foam berry 824
mop for twenty minutes or so in a cedar root
basket, until they foamed up like the whites
of eggs. Dried service berries might be ad-
ded for sweetening before soaking, the ber-
ries being very bitter. Grease will prevent
the foaming. This dish is a delicacy, pre-
pared in the evening when friends call, and
eaten with horn spoons.

Thorn berriès were gathered during the last part of July and the beginning of August, being found along the river banks. (3) Black thornberries (cxwanI′q or swȧ'enI′k) were picked and dried like service berries. Salmon bones with some meat on them might be pounded in a basket mortar and mixed with these berries. (4) Red thornberries (ɫaɫ'ɫa′I'I) were mashed and formed into thin cakes to be dried in the sun for winter use. No thornberries were cooked.

(5) Huckleberries (stEka′lqx) were gathered all through August. Mary Carden's sites are Moses Mountain and the hills west of Twisp. They were gathered in coiled cedar-root baskets worn in front at the waist. Some were kept a week or so and eaten raw. They were not dried until Nez Percé Indians came to the reservation and taught how to dry and use them like service berries.

(6) The berries of the red willow (stI′q'tsū), white in color, ripened in August. They were never dried or stored but always either boiled or pounded up and mixed with fresh cherries or service berries in order to sweeten them, for they were very sour. They were boiled only if eaten alone, since boiling the mixture would nullify the sweetening influences.

Oregon grape berries were gathered in

222 mid-August in pine bark buckets or coiled
251 cedar-root baskets. After being squeezed in
these containers, handfuls were spread on a
rock to dry. After several days they were
252 stored in tule sacks for winter use. They
were not cooked; either eaten raw, or the
dried lumps sprinkled with water and rolled
824 in a mat by way of preparation.

(7) Blueberries, (8) raspberries (ɫata), (9) strawberries (tq!ɛmtqɛm), and (10) thimble berries (palpŭ´lɛqxn) grew in quantities insufficient to be profitably dried, hence were always eaten fresh. Elderberries were boiled and eaten immediately. (11) Bearberries (skŭll´s) were used in soups; only eaten fresh.

ROOTS

(13) Bitterroot (spI´tlum) was plentiful throughout the area, and gathered in quantity during May. It grew best in moist ground, not too sandy, usually among rocks. Four sites known to Mary Carden are (1) hills seven miles north of Pateros on the south side of the river; (2) all the way from Twisp to Winthrop on hills either side of Methow River; (3) all around Duley Lake, about twelve miles east of Monse; (4) on the east side of Columbia River in the hills east of Waterville. The Kartaro people dug it at three places: (1) at the south end of Lake Omak; (2) meadows south of Kartaro Creek; (3) near the present post office of Kartaro. It was common in Northern Okanagon territory. A great many people would gather at these places, often more than the number at a winter village.

It was dug with the usual dogwood digging stick, just before it bloomed; one hand holding the top of the root while the other dug. The stalk would be twisted off, the bark skinned off, and the root put in a twined hemp basket (stexôRI´pa) carried on the right side at the waist. They were packed in large tule baskets (kwa´I'Ip').

These roots were washed and laid on mats or grass for two or three days to dry in the hot sun. They were never steamed, smoked, nor mashed. Then they were put away in tule sacks (Carden) or in pits lined with pine needles, and covered with more pine needles and rocks (Lucy Joe). Care was taken to pack them tightly enough to prevent air from circulating, since this would make them hard and dry as wood. At service berry time they were usually taken out and mixed with dried berries, about half and half, for if stored long alone they became very bitter. It took a person with good power to mix effectively. The mixture was then stored for winter use, usually in pits, packed tight to keep out the air. This was all women's work.

[4-62] But some men had the power to mix. Some could also pick berries, set them out to dry and go hunting a few days, come back and find the berries dried just right.

Bitterroot was eaten fresh, after being boiled or baked a half hour in the earth ov-

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en. Nowadays it is steamed in small pots, resting on many little sticks which keep it out of the water. When dried it was usually boiled. In all cases it was cooked separately but mixed with other food when served, since it is very bitter, like ordinary pepper or mustard. It was never pounded, and never eaten dry, for it would swell up inside one and be very uncomfortable, forming gases. Bitterroot was never preferred for its taste, but it was considered "good for one, like pepper and mustard."

(14) A small onion (waIqwIü´p›^{ts}), very sweet, was dug with spitlum, , in the same places and at the same times. It was eaten raw but never preserved. Today it is steamed.

(15) Camas was gathered by very few families, since none grew nearby. Some was found on the upper Methow River and in Tumwater Basin (several miles due east of Okanogan town). The bulk was dug beyond the Columbia River in the hills north of Wenatchee, near Waterville, whence it was packed after being dried. Tule mats were taken for this trip, since in early May there was considerable rain and tipis were wanted each night. While the women dug, the men would hunt jack rabbits with bow and arrow, collect birds' eggs, and spend much time at their games. The northerly bands knew only of dried camas, which they obtained through trade. Most of that of the southern bands may also have been gotten in trade. [342]

The following kinds were mentioned: tsaxülō´sa, white round camas at Waterville; I´t'xwa, black round camas traded from Idaho, much sweeter; ka´üōs, white camas with a long bulb.

Camas was dug with digging sticks before the faded flowers had dropped from the stalks. The stalks were twisted off and the skins rubbed off before the roots were placed in the basket at the waist. The best ones were dried on tule mats in the sun for two or three days, then stored. They could be eaten at any time without cooking, and would last for two or three years before spoiling. Roots of poorer quality were steamed for fifteen hours in a pit and dried in the sun. They were then very hard and slightly black in color. These were stored too but would not last as long and had to be boiled before being eaten, usually as a soup with dried deer meat or salmon, since it did not taste so good alone. While the former product could be eaten without preparation and is delicious in taste, much more of the latter was prepared because people preferred hot food in winter. Sometimes camas was steam-baked in alternate layers of black moss, all dried together and cooked by boiling with a piece of deer fat. Dried camas was also boiled with deer meat or dried salmon. When it was served, the meat was fished from the vessel to be eaten separately. Camas boiled with bitterroot was mashed before serving.

Each woman dried her own lot and carried it home, keeping it for her own family or trading it as occasion arose.

(16) Wild onions were dug along the rivers beginning in April, on the hills in May and in the mountains in June, before blooming. They were rolled on a mat to remove the dirt and eaten raw. Or they were steam-baked for half an hour, and before eating each person would remove the outer skin. For storage the steamed onions would be pressed into little thin cakes and dried. These would be sprinkled and rolled on a mat until soft before being eaten. They were never boiled nor mixed with anything else.

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(17) A root (stákcI′n, literally "bitter") grows in bunches like sweet potatoes or rose roots, each the size of a small fist. It was dug in early spring in rich damp ground. The plant is two and a half to three feet tall and looks like a lily, with thick leaves and a yellow flower three inches in diameter. The roots were not peeled but washed and steam-baked for five to six hours (overnight), then dried in the sun for three or four days, usually mashed and spread out in thin cakes. After steaming the roots are white and very good tasting, but as bitter as bitterroot. In winter it is boiled and put into meat soup, not to modify its bitterness, but to add to the good taste of the meats. It would be too hard and dry to eat alone. Today it is steamed in pots twenty-five minutes, held above the water by sticks.

(18) "Yellow bells" (sEmárata), a green stalk eighteen inches high with a small yellow flower in springtime, but with no leaves at any season, was dug in small quantities in the mountains during the summer. It grew in dry areas in the Methow valley and around Lake Okanogan. The roots are rough and bumpy, white, and disc shaped, two inches in diameter, and one quarter inch thick. They were eaten raw or steamed in a pit seven feet in diameter for fifteen minutes and then dried on tule mats for two weeks. Trips to the Methow River were made for these if time permitted, for they had to be dried and ready for storage before being brought back. Several women would prepare their lots together. In the north the women did not go out of their way to get them and did not preserve them. When dug with a root called cūI′x^{u} (No. 21), they were eaten together; washed, but not peeled, and boiled.

(19) Wild carrots (sklō′kūm) were dug with small digging sticks in early June, just before they bloomed, on gravelly hillsides. Carden's four sites were (1) from Twisp to Winthrop; (2) around Duley Lake; (3) Waterville area; (4) Bridgeport area, south of the Columbia River. They have a single or double stalked stem about one and a half feet high, and a root about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, roughly spherical. The stalks were broken off before placing the roots in the Indian hemp side basket. At camp they were washed and dried in the sun, usually on racks a yard high. There would be one vertical pole at each corner of the rack, supporting two short crosspieces on which lay three longitudinal poles ten feet long. Tule mats about three feet wide were laid on

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these. Sometimes the carrots were steam-baked instead for about an hour, then squeezed dry with the hands and spread out on mats of small tules in the hot sun for three days or so (Carden). 222 251 252 824

Carrots might be eaten raw and some were buried raw in damp ground for summer use. Fresh carrots were boiled or steamed for immediate use. Dried ones were boiled, often together with service berries, until thick. They were never cut open.

(20) The root (pcaI'k) of a plant one and a half feet tall with thorns in the fall but only grass-like leaves in summer (roots like camas but smaller and sweeter) grows in damp areas, gullies, etc. It is knocked over with a stick and the roots dug.

(21) A root (cūI'x^u), one inch long, smooth, growing only in rocky places, was dug only in the Methow valley, at the same time with sEme'rata, and prepared in the same way.

(22) A root (tc[illegible]kōlō'sa, white camas ?), about as big as two fingers, was dug at Soap Lake during May. It was steamed, then peeled and dried.

(23) Tiger lily bulbs (stExtsI'n) were dug near Twisp in September, when the flowers had fallen. They were treated like onions and the inner inedible core discarded. While never eaten raw they were also steam-baked, or mixed with dry service berries and boiled. They were slightly bitter.

(24) Wild "parsnips" (mIcō'wI) were dug in moist ground in the higher hills during late fall while the men were hunting. The roots are two inches long and look like carrots. As soon as dug, they were steam-baked nearby in pits eight to ten feet in diameter. Fires were made inside these pits, stones heated in the fire and when the flames had died, covered with weeds and grass to a depth of eight inches, especially the large leaves of water lilies. Then the roots were laid in, followed by another six or eight inches of leaves and grass, with two feet of dirt on top. Water is poured on the hot rocks down the holes left by four sticks, which are now pulled out, and the roots cooked for forty-eight hours. They are inspected by digging a small hole in the edge.

When done the root is jet black and has an unpleasant odor but a very sweet taste. It is stored for winter as such: if it should lose its moisture it would lose its sweetness. When eaten it should still be moist, but it is never dampened artificially: this would spoil it. It is wrapped in grass and tule mats for winter, stored in underground pits, and eaten cold and raw, dipped into soup, etc. It will keep one year.

When several women dug together they would make a common steaming pit, then divide up the product by arbitrary judgment. The same pits could be used year after year.

222 251 252 (25) A root (^{t}sIms'nelqx), about twice the size of one's thumb, and growing in clusters, was dug near Oroville. They were dried two or three days on tule mats, or boiled and eaten fresh, but were then very bitter. They were not highly prized.

824 A root (xEnasta′tkwa) could be found in certain springs in August. Mary Carden's sites were Elliot spring near Brewster Flat and Dan Canyon spring near the Columbia between Pateros and Brewster. These long white roots were eaten raw and even preserved a few days by keeping them wet in a tule sack. They could, of course, not be dried for storage.

OTHER PLANT FOODS

(28) The cambium layer of large pine trees (tsI′xwI) was gathered in early spring (Johnnie stated in June only). If a tree is found to contain much sweet sap, its bark is scored all the way around with a knife as high as one can reach and again at the base, a vertical score made and the sections of bark pried and cut from the tree with special wooden knives four feet long called n'tsI′xwI'^{tn}. Incidentally this kills the tree. The pieces are laid on the ground and scraped with knives of deer rib a foot long (called nEkakamû′n), the soft cambium substance and sap being collected on dry grass (a long pine grass called qûaqûaqûnI′lp). The matter is carried to camp wrapped in soft pliable bark with grass to lend it flavor and moisture. It must be eaten the same day for it soon loses its moisture and sweetness, but even then it is stringy and tough.

(29) Sunflower seeds (mI′ktû) were collected as soon as the flowers had fallen off and the seeds were hard and dry, mostly in June and July. These plants grew so abundantly and widely that trips were never made to get them. (The sunflower plant was called c'mû′qûâk'n.) The women used a beater (klepta′n) made by bending a flexible stick back on itself and covering the space with a piece of old buckskin (Figure 24).[1] They walked about with a birch bark basket tied to the waist, bending the tops of the flowers over the basket and beating them gently to knock off the dried seeds. The baskets are rather cone-shaped, with large mouths. The seeds rarely have to be dried further, but if necessary they can be dried on woven hemp mats for two or three days, or browned by pouring them on a flat buffalo skin on which a hot rock has been placed, and pulling up the edges of the skin to toast them on it. They are winnowed by being poured from one basket into another in the wind. They had to be kept in air-tight containers, such as the wooden tubs, else they would dry out too much. The seeds would last for six years.

They are prepared by being pounded to

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[1] [See figure 24 on p. 28(B), category 116.-- Analyst]

powder in a basket mortar or buckskin bag and
222 perhaps mixed with deer grease or pounded dry service berries. The food was eaten raw, not even moistened, and was regarded as a deli-
251 cacy, served in horn spoons between meals. Today it is sugared, but used very seldom.

252 (30) Choke cherries (tlōxtla´x^{u}) were gathered in mid-August, along the rivers.
824 They might be treated like service berries, dried for a day on tule mats, etc. Alternatively they might be pounded to pulp with a pestle in a buckskin bag, seeds and all, then dried in the sun spread out in thin cakes on tule mats or a wooden rack. When dry they were often pounded up with salmon heads, tails, or eggs, or else soaked in water several hours. They were not cooked.

(31) Black moss (skwall´p) was gathered in the fall after the work with other vegetable foods was done, though it does not vary from month to month and might be collected at any time of year. It grows on the smaller branches of pine, fir, and tamarack trees, and is collected from the last two, since it has an unpleasant, pitchy flavor if taken from pines unless the branches are dead. Young boys climb high into the trees to get it, several clusters to the handful. While it may be eaten raw, it is then bitter and becomes green in the saliva, with a consistency like fresh soft dough. The large supply is steamed in pits three feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter. Hot rocks are covered with green leaves, then grass; then the moss is put in and over it is placed more grass, leaves, and a foot of earth. Four poles are left against opposite sides of the pit resting on the bottom, which are now pulled out to leave holes down which water is poured to the rocks. The moss is steamed from twelve to twenty-four hours, after which it has the consistency of stringy fresh dough. It is spread thin and pressed down until one inch thick, cut into pieces one-half inch square and then allowed to dry. When hard the pieces, shrunk and very black, are stored in sacks for winter use.*[1] It is cooked by boiling in a soup, and today when sugared is delicious. It will last three years if well preserved.

(32) Pine nuts (sq!aū´q!ū) were gathered in September at the head of the Twisp River. Girls of sixteen could climb the trees and throw down branches. The cones were carried to camp in sacks. A hole in the ground would be dug, three feet deep, hot rocks put in the bottom, and on this was laid two inches of green grass and two inches of green tule. The cones were poured in next, covered with eight inches of dry pine needles and one foot of dirt. They are dry-baked over night and dug out early in the morning, with care lest dirt get on the cones. These were laid on tule mats and each one rolled with pressure under the open palm to free the

[1] [For footnote, see p. 28 (C), category 116. --Analyst]

nuts, which were then pulled out. The nuts were left in the sun for the rest of the day 222 and stored for winter in tule sacks. 251

Some people ate pine nutlets as they were gathered from the fallen cones. 252 They were not pounded or stored, but used as a tit-bit while they lasted. 824 ●

Two kinds of mushrooms were used, (33) kła panter and (34) pI′tlxk'n. The former was boiled, the latter eaten raw. Neither was dried or preserved.

Prickly pear fruits (sxwi′Ina, Opuntia?) were eaten, the spines being burned off.[17]

STARVATION FOODS

When all the stored foods ran low in winter, 261 or when they had neglected gathering because of preoccupation with the Dream dance, [796] the people used other sources, according to their proximity. Mussels (skokōI′na) were of first importance. Large beds of these were found in the Okanogan River every 226 three or four miles, of which the two best known are just below the mouth of Omak Creek and a mile above Oroville. The mussel is three to four inches long, dark blue in color like the salt water varieties and similar in shape, but with thinner shells. Starving people would camp by these beds and gather them with a forked stick through holes in the ice if wading was impossible. They were easily opened and were boiled. Some few people liked them so much that they gathered and baked them in times of plenty, though never in hot weather. Shell heaps have been reported all along the Okanogan River.

Trout were speared through holes in the ice, with the small single-pointed spear with two prongs (called wI′tck). If a bad winter was feared, the location of shoals of trout would be ascertained before the ice came.

*[For context of this footnote, see p. 29 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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[17] For medical plants, see the section on religion.

[18] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 238-39.*

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LIST OF PLANT NAMES

Berries

1. Service berries, sI′a	Possibly Teit's[1]	sI′a, Amelanchier alnifolia (Nutt)
2. Red foam berries, sxō′sem		sx̣ō′sEm, Shepherdia canadensis (Nutt)
3. Black thornberries, cxwanI′q		sx̣wanI′k, Crataegus rivalaris (Nutt)
4. Red thornberries, x̣ax̣′x̣a′I′I		
5. Huckleberries, stEka′lqx		stēx̣ō′llk, Vaccinium membranaceum (Dougl)
6. Willowberries, stI′q′^{tsu}		stI′kax̣^{u}, Cornus pubescens (Nutt)
7. Blueberries		
8. Raspberries, ƚaƚa		x̣la′la, Rubus sp.

[1] [For foot note, see P. 29 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

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9. Strawberries, tq!ámtqEm	tEkei´mkem, *Fragaria californica* (C and S)
10. Thimbleberries, palpū´lEqxn	
11. Bearberries, skūlī´s	
12. Red berry, tetkm; grows high in mountains; not important	

Roots

13. Bitterroot, spī´tlum	Possibly Teit's spi´tlam, *Lewisia rediviva* (Pursh)
14. Small onion, walqwlū´pᵗˢ	yekiyu´kEps, *Calochortus macrocarpus* (Dougl)
15. Camas: Black round camas traded from Idaho, I´t´xwa White round camas dug at Waterville, tsaxūlō´sa White camas with long bulb, ka´ūōs	e´txwa or I´txwa, *Camassia esculenta*
16. Big onion	
17. "Potato," a bitter bulb, stákcī´n	stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
18. "Yellow Bells," sEma´rata	
19. "Carrots," sklō´kūm	
20. A root, pcaī´k	cxei´kEn, *Sium lineare*
21. A bulb, cEī´xᵘ	s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*
22. A root "white camas ?), tcūkōlō´sa, (perhaps comes from Waterville, above)	
23. Tiger lily bulb, stExtsī´n	stoxtci´n, *Lilium columbianum*
24. "Parsnips," mīcō´wī	
25. A "parsley," ˀsīms'ne´lqʌ	smitsemā´lkᵘ, *Peucedanum macrocarpum* (Nutt)
26. "Potato," skwEnqūlnEm	skwenkwī´nEm, *Claytonia sessilifolia*
27. "Radish," xEnxEx	xa´nExan, *Cycopus uniflorus*

Other Plant Foods

28. Pine cambium, tsī´xwī	Possibly Teit's tse´xwe or tsū´xe, *Pinus ponderosa*
29. Sunflower seeds, mī´ktū	mī´kto, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*
30. Choke cherries, tlō´xtla´xᵘ	xlo´x.tox, *Prunus demissa* (Walpers)
31. Black moss, skwalī´p	skolē´p, *Alectoria jubata*
32. Pine nutlets, sq!aū´q!ū	sqa´uku, *Pinus ponderosa*
33. Fungus, kta´panter	
34. Fungus, pī´tlxk'n	
35. Fir tree, tsqīlxp	
36. Early bud, cwa´ya (See No. 21, its root, which is eaten)	s-hwe´ᵘxᵘ, *Erythronium grandiflorum*

such a one was wI´ôwxIna, literally (?) "she 831
don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody."
These girls never learned to be good. 836
There were never many of them. They never
worked but were supported by their own people,
even though these did not like them. If
a girl was always bad, going with many men,
she would not have a chance to marry well.
In fact, girls who had many illegitimate
children would never marry. If a father [684]
found he could not halt her and tired of the
disgrace, he marched her out to the woods
and shot her with arrows, leaving her without
burial. Not every boy would have dealings
with such loose girls. The sons of
"nice" people would be "nice." But every
boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse
before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848
shame of them was lived down. A girl who
had already had a baby married, and brought
up the child with her later children. There
was no way of forcing the man involved to
marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination
mechanism to determine his identity,
and if accused he had only to deny the allegation.
He might, however, have married the
girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847
it was considered rather shameful, and was
so felt by the girl involved. Therefore
girls who became pregnant as a result of an
illicit affair attempted to produce abortion
by violent pressure, as by falling on their
abdomens across a log. If this failed they
were said sometimes to kill the child if the
fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently
secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842
brought by a women of an unidentified Puget
Sound tribe. She would arrive in the 824
Wenatchi country every summer in the days of
Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed
the women to eat the leaves of a
bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The
bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark
green, shiny leaves are small and pointed,
and in general shaped like those of a tobacco
called sqwûlI´s.) This plant was said to
grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was
male, the non-blossoming variety female.
Women who did not want to have children
would eat these leaves after menstruation
for a year. This assured permanent barrenness,
but its effect, or barrenness from any
other cause, might be counteracted by eating
the leaves of the female or non-blossoming
plant. The point of the leaf was opened
with a sharpened twig; it was then blown
full of air and swallowed. If the leaf
could be blown up without bursting, the woman
would conceive. For example, Mary's sister
was married many years, but had no children.
A year after taking this cure she had a
child and later two more. Some women who
were barren always burst the leaves when
they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon
women learned which bush was used, they would
get the leaves themselves, asking the bush
for help while picking them. In the days 842

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxëntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxënt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
278 gation with certain roots.

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
789 flower and the plant from which love medi-
cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or płał) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
825 dren by telling them that the owl (snëna')
or the night-hawk (kwaöwil) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

[illegible] The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring. 221

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan: 222
824 ●

ROOTS

1. *A'tkwa, t'txwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlɛm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pö'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Sä'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Silökŏm* (unidentified).
9. *Mxsä'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwɛnkwä'nɛm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *Sxel'lɛm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsä'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Siai'ɛkɛn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kɛrtsɛn* (unidentified).
15. *Molä'ɛpa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slä'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Łö'xlöx* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsɛkwä'kʷ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Stca'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'natc* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'wεslls* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pö'lpolqɛn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltalilaax*[1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqwaikwai'qɛn* ("bla[illegible]ead," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tɛmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yä'rtca* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsä'lɛ*[2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shö'ɛɛm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqɛm, kei'tkɛm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *Stɛxcä'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npɛkpeka'xɛn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sist'pl* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *Tɛptɛptai'ɛlp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

Sɛlɛxwai'lɛpkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

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[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.

[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

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SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qo'puṣa* (hazelnuts).
● 824 *Sut'stic* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stsʻtsi'tes (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Mc'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xus (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamoxetci'axm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Haxto'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkxn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shut'xna (*Opuntia* sp.).

4/12 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

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[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1826, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

plentiful. Occasionally late frosts killed all of the berries in the mountains, in which case many bears congregated along the upper course of the Columbia. 224

Another method of taking bears was to smoke them out of their places of hibernation. The locations of dens customarily used by these animals during the winter were well known to hunters. Other places of hibernation were identified by the characteristic pile of pine needles used to cover the openings of the dens. The hunter built a fire of rotten pine wood at the opening of the hole, then waited with his bow and arrow ready for the bear to come out.

Grizzly bears were seldom hunted by the average man. In fact the grizzly bear was so greatly feared that it was much more common for a hunter to run than to attack one of the animals. On the other hand, those hunters who had for their guardian spirits the grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel or gopher, (these latter were "friends" of the grizzly), were able to successfully seek this formidable creature. Although not immune from injury, hunters with such spirits were certain to recover, no matter how seriously hurt. 224 825

The following tale, told by Bob Covington, illustrates the beliefs surrounding the grizzly bear: 224 825 539

An old man spent nearly all his time hunting grizzly bears. In those days there were lots of grizzlies in the mountains. He had become a big grizzly bear hunter.

One day he said to his wife, "Now, wife, some day I may get killed when I am out hunting. But whatever happens don't go to look for me. No matter how badly I am hurt, I have a good chance to get well. So you just stay away, at least until two days have passed."

Later on they were camping on the Sanpoil river near Keller. It was late in the afternoon, but the old man told his wife that he was going up in the hills for a while. He said he would be back before long.

Night came but he did not return. His wife wondered what had happened but she didn't go out. During the night she heard many noises in the hills. All kinds of animals seemed to be there. She heard coyotes and wolves and crows and all the rest of the birds and animals. Then she was sure she knew what had happened.

When morning came she started out. She could still hear the cries of the animals and she followed them. They became louder and soon she was nearly there. She crossed a little hill and then looked down into a small meadow below. All the noises had disappeared but she saw her husband sitting there in the center of the clearing. She rushed up to him but he didn't turn around. She went around in front of him but he turned so that his back was again toward her. Then he said, "Why didn't you stay at home as I told you? I'm hurt, but I'm all right just the same. Now you go on away."

His wife went away but she didn't go home. She stayed just on the other side of the hill. As soon as she was out of sight of her husband she heard the cries of the animals again. She stood it as long as she could then rushed back. When she reached the open place again the noises were gone once more and her husband was still sitting in the same place.

He was angry this time, and didn't turn his face away from her. "It's funny you couldn't stay away a little bit longer," he said. She saw that he had two deep gashes cut in his face as if he had been clawed by a grizzly bear. He went home with her this time.

After reaching home his wife saw that he had scars all over his body which looked like the claw marks of a grizzly. But they were all healed. Only the cuts on his face were still open.

His wife asked what the meaning of it all was. He said, "I told you once. I was in a fight with a grizzly bear." Then she told him that she wanted to know about all the animals she had heard.

Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 539 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawȧyi··· xawa··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi··· 224
(meaningless) 539

sqəpəntcu'əmstᵘ esnuqłtsəxe'ł ni'xulqwa· 825
You cause the other animals to do as you have done.

ȧ·mui' ki'qwəłtuqumətsut' itsəpəntcu'təmstxᵘ
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuqumətsu'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwəłtuqumətsut,
You have given up to me;

sqəpəntcu'təmstxᵘ i·'s winu·'mtxᵘ i·'t kəłəmi'luxᵘ msətstuqumənts u'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224 825

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the 224
branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and preda- 264
tory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of 825
course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14]

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS A[illegible]RDS

Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before 177
the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very 224
rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home.

The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These 224
included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path.

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the

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[13] See page 92.

[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence. 411

Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary. 411 224

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water. 411 779

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food. 262 825

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals" and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 166 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [940] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

224 281 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

232 888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 251 415 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcɪnəm) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

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[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

539/775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776/823 Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed [823] spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had [821] spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, 776 grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of
the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiuikʷ) that surrounded the
land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were carelessness, simple accident and uncleanliness. 753

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826
had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777
no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821
dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u'ł. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821
by thunder.

844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skəltəmi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ila'mA'skət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821
the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821
tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil. 813

following one could be stopped without killing it by picking some grass or a few leaves and throwing them on the toad's back, saying, "Here, I pay you this. There is your blanket and your food. Now don't follow me." 821 825

The weather knew what was said concerning it. It was not well to boast of one's ability to withstand cold weather. One young hunter was admonished by his father to put on more clothes before going hunting. He objected, saying, "The cold is my wife. I don't need any more clothes." The next morning he was found frozen to death. 821

When lightning was seen but no thunder was heard, the weather that followed was very hot.

A summer in which two or three crops of berries appeared was followed by a winter with much snow.

Thick vegetation and bushes blossoming in the fall presaged a great deal of snow. Many worms on the wild cherry trees or many yellow jackets were indicative of the same thing.

Large flakes of snow falling in the spring were followed by the coming of crows. People said of the snowflakes, "Those are crows' socks."

A rainbow indicated that a storm was to follow or that "thunder was showing its wings."

The twitching of one's forehead indicated that rainy weather was to follow.

The croaking of frogs marked the coming of spring.

When the weather was foggy people said that coyote had urinated.

One's finger became sore and sometimes dropped off if it were pointed at a rainbow.

The coming of warm weather was indicated by: a dark crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the north; parhelia; dark or "colored" clouds before sunset or sunrise, if persisting; pine trees with a yellow appearance in the morning; wind "roaring" in the mountains (Chinook wind); or a new moon with tips of its horns in a nearly vertical plane.

The coming of cold weather was indicated by: a gray crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the south; a ring close around the sun or moon; anthelia; a fragmentary rainbow between the sun and the horizon in the afternoon; brilliantly colored clouds at sunset; pale clouds before sunrise; "deep red clouds" before sunrise lasting only a few moments; wind "whistling" in the mountains; a light blue, cloudless sky after sunset; "bright large stars"; pine trees with a dark appearance in the morning; many shooting stars; or a new moon with the horns pointing upward.

Black clouds resulted in rain; gray clouds gave rise to snow.

Cumulus clouds appearing in the morning brought a strong south wind.

A certain amount of control over the weather was possible to anyone who followed closely certain formulae. But major changes could only be made by those possessing spirit power over meteorologic elements. This supernatural control was usually exercised at the winter dances. 789 821

227 of similar fencing was constructed at an oblique angle from the shore to one of the tripods in the stream. This contained two openings large enough to admit the passage of the salmon, which entering the quiet water thus enclosed, were speared from the shore or the top of their weir."[5]

226 A pair of men watch together for night spearing, one holding the spear and the other tending the light; in the old days a fire, now a lantern. As soon as a fish is speared, it is killed with a simple club.

[462] 251 Salmon which had spawned and were dead were gathered by old women, who could not fish. They were picked up not only along the shore, but from canoes in mid-stream. They were butchered by cutting off the head and tail and throwing these away; slitting up the belly and taking out the backbone; then throwing the whole piece over a pole to dry. They had to be eaten "from the pole:" if put away in bags as the fresh ones were when dry, they would be very bad. So they were left hanging all fall and all winter, higher than the coyotes would be able to jump, or they would be roasted at once. They always smelled bad, but are said to have tasted good despite the smell. These salmon had no fat, and were very stringy. The males were worse than the females; fins worn, skin all white and cut, etc. It was thought that ● [825] when numberless salmon had spawned and turned white, there would be a smallpox epidemic.

226 462 [787] Women used also to fish with small nets. Net-making was a feminine art. But they never went torch fishing, for the salmon were too hard to handle. Women might also dream of some information which would be of help to their husbands.

226 Salmon eggs were dug by the Colville from the sandbars of the Columbia when the water fell. This was not done on the Okanogan River.

SALMON DRYING

251 All freshly caught salmon were butchered in a stereotyped manner, as fully described below. This routine was followed for all which were to be dried, as well as those eaten during the four day ceremony. When salmon were being caught in large numbers, they might be cached several hours in the shade before being butchered.

251 417 They were dried on racks set up near the fishing places. These were of two types. The smaller consisted of two tripods of poles ten to twelve feet long, each with a horizontal crosspiece lashed between two of its poles from seven and a half to eight feet above the ground. The tripods were eighteen to twenty feet apart. These two horizontals supported between them a number of longer poles, and on these rested the sticks, about

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[5] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 71.

p.14 (A)

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

226 of men, who sit down around the bed of wil-
low leaves, still forever talking. Nowadays
796 they will save several pieces to take home
to their families, women included, if they
574 have caught plenty of salmon. The fresh-
roasted flesh is wrapped in willow leaves,
each bundle tied firmly with a supple twig
and set aside until evening and the homego-
ing.

As the men and boys eat, they throw all
226 the hard parts of the fish which they do not
care to swallow in the center of the willow
796 bed: bones, fins, gills, cartilage, eye-
balls, etc. At the end of the feast these
574 particles are gathered up and added to the
t'simrai´wi. This is put into a burlap bag
264 (formerly tied up in leaves) and hung from a
branch of a tree nearby, where animals might
not reach it. At the end of the four days,
the accumulation is put into a pot with serv-
ice berries and boiled. T'simrai´wi is said
to be collected after all feasts, and kept
as a last resort in case of winter famine.
The xalŪ´ps is eaten at the end of each
feast. It is regarded as a delicacy, and on-
ly the older men might take it. Actually it
is bitter in taste, though one grows to like
it more and more.

The same places are used for butchering, roasting, and eating the salmon during these four days. On the fifth day the salmon are given to the women, who thenceforth do most of the handling.

If a large number of salmon are taken during the four days, the men may be taxed to eat it all, but they must do so; even as each man must surely have a taste if only a small amount is caught. Usually only a few were caught these first days, for the runs commenced gradually. Of course, men might eat anything else during the day if this morning "feast" is but a small pinch of flesh. From fifty to one hundred men used to attend these feasts.

Of the four nights' fishing, the first two are spent spearing at the fire site and the second two watching for fish to jump into the weir. Only two men work at a time for the first two nights: a spearsman and a man at the fire. Other men sleep nearby, and a second pair may take the places of the first during the night.

The few Indians who will give an inter-
226 pretation of the salmon ceremony say that
their ancestors were taught it by Coyote, ac-
796 cording to their myths, and that therefore
they must follow it. They fear that the sal-
[773] mon might not come in the future if they
failed to observe it. The salmon have come a
825 long distance for the Indians, and they are
quite willing to please them by such recogni-
tion. The number four is used "simply be-
cause the head man always chooses four days
when he announces the full plan at the win-
ter dances." At this time he tells where
the trap is to be built, how close the women
may be allowed to come, and other rules and
regulations. The same head man often built
a weir year after year.

[First-Salmon Ceremony]

000 a weir year after year.

226 796 171 While first salmon ceremonies are typical of Plateau culture, the traits found here seem fairly different from those of most tribes so far studied. Gunther[7] gives nine outstanding traits, of which these Southern Okanagon have only four: catching by a specified person, cutting by a specified person, cutting in a ritual manner, cooking in a ritual manner. It is questionable if the power songs sung individually while the tripods are being erected are her "prayers," and if the carrying of salmon on small poles by the boys is her "carried in specific manner." There is no dance, no throwing of the bones into the water, no boiling of the fish (which is more characteristic of the coastal tribes).

226 796 825 The Okanagon motive is typical, to renew or maintain the established world, even though few Indians could explain this. Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is. They have the idea of making animals revive and return another year (see treatment of deer bones, and the bear ceremony and song), but these do not apply to salmon in the same way, except that every scrap of the salmon must be consumed at the feast.

226 796 784 825 Women are not supposed to come nearer than a half mile from the weir, so camp is pitched at least this distance from the chosen spot. Women might come closer if under the escort of a man with special power, after the first four days of fishing. Women may not eat salmon until after these four days. A person whose close relative has died recently, or a man whose wife is pregnant with her first child is not allowed to come in sight of the trap or to eat the fresh salmon. A man would not be allowed to help build a trap within two years of a death of a parent, brother, sister, or wife. Boys are not allowed to participate in the feast unless they are old enough to help in preparing wooden spits, carrying the flesh about, etc. They may, however, go as near to the weir as they wish.

The upper bands of Southern Okanagon permitted no swimming nearer than a half mile from the trap, on the downstream side: they could swim anywhere above it. All water had to be drawn from the upstream side. After the ceremony the entrails might be thrown into the river before the fish are set out to dry, but this, too, is done above the trap. Some people preserved the heart and liver, some did not.

If any part of a human skeleton is thrown into the river, the salmon will never come there until the object is removed or washed away. A salmon head or intestine put in the river will stop them also. A person with strong salmon power may prevent the salmon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power.

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p.17(A) [7] Gunther, A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony,

mon from entering the trap of a person with weaker power. 000

Women and children were not supposed to eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but when the people were ready to leave the river, they would grow careless and eat dried heads and tails, which were not as dangerous as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, they would become strict again. 226 796 784 825 ●

These tabus did not apply to other fish; in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of trout and squawfish. 262

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about the end of the penis as protection from the poles they are handling, might account for it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon creation myth, in which the first weir is said to have been built by two bird sisters, far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women? [773]

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ōq'ōmū′s) were taken during both of their annual runs, upstream in early May and downstream in August, when they sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the larger catch was in May, when traps were set at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old men: women dried the catch which was traded with those who had spent this time digging roots. A pole would be set horizontally in the rocks so that the surface water fell directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur- 226 [462] [887]

251 417 the thinner the meat is the better it will dry. After two or three hours of smoking the meat was allowed to remain on a similar rack in the shade for two or three days until completely dry.

251 262 Deer meat can be dried in the sun without being smoked, but this was not done frequently because of the flies, the fact that it cannot then be roasted but must be boiled (since there is no fat in it), and the fact that it cannot then be pounded up with deer fat to make pemmican (k'kai'ikst'n). This is a favorite food: bone-dry meat pounded fine as flour on flat rocks with a stone pestle, then deer fat added and ground in. It was the main food taken on hunting trips, being extremely nourishing and delicious. It was stored in sacks sealed with fat.

Meat which had been smoked and dried could be eaten as such, either roasted or boiled. The roasted meat tasted best, but it was commonly boiled so that the children and older people would have the soup. Roots were usually boiled with it. The soup might be put aside for use in boiling vegetables for another meal. Fresh roasted deer meat was at all seasons the favorite food. The deer bones were left two or three days after the meat was taken off, then boiled to make a soup to which bearberries were added. Deer blood was used to thicken boiled vegetables.

Deer fat was smoked carefully and stored for later use, usually to be added to boiling meat, vegetables, or berries. It was never added to food cooked in the earth oven. Any fat which dripped from roasting meat was carefully collected, and used for sealing food preserved against winter, or for cooking.

252 Suszen reported whole deer being steam-baked in a pit, after its intestines had been removed, between layers of sweet grasses and fir boughs, etc. It took eight hours. This seems incredible.

224 784 825 Certain tabus were observed in connection with deer hunting. During the first three days of the fall hunt women could not eat the ribs of the deer unless they were dried. None of the inside parts could be eaten by them until the fall hunt was ended. Women could cook any part of the deer for their men, however.

During this hunt women must not go upstream from camp nor beyond the hunters to fetch wood, or for any purpose. No woman might touch slain deer nor walk in that part of the house where deer were placed. (The temporary house faced back in the direction the party had come.) If a woman made a mistake, she would usually tell what she had done. [783] The men must then sweat and prepare their sweathouse with fir boughs before they could go out for deer again. This would take two or three days. The remedy would suffice even if it was not known what woman had broken the tabu and caused the game to disappear. Another remedy, likewise calculated to please

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the deer, was to make all the women roast their meat for a number of days, and then boil it for a certain number of days.

At the fall hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp. The hunter's son or some other boy passed the meat around, having instructions as to what portion to give each one. After the first deer had been distributed the women of this house might handle the deer to dry the meat. This is an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. [794]

At all times of year freshly killed deer were brought into a house through a hole under the rear mats if there were women in the house. (Lucy Joe stated that this applied only to the deer taken during the fall hunt.) Women were not supposed to go out the back of the house, nor in that direction. Women must not be permitted to cross the trail of a deer while it was fresh.

There are stories of people who used to throw all their deer bones into the nearest lake, whence the reborn deer would emerge. The custom of wasting no deer flesh hinges on the same idea of rebirth or replenishment.

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Meat was frequently divided among the group. In the evening after game was cut up a large pile might be made, about which the women sat in a circle, and those men who had no women. They might sit for this division on several days, and each woman would have the same place each day. One man was selected to divide it, not usually the leader of the hunt. He received nothing himself, but of course his woman did. Even after a small hunt much meat would be given away, the quantity depending on the word of the leader. The families of the participants usually received the larger shares, and for this reason the young or poor hunters would join a party of recognized good hunters if they needed meat. Even the lazy and improvident would be given some meat. A hunter who did not share his game this way would be called stingy. The hides and heads were always kept by the owner. Berries and roots were not divided: what each woman got she kept. [222]

Most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall, and the sons would continue after their father died; yet any man could hunt wherever he chose without asking permission.

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While the men hunted, the women dug and prepared "parsnips" (m'sa´wI), which ripened at this season, also black moss.

BEARS AND OTHER GAME

Bear (ckámxI´ct) were hunted from spring to fall by groups of three to five men for protection. Since bears used to come to the rivers only occasionally, the hunting had to be carried on in the hills. It was considered the most dangerous of work, particularly for grizzly bear (kIlau´na). These were sought in the higher mountains. The

[1] [i.e., bear-hunting party.--Analyst]

The leader of the party[1] had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

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He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

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An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

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Deadfalls [illegible]e set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

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top goes backwards, the notch will release the horizontal piece (2) so it will fly up into the air and allow the log to fall and crush the bear. A large log was buried where the bear would be crushed, or perhaps several logs. Chilowist Jim described the deadfall as several logs resting on poles which leaned on the stick (2): a total weight of two hundred pounds. Instead of a buried log below, a platform of logs, four feet by fifteen, was laid on the ground. 224

Bark is woven between the stakes so that the bait can be seen only through the entrance. This bait may be the backbone of a freshly killed deer or fresh grease. It is tied to the bottom of the trigger and not hidden. The trap is set on a bear trail, which can be located by the blazes made by their claws as they pass along. Other animals are frequently caught in these deadfalls: coyote, fox, marten, etc., though small deadfalls are made for them too. One man might have two or three large ones. They might be operated during October and November as well as in the spring.

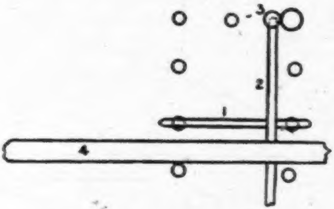

Fig. 1. Diagram of bear deadfall trap.

The body meat was prepared much like deer meat, but most of it was roasted fresh, since it does not taste so good when dry. Still some was pounded fine for pemmican. The head and paws of grizzlies were saved until no more were to be hunted, when the "head man" of the hunt would singe off the hair and eat the flesh. If many had been killed, all the hunters gathered and helped him, allowing him to eat first. A person with bear power could not eat that portion which was his power; heart, leg, or whatever (Mary Carden). 224 251 262 [624]

When a bear was being carried into camp the people sang a special song, which was taken up by the others as soon as they heard it or saw the bear, and the song continued while they were dressing it and cutting up the meat. The black bear song was called stsömi´st. It is a happy song, very short, and known to everybody. Since there was a strong feeling that anyone who made fun of bear would be killed by one, this song was full of reverence. When the dressing was completed, they hung the skull on a forked tree or high bush and put the other bones in a creek. (The skull was not painted nor the tree cut or otherwise marked.) Formerly they roasted the head, ate the head meat, and hung 224 [585] 825

224 825 up simply the bare skull. Hallowell,[12] who also says that no ceremonial treatment of the bear's carcass was practiced in the Plateau area, makes note of this fact. The greatest criterion of manhood was killing a bear, particularly a grizzly. Stories are numerous of heroes who killed bears unaided, the best of them by stabbing with a knife.

224 A "small mountain goat" (yàlI′kwûlEkEn), quite possibly an antelope since this is somewhat out of the mountain goat range, was hunted in the Waterville - Coulee City region in the spring.

Small game was taken at all seasons, and while not sought at great distances, still it formed a large item after big hunts. Generally it was a sport for boys, or a diversion for women, between berrying and root-digging. Men took part only in big drives, such as those held while the women were digging camas in the Columbia River country. There was no ritual behavior for small game, such as the women's tabus, the rituals of butchering salmon and deer, etc.

Rabbits came foremost. Cottontails were taken by small spring traps set in their trails, with piles of brush for them to jump over so they would land on the trigger and noose. The springs were bent saplings, two inches in diameter. Rabbits (spa′p kŏnten) also were shot by small boys with bows and arrows. On favorable ground boys drove them through the sagebrush towards men with rabbit sticks. These were straight sticks about one inch thick, of willow or service berry wood. Jack rabbits were hunted with sticks, bows and arrows, and boys might use a form of sling.

[263] Rabbit meat was roasted or boiled, but never dried or preserved, although plenty of rabbits were killed. The fur was used for caps but was not strong enough for mittens.

The sling was an Indian hemp cord one or two yards long and one quarter inch thick, one end wrapped about the little finger two or three times, and the rest all wrapped around a large smooth stone about one inch in diameter. The string was jerked back at the end of the throw, sending the stone spinning toward the quarry. This was also used in hunting birds.

When beaver houses were located, the entrance tunnel was dug away back to the bank of the stream; then stakes were driven close together in front so that the beaver could not escape. Sticks were then driven down into the various houses to force the beaver to rush out, on which they were stabbed with sharp stakes.

Ground hogs were shot with the bow, or a short pole of service berry wood was thrust in the animal's den under a rock and twisted wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this. 252 [774 825] ●

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[12] Hallowell, Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere, 73, 142.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food. 231 262

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Caribou were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13] 262 224 136

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year. 222 824

(1)[15] Service berries (sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERē'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage, 222 251 824

[1][For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

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13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the [1]
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of [1]

traps, rarely shot by bow. No special power 224
was needed for securing fur animals as for
food, most men having enough general power; [777]
but if a man had poor luck he would dance,
sweat, sing, etc. Whoever had poor luck
would be pitied by his relatives and an old-
er one might help by telling how the trapping
should be done, but of course no one could
approach an older man to ask this. He had to
wait for this help.

Fur animals were not skinned as deer were, by slitting the belly, but by slitting simply the hind legs along their inner sides and then pulling the skin off inside out. All meat and fat is then scraped off and a stick of supple willow is bowed into a U and pushed into it, sometimes with a second stick lashed across its center. The skin is kept in a tipi or tule house, or in the shade for four days or so, then turned fur side out and can be used at once.

DOGS, HORSES, AND PETS

The use of dogs (kēkawa'p) in deer hunt- 231
ing has been described above.

Dogs were treated carefully and only 224
the best were ever used. They are never
spoken to in camp today, and the idea of pet-
ting them is ridiculous to these Indians.
They were trained as pups to follow the scent
by being brought along on small hunts by
their owners, and having their heads held in
a slain deer's mouth. (The latter was also
a Colville practise.) Pieces of deer and
bear meat would be tied about their necks, or
the musk from a deer's foreleg rubbed on
their noses. They were taught not to bark
until a deer was brought to bay, since this
would scare the other deer. Before a serious
hunt they would be tied up for several days,
beyond the range of camp smells, in little
shelters with deer skins for them to lie on,
and given very little food. They might be
taken into the sweat house, where men with
appropriate power would blow into their nos-
es to give them better scent. No woman was [784]
allowed to handle them. They were not cas-
trated. Dogs were not used as draught or [492]
pack animals.

The dogs were about as big as coyotes,
but with short legs. Their colors were 231
black, yellow, spotted: all colors. They
were given names, such as Cloud, Mountain, 552
Trees, or more generally animal or bird names,
according to fancied resemblances in the
dog's marking. Billie Joe stated that prob-
ably only male dogs were named and always
for animals: cinq!alI'p, "coyote"; sinikstI'a,
"skunk"; ckámxI'ct, "bear"; kīlaña, "grizzly
bear." Every dog knew its name, but they
were called by saying "come here" or whistl-
ing or making a kissing sound. If a female 562
dog was lost, in chasing game or what not,
the owner would make a little digging stick 789
and say, "Come back: think about your dig-
ging stick." If a male dog, a small bow and 231
arrow would be made. Children were supposed [825]
to be able to converse with dogs,

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411 wood buds was rubbed in. The sinew was then
unwrapped, leaving a spiral negative design
531 in natural color on pigment[21]

411 Arrows for shooting small game were not
provided with stone heads but were simply
321 sharpened to a point. War arrows and those
designed for large game were fitted with
324 bone (but not horn) or flint heads shaped by
pressure with a deer horn flaker. These were
either lozenge-shaped or barbed and stemmed.
The stem was inserted into a slit in the arrow,
which was then whittled thin and sinew
wrapped around the joint over an application
of pine pitch. The head of the arrow was in
[463 the same plane as the nock. Stone arrowheads
could be made only by a man with proper
778] power. The first time he used this power
to made arrowheads he sang his power song.

411 When the arrow was finished the edges of the feathers were trimmed with a hot coal and the shaft polished with wood shavings or with "macaroni weed" (Its'Istin).

Sometimes arrows were provided with detachable foreshafts of wood or bone. The shaft was inserted into a socket in the end of this foreshaft. When the arrow struck, the shaft came loose. This device may have been limited to war arrows.

411 Arrows for both war and the chase were
sometimes poisoned with a concoction of rattlesnake
278 heads, or yellow jacket nest boiled
with wood from a tree struck by lightning.
789 The efficacy of the latter was probably entirely
psychological and its use was connected
[821] with the belief that contact with a lightning
struck tree would prove fatal. According
to Michel, the Southern Okanagon did not
use rattlesnake poison for arrows, though the
Colville did. The distinction is doubtful.
• [825] A rattlesnake's poison was believed to be in
its blood. The root of a nettle plant called
stsâtsZxûnt was also boiled with arrows
to poison them. (A gun which failed to kill
was sometimes washed out with boiled yellow
[754] jacket nest. Women sometimes poisoned each
other by concealing rattlesnake skin or part
of a bullfrog, of which the oil was the toxic
element, in food. This caused slow consumption.)
No song or spells were known to
help the poison do its work. Poisoned arrows
were kept in separate quivers, but were not
protected otherwise.

411 In use the bow was held vertically with the arrow to the left, occasionally horizontally. (The Wenatchi held the bow horizontally with upturned fist, the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the bow hand.) The arrow was grasped between the thumb and the second joint of the bent index finger (primary release), although the third finger was sometimes hooked about the string for added strength (secondary release). Both the stricture below the nock and the sinew which held the vanes furnished a firm grip.

p.54(4)

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[21] Specimens in Washington State Museum, Nos. 2-271, 2-273.

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqûntEmI´····n sEnqEqûlûxtsI····n
Help me Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

çenqEqûntEmI´····n sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881

> While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote." 825

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as
to allow these to fall out. This sets the 881
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brewster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's 773
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

776 ter were visualized as animals, birds, or whatever they happened to be. When captured and being destroyed by a shaman, the power seemed distinctly material, since, after cutting it to pieces with a knife, the shaman could show its blood on his hands.

The sex of the guardian spirit was seldom specified. It appeared as a man or woman to the power seeker, and seems usually to have had the same sex as the latter, though this was not definitely stated by the informants. At the winter dances, the dancer sometimes remarked that his guardian spirit was female.

The explicit conception of power as a divisible quantity seems to have been peculiar to Suszen Timentwa's religious scheme, though the idea was perhaps implicit in Okanagon thought. With his characteristic tinge of Christian cosmogony, Suszen explained that God originally gave his power, his "breath," to the animals, commanding them to give half of it to man, and that man therefore had half as much power as they. All of the informants agreed that a parent could direct his guardian spirit to confer power on his children or grandchildren without decreasing his own supply. Chilowhist Jim said that if one died without giving his power away, it simply returned to the animals from which it had come.

776 825 I have listed below some of the guardian spirits, with remarks on their relative and specialized strength, and have indicated in parentheses the names of the informants from whom we obtained the data in each case.

Guardian Spirit	Remarks
Coyote	gave power for killing deer, because it was carnivorous (Cecile); gave power for gambling, because Coyote in the folktales was a smart gambler (Cecile).
Dog	(Michel).
Otter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
Bear	gave the were-bear faculty (Johnnie); made one rich, because it was a strong power; "made bears mind you like a dog" (Chilowhist Jim); made one as resistant to arrows as a bear is (Chilowhist Jim).
Eel	gave power to escape from enemies, because it is so slippery (David).

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Rattlesnake	gave immunity to rattlesnake poison (Johnnie); gave power to cure rattlesnake bites (Johnnie and Suszen).
Cougar	one of the strongest powers, because the cougar is so strong (Cecile); gave power for killing deer, because the cougar is carnivorous (Cecile). (Johnnie, who said that he had the cougar power, claimed that cougar power was very weak.)
Wolf	gave no power, because it was weak and knew nothing (Suszen); gave power for killing deer because the wolf is carnivorous (Cecile).
Grizzly bear	one of the strongest guardian spirits, because the grizzly itself is so strong (Cecile); gave power to acquire riches, because of its great strength (Lucy Joe); gave power to kill grizzlies (various informants)
Deer	gave power to kill deer (Cecile; Johnnie); gave weak power (Michel); gave power to cure by sucking, because the deer was often shot (Cecile).
Mouse	gave power for foot-racing (Suszen).
Small birds	have the most power (Michel), when associated with hailstones, give immunity to bullets (Michel).
Hawk	gave power to cure rattlesnake bite, because the hawk ate rattlesnakes (Suszen).
Fish-hawk	not as powerful as the eagle (Johnnie and Billy Joe).
Buzzard	the best bird for giving power for curing.
Eagle	gave power to kill deer, because the eagle is carnivorous (Cecile); one of the strongest powers, because the eagle is so strong (Cecile).
Bluejay	(The Colville believed that the bluejay gave special power for finding lost articles, but the Okanagon said that this was not so with them [Johnnie].)
Western horned owl	gave power for seeing clearly at night (Cecile).
Sage-hen	gave power for foot-racing? (Suszen).
Any insect	(Cecile and Lucy Joe).
Worms	gave power to cure consumption.
Horse fly	gave power to cure blood-poisoning (Suszen).

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

From the above list, several general 776 points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked. The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object.

Theoretically, any object might confer 776 power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal 778 world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects.

Michel explained that a person could re- 776 ceive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or 825 a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite.

A very fortunate person might acquire 776 as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These 773 were Story Chickadee (tIcqa′qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa′qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInUhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power.

Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, 776 injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardi- 826 an spirit, was not confirmed by the other in- 825 formants.

p. 135 (A)

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people.

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The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor.

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Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much."

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The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank.

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A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing.

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As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands.

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In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power unless
a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825] ●
as guardian spirit, that animal or some
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsÜntsÜt, but was also called xötsöxIl, "giving power to the son," or söxtsExIltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cherished 787
for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
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776 they had hunted all day and found nothing.
He cried, thought for a while, and began to
sing. The people came in to follow his song.
787 All night they sang. Toward morning he said
to them, "When I was a little, little boy,
857 just old enough to remember, a creature told
me that he would give me his power always to
do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he
told me the truth we shall get many." Though
the lad himself was too young to accompany
them, they at once went deer hunting and
were successful.

776 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often
later — his guardian spirit returned to him.
787 Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him
while he was awake or in a trance, now and
henceforth it came in dreams during sleep,
though a man or woman with very strong power
might see the spirit while awake. It came
in human or animal form, or sometimes only
as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where
the spirit had first appeared to him. Though
this was always the spirit which had come to
him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other
animals might accompany it and confer their
power also. The spirit sang the power song
which the individual remembered as the one
which he had heard as a child. It directed
him to give his first power dance, told him
how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other
gifts among the people as an offering to the
guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply
with any of these orders might bring severe
illness or death to the offender.

776 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a
member of its species (spoken of as identi-
778 cal with the guardian spirit itself), and to
cut from its body a certain part to be used
787 as a power emblem (cła'ūt). This part might
be a piece of the head from above the nose,
or the tail, or a strip of skin from the
825 nose to the tail, or some other convenient
portion. Sometimes the animal directed the
dreamer to kill it to get the material for
the emblem; sometimes it told him how to
find it already dead. In the former case
the animal could be killed very easily: "if
you just hit it with a match or a twig, it
would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a
non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized
the power concerned. Here are a few of the
guardian spirits with the objects which they
might prescribe as power emblems.

	Spirit	Emblem
	Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
	Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
	Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
	Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
[821]	Fish	A paddle
	Thunder	A small painted arrow.
	Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

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Arrow	A miniature arrow, nicely feathered and painted.	776
Rock	A little rock with curious holes in it.	778

787
825 ●
[293]

The right to carry or wear such insignia of power belonged exclusively to those possessing the proper guardian spirits. Only a person with grizzly bear power, for example, might wear grizzly claws; stringing them on a buckskin thong and using them as a necklace or head band at the winter dance. A bird guardian sometimes ordered bird-scalps, feathers, or whole stuffed birds as a power emblem, or directed its protégé to tie the feathers into his hair. Even a chief, if he had not the requisite power, did not wear feathers in this way. One informant said that feathers were never worn to war, even by men who had birds as guardian spirits, but only at the winter dances. Another, however, stated that the best warriors wore their power emblem when they went out to fight, and that those of men slain in battle were kept by the victors as trophies.

The guardian spirit did not tell one to make a power emblem until he was old enough to take care of so sacred an object. When not in ceremonial use, the emblem was hidden away, usually near the head of its owner's bed or somewhere out in the woods. In the latter case, if an animal destroyed it or carried it off the owner simply made another. A woman with fish power, whose husband or son had made for her a special paddle in accordance with a power dream she had received, kept this concealed near her bed and used it only ceremonially, never as a practical paddle. If a woman stepped over a man's power emblem his power might cause her to menstruate out of time and she would have to be cured by a shaman. This was also liable to bring harm to the man himself. Nothing terrible occurred if a menstruant woman stepped over a power emblem belonging to another woman, "but it was not very good." Men, however, could step over these objects with impunity. When a noteworthy shaman died, his power emblem was tied to the long stick set up at his grave.

It seems that the skins, feathers, and other insignia of power which a man wore when fighting, to simulate the appearance of the spirit when it had first come to him on his quest, were not all true power emblems (cla'Ut). Many of them were articles of symbolic costume rather than of sanctity. On the exact relation of these to the power emblems, however, our notes leave us in a fog. According to Mary Carden, people with power, presumably bear power, wore the claws and incisor teeth of the bear as a source of strength. Women, she said, carried these hidden under the yoke of their buckskin dress on the right shoulder, because they believed that the heart was on the right side. The caps made of ground-hog or grizzly fur, worn ceremonially, or for magical purposes by men of strong power, never as a mere protection against the cold, probably belong in this class of objects, rather than being

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power emblems of the more sacred sort. The 776
same may be said for the circle tattooed on
each cheek, indicating, according to Michel's 778
guess, power from the sun, and for the rattlesnake 787
skin which men with snake power
glued to their bows. The most simple point 787
in costume or adornment which the guardian
spirit might prescribe for its protégé was 825
the prohibition against cutting his hair.

Smoking had formerly been much more
closely associated with power than it was in 776
recent times. Apparently it had been confined
to shamans, but became secularized. A 778
shaman kept secretly, in the bundle in which he
cherished his power emblem, a little pipe 787
for specially religious use. This pipe was
called sInIaöta'kc. However numerous his 276
guardian spirits, only one of them told him
to have this. The animals which usually issued 791
this command were strong creatures such
as coyote, bear, fox, badger, and eagle.
Weak beings such as insects, snakes, and deer
did not tell their protégés to make the
power pipe. On the pipe was incised or [531]
painted a picture of the animal in question.
A young boy or girl might secretly have one
if the guardian spirit had requested it; but
many people were thirty or thirty-five years
old before they had their power pipes. In
the early days, women did not smoke before
middle age, though young women might own
pipes. A boy told his father, or his mother
if he had no father, to have one made for
him, and a girl preferably told her mother.
The pipe was always fashioned by an expert [324]
worker in stone, who received a price for it.
One smoked his power pipe whenever he was
severely ill, injured, or curing his own
children, but otherwise he did not do so except
in case of severe danger to himself or
his patient, or at a winter dance. He kept
it in a special bag, but smoked in it ordinary
tobacco and kinnikinnick. He could
light it from the sun in about three puffs.
One never inhaled smoke from this pipe, for
that was dangerous, though he might inhale
freely from ordinary pipes.

Occasionally a man with deer or other fur-bearing animal as guardian spirit had a tobacco pouch made of the skin of this animal, which might be painted on both sides.

Representations of the guardian spirit 776
were never portrayed on houses or house
posts, because "if they did that, some Indian 342
doctor would think they were acting too
smart and take their power away." 578

Only people with strong power painted
pictures on rock. One did not do this until 791
he had sung his power song at his first winter
dance. When he painted these pictures, 531
he had with him a friend who knew their meaning
and who could later call on him for aid
from the pictures. The painter said to his
friend, "I'm painting these here so that if
you ever have any illness or get hurt you
can call on me to help you." The painter's
companion told other members of the tribe
that so-and-so had painted the pictures,
which thus served as a kind of advertisement.

p.143(B)

Of shamanistic practices for the public 789 good, the control of the weather was perhaps the most general in effect. Though the Colville 791 sang their power songs for alternate freezing and thawing to facilitate hunting on snowshoes, the Southern Okanagon sang only for "soft weather." I have mentioned a phase of weather shamanism in connection with the winter dance.

Part of the technique of weather control was to let blood from one's head fall on the snow. One winter a horse belonging to Long Paul Timentwa's grandmother was wandering hungry through the deep snow in the hills. It returned to camp and chewed the tule mats with which the tipi was covered. The old woman took pity on her horse and sang her power song, accompanied by all her camp mates. Then she told someone to cut her head. When this had been done, she let the blood drip on the snow. Rain and wind then came and washed the snow away.

One very severe winter about twenty years ago, all the livestock were dying of the cold. An old woman who had power to influence the weather and whose aid had been sought by the people, "made some medicine" and asked her friends to cut her head. When her blood had fallen on the snow, a south wind at once brought rain. Those who had livestock contributed to pay her fee.

In the Colville tale of the boy hero, the latter "took his little power and stuck it up on a little bush ... and it started to rain ... and the crane who was guarding the service-berry bushes from which the boy wished wood for his arrows put his head under his wing." Later in the story the boy sang the Maneater's power song to make the snow and the rain come, and then changed his song to make it freeze.

Guardian spirits also aided in house 342 building. When a large semi-subterranea winter lodge was to be constructed, the men 791 of the group decided among themselves who had the best power to superintend the work. 825 For obvious reasons, power derived from some burrowing animal was especially appropriate. Other people, even women, might help the work by "keeping watch with their power."

A shaman with special power for hunting 224 deer was called tlakwIl^{ux} sásIō′s kēláspI′χEm. 791 Women did not customarily hunt deer or bear, and one who did was publicly credited with very special power for this 562 purpose. A woman might delegate to a man, usually her husband or brother, her power for hunting or fighting, though not her power for curing. One woman whose guardian spirit was "the biggest and oldest of all the deer, so old that it could hardly stand," lent her deer hunting power to her brother, since she had no husband. When she wanted a deer she told him where to find one; he followed her directions and was always successful. Before the deer thus obtained was eaten, she cut from it a piece of the ear and a piece of the lower lip, burned the hair

For a cold (c'aha) a plant called Entăq'qŭI′nIk was dried, steeped in water, and the water drunk. If the patient was up and around, he took this decoction when troubled with coughing; if confined to his bed, whenever he wished to take it. From dried "rock sage-brush" (ĕntăktăkqwaIn$^{x\bar{u}}$) a strong tea was prepared for the same complaint. X̣ax̣nŏ′lp, "wild fern," which grows along the creeks, was administered for colds as well as for consumption, but we did not discover how. The root of the plant called x̣waIt was soaked in water and the yellow liquid drunk for colds. 757 278

Tuberculosis (xqExŏhŏm), diagnosed from coughing at daybreak and in the evening, was said to have been known before the whites came. Mary Carden said that the Okanagon believed that this disease was caused by two small "germs," male and female, which looked like tiny fish-bladders and which multiplied and killed the patient. Before recovering from the disease, the patient had to vomit these two objects. In addition to the "wild fern" already mentioned, tea made from young red willow was drunk in large quantities to ease coughing; about two quarts at night and two quarts in the morning. [753]

The informants said that "galloping consumption" was unknown in the early days.

Rheumatism (cqálqálstsI′m, lit. "sickness bone") was believed to have been absent in aboriginal times and to have come in with the white man's food. To treat it, hot dirt, hot ashes, or a hot stone wrapped in buckskin, canvas, or scraped pine bark, was applied to the sensitive area. Water from Omak Lake was also used; one summer a couple cured their rheumatism by swimming in the lake. Johnnie described the following cure by cautery. The skin above the sore place was moistened with spittle and a small piece of a certain plant was stuck to it. This was then ignited and allowed to burn down to the skin. If the weed exploded the cure was successful; the rheumatism "jumped out."

Anemia, symptomized by loss of weight, loss of energy, and of appetite, was combated by tea made from the tip-top branch of a fir tree, the patient drinking as much as possible of this four or five times daily. This was an emetic.

Fever (stciix, lit. "hot," or tcĕx̣tcŭx̣-tcq!ĕlt, lit. "hot sickness") was apparently not treated as such.

Syphilis was called tci′nŭk, because it was believed to have come from the Chinook Indians. No venereal diseases were known before the whites entered the country. We obtained no native remedies for them.

To treat smallpox, a sprig of white sagebrush was broken off close to the ground, boiled, and the infusion drunk. During the smallpox epidemic a woman dreamed that the odorous fluid of the skunk would cure this disease. This was given to the dying and they recovered. [787 825]

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757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxëntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxënt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.' Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
gation with certain roots.
278

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
789 flower and the plant from which love medi-
cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or plaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snëna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaöwil) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

8

308 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were
grave diggers, as shown by their being
cinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to
stop lest the wind start to blow. 821

If a person who was badly hurt made
much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder 821
and lightning also came up when a shaman
died.

The informants had never heard of passers-by 823
throwing rocks on a cairn.

Though the bat (stIntanEwaIa) appears
as a character in the mythology, it had no 825
special powers or magical functions.

When one sneezed, it meant that someone 827
was talking about him.

The weather on the day of one's death 821
was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1]

If one played with a frog till it was 761
tired and then turned it on its back, it
would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce
rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not
have the same effect.

In back of a salmon's head one can still 825
see a little flint arrow point with which
Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale.

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qolüncötn assigned it an essential
place in Indian life, a tradition
justified in actual practice. Constructing 773
a sweat house or using it had spiritual value
and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths before 515
the age of twelve or thirteen, when
they learned to do so as part of their training 788
for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune
befell the man who treated the house
irreverently; if, for example, he lost his
temper when heating the stones and kicked
the firewood about. As one dashed water on
the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat
House for health or for success in hunting,
gambling, love, or any other enterprise of
the moment. These were the opening lines of
the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qÜwa'ksEn qwänönmI'nEn
Take pity on me,
nölaÜtiksq'ÜAl
Let me live to be old,
kÜwä'kskInxI'tEn
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid,
such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]
p. 167 (A)

dead." The speaker had a gray horse; he gave the hunter power to get gray horses as well as to kill deer. 776

TsEatlEmüx was an old woman who travelled through the tree tops with a baby on her back. Wherever she passed she left the trees scorched as if by fire. Her baby cried ceaselessly. Sometimes she descended to the ground, climbing on all fours and head first down the tree trunk, while neither her long hair nor her infant changed their position. Many people had seen this old woman. She did neither harm nor good, but simply moved on through the tree tops as she would do till the end of the world.

Water-monsters of unknown form infested Lake Omak and perhaps other lakes. Michel and Johnnie referred to them as "sea-cattle," though they may or may not have had horns. Michel reported that about twenty years ago some white people saw a large dog-like animal rise out of a lake and drag down a goose which they had shot. Fangs projected from its lower jaw up over its upper lip. This animal, said Michel, had never been seen by Indians. Michel's father once "saw something" under the surface of a lake, which appeared to be an animal about twenty feet long.

More specifically, a large moose with enormous horns dwelt beneath the water. He was called simply papala'tsa, "moose." He played a part in the myths and may still be alive. 776 825

Children might receive power under the water from animals called nExaxa'Itka, but this word may refer to all animals living within the lake rather than to any particular kind.

Nhīthītwûlh was a large bird about the size of a condor. No one ever saw it, but the trees rang with the great noise which it made, and when people heard it they became numb and did not feel right again till it had flown overhead. It could transform itself into any large bird, such as an eagle, or into a deer, etc.

In several instances rocks or groups of rocks were regarded as petrified people. Just below McLaughlin's Canyon, between Tonasket and Riverside, lies a large boulder or outcrop of curious shape, the remains of a man and woman who, asleep in each other's arms, were turned to stone "when the world turned inside out," that is, at the end of the mythical age. This landmark is called kitlèqölötpecxin, literally, "lying by a rock." The same thing happened to a number of people who were trapping fish at a place beyond Nespelem. Two women among them were fighting; they, as well as all those who were with them, can now be seen as rocks. This occurrence is, like the previous one, as- 776 823

before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a 771
bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" 796
who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[2]

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had [755]
occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth."

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, [825] ●
and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said.

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and 224
guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips.
If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the 782
particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting.

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother 731
was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country.
It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a 796
white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They

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[2] See Thompson, 4, pp. 349, 350.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

757 *Pentstemon douglasii*, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

Aconitum delphinifolium, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

Philadelphus lewisii; Okanagon name *wa'x̣awax̣alp;* Thompson name, *wē'x̣aselp;* leaves used as a soap for washing.

Gilia aggregata; Okanagon name, *x̣ax̣alauhā'ps;* decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper. It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

Nicotiana attenuata Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kelkelxmanī'l;* Thompson name, *kē'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum;* Okanagon name, *xolemilp;* Thompson name, *ha'tca*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina;* Okanagon name, *kwarē'uk;* Thompson name, *kolomē'ka,* also *kwalā'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

● 825 CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing
827 signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.[1] The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

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[1] See Thompson (a) p. 373.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

796 *171 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lsl-sl-sl-sl!*"[3] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

● 825 *171 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 *171 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. 278 *171 Besides charms of this kind, poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[192]

[3] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and 302
tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened 302
sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an 412
eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended 826
with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The
ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of 855
medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother 856
faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kamıtawiya'kı'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered 304
ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round 856
during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle.

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly 302
heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very 515
long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly 856
less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkà'lpᵉ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, 515
summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for 751
their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of 515
the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813
The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821
edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of
the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkʷ) that surrounded the
land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823
was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825
died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753
lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826
had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been
the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777
no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821
dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a quali-
fying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821
by thunder. 844

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skəltumi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ilɑ'mɑ'skət, "woman's influence." If the
child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821
the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821
tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other 813
sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
776	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stûrtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
● [826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

p.134 (B)

Story Rock	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	776
Story Chickadee	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	823
Story Mountain Goat	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	825
Story Beaver	a strong power (David; Johnnie).	
ckElxaxa	insanity (David and Johnnie)	

From the above list, several general points are obvious. There were some inconsistencies in the amount and character of power ascribed to a particular spirit. Most power came from animals, birds, and insects. A few, perhaps only four, of the guardian spirits were identified with characters in the mythology. Some had a strictly circumstantial nature, such as the deer swimming or the tree on which a woodpecker had worked The special function of the guardian spirit depended largely on its worldly properties or activities as an animal, implement, or other object. 776

Theoretically, any object might confer power. Though by far the greater number of guardian spirits belonged to the animal world, others, such as implements, were sometimes reported. Michel and Johnnie together said that in the latter case the proper function of the power depended on the material use of the article from which it came: thus, gun power would assist its protégé to hunt, strap power to keep a horse's cinch tight. This statement, however, was given in answer to a leading question, and we heard of no instance where someone had got power from these ordinary household objects. 776 778

Michel explained that a person could receive rattlesnake power from a watersnake or a snake of any kind. Perhaps he meant generalized "snake power," which would include a relation with rattlesnakes and the ability to cure their bite. 776 825

A very fortunate person might acquire as guardian spirit one of four characters which play parts in the mythology. These were Story Chickadee (tIcqa'qEna is the word for the ordinary chickadee; Story Chickadee was called tcIptcaptIkI tIcqa'qEna), Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power which they bestowed was especially strong. In the myths, all of the characters possessed power for miracles, but only these four seem to have conferred some of their power on actual people. CqInÜhwacqt, a Similkameen shaman with many guardian spirits, had as his strongest the Story Mountain Goat. The horns of this goat reached the sky. The Story Beaver was an old beaver who stayed in the water all the while, never coming to land like ordinary beavers. Further details will appear in the anecdotes relating to power. 776 773

Suszen's idea that a bone, or a dead, injured or hungry animal was a "bad" guardian spirit, was not confirmed by the other informants. 776 826 825

p.135(A)

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
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	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to
stop lest the wind start to blow. 821

If a person who was badly hurt made
much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder 821
and lightning also came up when a shaman died.

The informants had never heard of pass- 823
ers-by throwing rocks on a cairn.

Though the bat (stIntanEwaI'a) appears
as a character in the mythology, it had no 825
special powers or magical functions.

When one sneezed, it meant that someone 827 ●
was talking about him.

The weather on the day of one's death 821
was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1]

If one played with a frog till it was 761
tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect.

In back of a salmon's head one can still 825
see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale.

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qölüncötn assigned it an es-
sential place in Indian life, a tradition
justified in actual practice. Constructing 773
a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when
they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of
the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qÜwa'ksEn qwânônmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nölâÜtiksq'Üâl
Let me live to be old,
kÜwâ'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167 (A)

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

757 *Pentstemon douglasii*, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

Aconitum delphinifolium, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

Philadelphus lewisii; Okanagon name *wa'ẋawaẋalp;* Thompson name, *wë'ẋaalp;* leaves used as a soap for washing.

Gilia aggregata; Okanagon name, *ẋaẋalauhë'ps;* decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper. It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

Nicotiana attenuata Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kolkolxmanï'l;* Thompson name, *kë'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum;* Okanagon name, *xotlemilp;* Thompson name, *ka'tca*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina;* Okanagon name, *kwarë'uk;* Thompson name, *kolomë'ka,* also *kwalë'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

825 CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing
827 signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.[1] The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

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[1] See Thompson (a) p. 373.

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a
775 brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that
which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body
without causing death. The native term for this concept was sauxapi'uts. When
the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land
of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was
that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as
existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena.
It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests.
Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could
not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as
one's sumi'xᵉ. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation
from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken
by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a
secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was papa'iut. The final
category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons,
evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus
was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with
the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
753 form. It was localized next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
787 but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Unconsciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not incon-
828 sistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness
was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà·'t,
"dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

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[1] See pages 149 f.

Though two brothers might both have the 776
grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian
spirit, twins did not have grizzly power 825
more often than other people. 845

The power inherited from a dead rela-
tive belongs in a separate category. It was 778
one of the powers which the dead had possess-
ed during life, but after his death it chose 428
a new master. It was never deliberately
sought, as other powers were, but came in a 787
dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor.

Insanity was regarded as a kind of 778
power, though not from any animal. A man
recently went mad "because he wanted power 828●
too much."

The strength of one's power depended on
the number of guardian spirits which he had 776
and on their qualities. In the opinion of
any one informant, the same animal did not 778
confer varying degrees of power. Cecile
seemed to think that power was directly pro- 825
portional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank.

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not neces-
sarily bring success. Suszen said that one 778
could succeed in hunting without the aid of
power, if he were a good runner, knew the 224
haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and
clever to secure the game. If any of his [784]
power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing.

As I shall explain later, when discuss- 776
ing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands.

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

884 881 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in [828] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

582 MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[383]

583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[383] *a*, pp. 321–325.

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THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radicalism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were: pacifism and the equality of men.

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Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years without the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

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Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision. 181

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selection was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with

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181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
554 an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
556 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organiza-
tion. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were
755 divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need
829 have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily
distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided
evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually
killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with
a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given
his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was
his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided
among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained
the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it
was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village.
A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the
827 commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked
to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least
one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
626 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were
829 those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows
and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the
minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals
who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to
the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

484 439 Horses were traded to the Plains people; fast horses brought good prices because they could catch buffalo. Margaret tanned the hides of buffalo that they killed there. She did not trade with the Plains people for buckskin clothing and feather headgear, because Sersepkin was not interested in these articles.

186 648 829 The Blackfoot had ceased fighting with the Plateau hunters a few years before Margaret's trip. After the whites came, the Indians saw that the whites were a common enemy. Before leaving the Plains, the chiefs had a meeting with Sersepkin and agreed that the Indians should not fight among themselves, for they had together many enemies. "We talk different, and we cannot understand one another; but we have the same ways and the same kind of skin; therefore we should not fight among ourselves. So whenever you people come over here to hunt buffalo, you can have our hunting grounds. We will all be like brothers." Sersepkin gave a speech of approval. They agreed to divide what they had in common, however little, and said that in time they might all come to talk the same language. The Blackfoot explained that they had fought for their hunting grounds in the past because they lived entirely on the buffalo.

484 439 On the return, a baby of Margaret's died; one who had been born during the trip. They brought back about twenty horses transporting tanned skins, and gave many of the skins to old men and women who needed them. They arrived in Loomis during the first part of July, the trip having taken a year.

439 The Thompson are the only people to whom the Sinkaietk sold hemp. About every other year the Thompson come down to Kartar territory in the fall to buy hemp, bringing salmon and skins. Lucy Joe's mother and aunts stayed up at night getting the hemp ready when the Thompson were coming. After picking and bundling the hemp they left it in the branches of a certain tree in hills near Kartar creek until the Thompson came. Then all went to the tree and traded. Recently Kartar people would go on occasion to Thompson country to trade for salmon. Formerly they were enemies.

484 439 [782] [illegible] Cecile has gone with two Kartar trading parties to Thompson country. The trip takes six days on horseback. They crossed from Kartar to Tonasket, then to Loomis and up the Similkameen River to t'sa'wē, where they brushed themselves with fir boughs, casting these on the large pile that was there, before turning north. They asked the place to protect them that they might return to it alive and make another offering. They believe that a person who ignores this custom will sicken and die. In Thompson country, the men discover those people who have salmon to trade. Then the women bargain their bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon. The Thompson, who have three kinds of salmon to trade (a large

776	Spider	gave power to cure spider bites by touching (Suszen).
825	Grasshopper which sat on a warm rock until the rock got cold	gave very strong power (Cecile or Lucy Joe).
	Tree on which a woodpecker has worked	gave power to become wealthy, because the chips lying around it on the ground represented the riches of the woodpecker (Johnnie and Michel).
[821]	Rainbow power, from the water where the end of the rainbow touched	unspecified
	"The biggest and oldest of all the deer"	gave strong power
	A deer swimming in the winter	gave power for swimming (Suszen).
	A lost animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	An animal hurt and trying to get well	gave bad power (Suszen).
[823]	A dead animal	gave bad power (Suszen).
	Rock	(Cecile).
	Tree stump	(Cecile; David).
776 821	Sun	did not give power (Cecile); in old times, it gave power for curing anything (Michel).
824	Moon	did not give power (Cecile and Michel).
	Stars	did not give power (Cecile; Michel).
	Thunder	gave power for fighting (Michel; Suszen)
[769]	Stürtsin root	(Michel).
	Graveyard	(This is Colville: it gave power for gambling [Johnnie].)
[826]	Bone	gave bad power (Suszen).
[827]	Dung	In the myth in which the Creator gave the animals their names, Coyote is told that his own dung will be his power. The narrators laughed at this. We never heard of dung as a guardian spirit in modern times, though theoretically it would not be impossible.
776	Gun	gave power for hunting (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
829	Strap	gave power to keep a horse's cinch tight (Johnnie, in answer to a leading question).
	Brush	gave power to "sweep out sickness" (Johnnie in answer to a leading question).
	Knife which had been used to sever a child's umbilical cord	unspecified

p.134 (B)

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 606 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

592 264 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.*

561 778 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 •831 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'âmamtô´la^x. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 836 Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

* See also Social Organization.

such a one was wī´ōwxIna, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." 831 836 These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father [684] found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848 shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847 it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842 824 brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwūlī´s.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842

577 591 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586 684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[387]

606 Mother-in-Law Taboo.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The [337] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 Burial.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable 766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and 173 bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cɛlcɛlicō'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[387] e, pp. 326-327.

.7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. 177

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tuná'xe* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Smuit'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead. 181 [171]* [831] ● [178] [171]* ooo

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

784 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were
841 always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the
tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meet-
832 ings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable
amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet
836 was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus
832 coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kʷ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were
832 supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwənx̣aminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

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[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

533
832

wa'i' kwmpami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'xᵘ wumi'xᵘ
You are pretty surely

ku·tixu'pitxᵘ i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 584 832

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lix was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

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[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 30.

314 able and the need. Few were over two feet
high. Such buckets were used for fetching
415 water, gathering sunflower seed, etc.

A pine bark cooking bucket made exactly like this was reported by Mary Carden. Such buckets are known from adjacent tribes. Yet it was said that pine was avoided for such purposes on account of its disagreeable odor which would affect the food. The pine bark could be gotten at any season. The outer rough bark was scraped from the strip.

A cottonwood bark bucket was made in the same fashion (see Food Quest).

415 In general, all buckets, tubs, and the
like were used for storing berries, etc., and
251 were kept under the storage arbors. They
were set up on sticks so that their bottoms would not rot from the dampness. On the other hand bags, envelopes, etc., containing meat and fish were kept on the platform of the arbor.

171 Vessels of clay, such as were made by
415 the neighboring Sanpoil, were unknown here.
323

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Flageolets were used principally in
534 courtship by men, but on other occasions
were played by women also. They were made of
[832] elderberry wood, the leg or wing bone of an
eagle, or the leg bone of any long-legged bird. The elderberry flageolet was about ten inches long and had from six to ten stops. The pith was pushed out by means of a stick. Near the mouth end was an oblong longitudinal slot into which a piece of chewed tree gum was inserted to serve as a reed. Two strips of buckskin were wrapped transversely

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxēntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
gation with certain roots.
278

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
789 flower and the plant from which love medi-
cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or płax̌) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever car-
ried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by
the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snēna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaōwīl) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

778 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

585 most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[304] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. 583 177 Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites.

[832] Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires.

584 At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[305] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[306]

428 587 On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property.

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[304] See Thompson, *a*, p. 323.

[305] See Thompson, *a*, p. 324.

[306] *a*, p. 324.

842 When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves.

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

292 839 Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft.

783 834 Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them.

838 [773] Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women.

548 834 In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family.

838 Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor.

833 At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.)

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian 224
spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations 624
for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the
leader exercised control.

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually 224
starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter
before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety 784
only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required [834]
during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep
in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and
the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader
of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure
to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters
was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that
sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the
sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for
his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.)

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspec- 224
tion and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very 484
little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon
game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken
dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nour-
ishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for
the hut which was to furnish shelter.

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

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[1] See page 179.

wa'i' kwanqami'nk' ali·' 533/832
I love you because

ksui'nomt'x" wumi'x"
You are pretty surely

ku·thu'pitx" i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539/574/832

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587/832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtə·'lx was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an extremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty 834 she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed.

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[10] See pages 84, 179

[11] Cf. page 30.

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[11] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. 582 Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon.

Infant betrothals (sntu'x̣səmtcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons hold- [584] ing places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable.

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more

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[11] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law. 587 768

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

> There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now. 587 834

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

DEER HUNTING

224 Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: preeminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (ĭEcqôqane'ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees."[1] "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks."

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

224 624 All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (sÜktakei'n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. [834]

224 Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot.[10] [a] The ceremony was called cqEpō'mnsimn. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skūm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. [786 834] The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village.

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszen). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SūlpEqē n after a dream.[11] [a] His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

[a] [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

DRUM DANCE

535 171 796 439

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stła´lëm) has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch.

439 431 527 [834]

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home.

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

527 439

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went to skŭnqwŭnĭép to camp with them. 73 One of the Kartar men went to see where the enemy was. 791 The enemy saw him end were going to shoot, but he turned into a wolf. His name was Izwaski´nt. That night when they went to sleep, Izwaski´nt went over to the Spokan camp and killed all but one. He told him, "I will leave you, so you can go back and tell the other people." This time, none of the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed, because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Izwaski´nt was chased by the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could not run any more. Then he jumped into a creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 791 There are no prayers for war. A shaman with war power may sing all night and tell what he had dreamed and what to do to win the fight. There may be power contests in advance of a fight between two warriors or between two medicine men. [834] There are no sex taboos before fighting, but there is some feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however, and that a man whose wife is menstruating is not very fit to fight. [727] The Sinkaietk had no war dance, neither before nor after battle. The only strongly formalized pattern in connection with war seems to be that of sending one or two enemy warriors back to their own people, as messengers, to carry the news of their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk. Equally important in their war tales is the firm belief that in times of great danger it is possible to assume the shape of one's power animal and thus escape.

714 [302] Warriors in dressing for battle usually paint their whole bodies with red clay and wear only a breechcloth. Only the best fighters and war leaders wear their power emblems in battle, for the emblem of a man 726 killed in battle is always kept by his victor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women are picking berries or the men fishing, the chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who watches from some high point for the approach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile, but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always stationed on the high tableland behind the camp. Since attacks usually come after dark it is his duty to keep awake to watch for scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep and permit surprise attacks. In giving a warning, these sentinels have no special instruments of alarm or signal calls; they merely shout to the people, so that the women may hurry to shelter and the men gather up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally paid, but they receive a share in the pro-

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21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 584 834 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed by a man, or if he touched her, he had to marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she picked up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

[16] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred women's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequepcy of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await
the thaw. Once it was properly buried it
was never touched again, as interfering with
a grave was believed to bring dire conse-
[769] quences, particularly bringing storms and
cold. For this reason all burial places
were avoided as much as possible."[a]

Children were buried by their own par-
ents, but in other ways their burial corre-
sponded with that of the adults. (Cecile
[834] said that there were no food tabus for the
parents.) The parents were not forbidden to
sleep together and might have another child
during the period of mourning. A mother and
766 child dying in childbirth were wrapped to-
gether, the child in the woman's arms.

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial."[a] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to re move this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[a] [For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles. There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achievement to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desirable marriage possible for a son or daughter. 581 This meant that moral character, ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration. 584 However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage complex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 835 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club. 684

When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others. 684 848

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lxwıt, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[16] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow: 835 684

> There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing: "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.
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> One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing,

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[16] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

leaving the lodge after the others had gone to sleep. The next morning his mother had to wake him again. He wouldn't answer. He kept his face covered up. His mother went over and uncovered his face. She saw on his face some of the paint that she put on the girl each day. She thought, "He must be staying with his sister. She is the only girl outside of the camp." She told the chief, her husband, what she thought. He laughed at her, saying, "The boy wouldn't do that. He knows better." But his wife was sure so the chief told her to watch their son.

That night the parents went to bed; they started to snore. The boy got up and left. A little while later the boy's mother got up. She went to the girl's hut and listened outside. She heard the two inside, laughing. The girl said, "Yes, I love you; I didn't see anyone else who was good looking enough for me. I'd just as soon marry you." Her brother answered, "I felt the same way about it." The woman went back and called her husband. He went back with her and listened. He found out that she was right. When they got back to camp the chief asked his wife what they should do. "That's up to you," she answered. "You are the chief. I like my children, but it's up to you to decide." After a while he said, "All right, I know what I'll do. I'm going to kill my son. The people would laugh if they heard about it." "All right," his wife answered, "it's up to you.... "

At daylight they held the burial.... Later the young girl was sent to her older sister with some food... Her sister grabbed her and made her tell her what had happened by telling her that she would kill her if she didn't. Then she told her to tell their mother to send her good buckskin dress, her best robe, and her belt, because she wanted to bathe and return to camp. The young girl told her mother who took the clothes up herself. They were returning from bathing. After they had passed the girl's hut she said that she wanted to go back and leave her old dress. Her mother let her go and went back to camp.

Instead of going to the hut the girl ran toward her brother's grave. When her mother got back the chief asked where their daughter was. "She went back to leave her old dress," his wife said. "No, she didn't," the chief answered. He was feeling uneasy already. He went outside and saw his daughter running, already half way to the grave. He called, "Everyone chase her. Whoever catches her can have her. I want to save my daughter." All the fastest runners, Fox, Coyote, Wolf, ran after her. She got to the cliff and sat down at the top. Just then Fox grabbed her robe. But she untied it where it was fastened at the neck and jumped over. She fell right on top of her brother. Then they both laughed. "We said we'd get together," they said; "now we have, for good. In times to come other brothers and sisters will sometimes do the same thing.... "

Another myth, wherein Coyote marries his daughter, ends as follows:

The girl was very much ashamed. She jumped into the river... Coyote turned to the people and said, "This is not the only time this will happen. Every once in a while, in times to come, men will try to live with their own daughters."

In actuality the punishment of incest was seldom death. Rather, lashing was resorted to, and each of the parties to the incestuous relationship received many blows. Subsequently the persons were not ill-treated, but were often subjected to ridicule. In cases of brother-sister incest, interestingly, the parents were as much in disgrace as the children. One who had been guilty of incest found it difficult to marry for a time, "but people soon forgot." (Burke) It was believed that children born of incestuous unions would be deformed. The children themselves were treated normally.

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

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The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

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Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

p.112(B)

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

784 841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (æp'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 832 836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kᵘ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwənxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

---

[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

573 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

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p.112(B)

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595

There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of
his son, he would treat her as he would his
606 own daughter. "He would sit near her and
tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

Each family in a mat lodge would have
592 its own food supply and fire. Women might
share a single fireplace, but unrelated fami-
264 lies ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor.[18]

561 Women never got power for housekeeping,
for every woman was supposed to be profi-
778 cient at such tasks.

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that
larger gifts would be given for girls with
831 the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'ămamtŏ'lăˣ. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831 Theoretically girls were so hedged
●836 about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

[18] See also Social Organization.

such a one was wI´ōwxIna, literally (?) "she 831
don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody."
These girls never learned to be good. 836 ●
There were never many of them. They never
worked but were supported by their own people,
even though these did not like them. If
a girl was always bad, going with many men,
she would not have a chance to marry well.
In fact, girls who had many illegitimate
children would never marry. If a father [684]
found he could not halt her and tired of the
disgrace, he marched her out to the woods
and shot her with arrows, leaving her without
burial. Not every boy would have dealings
with such loose girls. The sons of
"nice" people would be "nice." But every
boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse
before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848
shame of them was lived down. A girl who
had already had a baby married, and brought
up the child with her later children. There
was no way of forcing the man involved to
marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination
mechanism to determine his identity,
and if accused he had only to deny the allegation.
He might, however, have married the
girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847
it was considered rather shameful, and was
so felt by the girl involved. Therefore
girls who became pregnant as a result of an
illicit affair attempted to produce abortion
by violent pressure, as by falling on their
abdomens across a log. If this failed they
were said sometimes to kill the child if the
fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently
secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842
brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget
Sound tribe. She would arrive in the 824
Wenatchi country every summer in the days of
Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed
the women to eat the leaves of a
bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The
bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark
green, shiny leaves are small and pointed,
and in general shaped like those of a tobacco
called sqwūlI´s.) This plant was said to
grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was
male, the non-blossoming variety female.
Women who did not want to have children
would eat these leaves after menstruation
for a year. This assured permanent barrenness,
but its effect, or barrenness from any
other cause, might be counteracted by eating
the leaves of the female or non-blossoming
plant. The point of the leaf was opened
with a sharpened twig; it was then blown
full of air and swallowed. If the leaf
could be blown up without bursting, the woman
would conceive. For example, Mary's sister
was married many years, but had no children.
A year after taking this cure she had a
child and later two more. Some women who
were barren always burst the leaves when
they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon
women learned which bush was used, they would
get the leaves themselves, asking the bush 842
for help while picking them. In the days

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eyes of others.

585 informants denied that the Sinkaietk had ever practiced it. Billy Joe may have learned of it from his Wenatchi associates, or from his father, who is reputed to have been a great traveller.

Divorce and Remarriage

684 •837 In the old days resentment of or punishment for adultery was a personal affair between the injured husband and the wife's paramour. The former might kill the later, and no return vengence would fall upon him unless the relatives of the murdered man considered themselves unjustly bereaved, in which case a vendetta might be started which could last indefinitely. The wife might also have been killed, at the discretion of her husband. He might allow her to return to her family, or he might forgive her and allow her to continue as his wife. She, on the other hand, was not supposed to resent the extra-marital peccadilloes of her husband, but should she do so, she might leave him. More commonly she soothed her wounded feelings in a quarrel with his suspected female partner in iniquity.

586 Adultery was not the only reason for separation. A spouse who felt injured for any reason might go away, the woman usually returning to her parents. For instance, she might leave because her husband beat her "too much," or he might force her to go if he tired of her. Normally, the women took the children with her. The marriage might be salvaged by a reconciliation. This could be brought about by resort to love charms, which might be obtained from many people who knew the secrets, or whose power lay in that direction. There might be pleas, recriminations, pardon, or more casual resumption of old relations.

A man or woman might tire of his mate, pack up his best clothes to go off visiting, or to a celebration, and fail to return. He might send word that he was never coming back. Or perhaps a girl was married to an old man: a former lover might kidnap her. After the deserted spouse had remarried, the runaway felt safe to return. Often camps [629] would divide and feuds arise over marital infidelities. Feuds lasted for generations if they led to a killing. If a father was killed, his son would grow up to take revenge on some partisan of the murderer.

587 Should the aggrieved party refuse to forgive and come to terms, the marriage was considered dissolved. The woman was free to marry again, and generally could, even if there were children. The former husband, of course, needed no particular dispensation, as the privilege of polygamy was always his. The woman who remarried after separating from her husband was considered quite likely to get into and out of another such scrape.

586 In case of separation, the children were brought up by either parent, but usually fell to the mother. When one of the parents died, the other had to take charge of the children; the man by way of additional wives or his female relatives.

p. 116 (B)

684 Burke related the story of two Okanogans, A—— and his sister who were convicted of incest. About 1917 when A—— was perhaps thirty and his sister twenty or twenty-five, they ran away together. They had "fallen in love with each other" but were continually kept apart at home. For a whole summer they camped about the hills, finding what they could to eat and occasionally breaking into an isolated house to obtain food. At the end of the summer they were caught and the man was sentenced to state's penitentiary at Walla Walla for one year. The girl was released and stayed in the Okanogan country. She did not bear a child. After being released from prison her brother did not return but married a Coeur d'Alene girl and remained in that country.

An account of father-daughter incest, which occurred about 1912, was also given by Burke. L—, of Roger's Bar took his twelve year old daughter to school each day on horseback. He was aged about fifty years and his wife, still living, was approximately the same age. The distance to the girl's school was about a mile and a half. He would not allow her to walk, nor would he permit anyone else to take her. The trail led through brush and timber nearly all the way. For a year he continued to accompany her, before she became pregnant. During that time he had kept her silent by threats. His wife was aware of what was happening but she, too, was afraid to say anything from fear of her husband. When the girl became pregnant her father forced her to name a certain young man as being responsible. But to her mother and some relatives she told the truth. The government officials learned of the affair and action was taken against the girl's father but there was no one who would testify against him and the case was dismissed. The man was in disgrace for a time. People laughed at him, but he paid little attention to their jeers and slights. He continued to live with his wife. Their daughter, too, remained with them. The child, a boy, was born. About a year later the girl married a Coeur d'Alene named J——. The two reared the child, who was not abnormal, but was never healthy. In 1930 he was still living. Later the couple had a child of their own.

838 Male homosexuality was called snłspsiwi'xᵘ; female, sntá'χlau'wam. Burke knew of no examples among mature individuals. He had known of homosexual tendencies among young men and women. The punishment for such indulgences was whipping.

839 Male masturbation was termed stkspatəχant'su'ta; female, stsmɛ'sumt'suta. Boys who were known to masturbate were teased about it but never punished. The schoolmates of a girl, w——, knew that she masturbated. They nicknamed her and chided her.

None of my informants were acquainted with any case of hermaphroditism or transvestitism among the Sanpoil. Burke told of a Coeur d'Alene named G——, who was obviously a true hermaphrodite (sťá'mia). This person, whose characteristics were preponderantly female, had much hair on her upper lip and chin. She assumed male dress, however, and associated more with men than women but stayed alone a great part of the time. She was slow in speech, staring at a person for some time before speaking, and talked very obscenely. She did not marry, but lived alone most of the time.

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

776 431 782 796 its strength. To perform at the winter dance without giving blankets or other things to the audience would make one's power angry. The spirit might command a girl to dance and give blankets to the people even though she had none to give, and if her relatives did not provide them for this purpose she would die. When the girl was afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well.

791 [838] 562 784 There were a few sexual differences in matters of power. Berdaches were regarded rather as good-for-nothings than as religious worthies. Shamans were both men and women, but if either sex predominated, it was the male. Special power for hunting came more often to men than to women. Women's power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim."

776 577 [538] Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, and to lead in communal enterprises. In spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian spirits seem not to have supervised morals or to have deserted their protégés because of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired, feared, and often followed. As we have seen, however, certain vices hindered a young person from acquiring power. These were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack of concentration. The shiftless or timid child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore.

THE QUEST

776 787 857 Usually between the ages of seven and thirteen, but almost always before puberty, the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the mountains and woods in search of a guardian spirit. To find power for one's self, either by accident or design, was called sûksūmix. The word for the power quest was tsūntsūt or tsōntlōt. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
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776 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or
*171 near their sphere of influence.

Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as
787 among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain
one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course
*171 of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping
vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained
533 one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the
*171 guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not
obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the
[787] novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new
variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The
themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or
while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear,"
and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of
the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the
eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and
such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed
in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits.
There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic
nature.

778 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and
*171 birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also
charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine
cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many
men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins
of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 Berdaches.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting
*171 like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people.
[756] They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor
clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed
and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's
work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and
joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either
sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's
clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is
supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women
do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite
and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8
years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males,
and not hermaphrodites.

756 Shamans.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were
*171 similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A
noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died
000 about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo
they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

684 Burke related the story of two Okanogans, A—— and his sister who were convicted of incest. About 1917 when A—— was perhaps thirty and his sister twenty or twenty-five, they ran away together. They had "fallen in love with each other" but were continually kept apart at home. For a whole summer they camped about the hills, finding what they could to eat and occasionally breaking into an isolated house to obtain food. At the end of the summer they were caught and the man was sentenced to state's penitentiary at Walla Walla for one year. The girl was released and stayed in the Okanogan country. She did not bear a child. After being released from prison her brother did not return but married a Coeur d'Alene girl and remained in that country.

An account of father-daughter incest, which occurred about 1912, was also given by Burke. L—, of Roger's Bar took his twelve year old daughter to school each day on horseback. He was aged about fifty years and his wife, still living, was approximately the same age. The distance to the girl's school was about a mile and a half. He would not allow her to walk, nor would he permit anyone else to take her. The trail led through brush and timber nearly all the way. For a year he continued to accompany her, before she became pregnant. During that time he had kept her silent by threats. His wife was aware of what was happening but she, too, was afraid to say anything from fear of her husband. When the girl became pregnant her father forced her to name a certain young man as being responsible. But to her mother and some relatives she told the truth. The government officials learned of the affair and action was taken against the girl's father but there was no one who would testify against him and the case was dismissed. The man was in disgrace for a time. People laughed at him, but he paid little attention to their jeers and slights. He continued to live with his wife. Their daughter, too, remained with them. The child, a boy, was born. About a year later the girl married a Coeur d'Alene named J——. The two reared the child, who was not abnormal, but was never healthy. In 1930 he was still living. Later the couple had a child of their own.

838 Male homosexuality was called sənłspsiwi'xʷ; female, səntâ'x̣lau'wam. Burke knew of no examples among mature individuals. He had known of homosexual tendencies among young men and women. The punishment for such indulgences was whipping.

839 Male masturbation was termed sətkspatəx̣ant'su'ta; female, sətamə'sumṭ'suta. Boys who were known to masturbate were teased about it but never punished. The schoolmates of a girl, w——, knew that she masturbated. They nicknamed her and chided her.

None of my informants were acquainted with any case of hermaphroditism or transvestitism among the Sanpoil. Burke told of a Coeur d'Alene named G——, who was obviously a true hermaphrodite (sťâ'mia). This person, whose characteristics were preponderantly female, had much hair on her upper lip and chin. She assumed male dress, however, and associated more with men than women but stayed alone a great part of the time. She was slow in speech, staring at a person for some time before speaking, and talked very obscenely. She did not marry, but lived alone most of the time.

839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a tumpline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named taxpa·'ikst was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

763
783
775 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

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aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

[292
531]

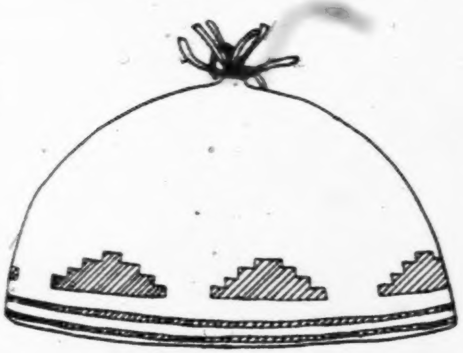

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

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841
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During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

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Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. [476] He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves. [462]

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

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[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman some-
624 times tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the
756 power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving
787 his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'lam.

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[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 126 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [944] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

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[17] Cf., page 108.

881 preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden.

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

787 881 During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

262 841 881 Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutən) in a small hut of tule mats somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

784 841 The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating woman (sku·'kantcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues

784 841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ɑp'kanu'sástan, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 832 836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'k'ᵂ). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwɑxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

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[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

137
378
757
38. An umbelliferous species, (âlâpi'spas). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

39. tcuqtcuqti'ʔlpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

[841] 40. masmasaiu'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[11]

41. tcstcu'sləmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulqulmi'ʔlpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. ʒa'sʌas (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[303] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soq̓e'imən ti'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'kutən..........	"time that it snows"
ktsa'tsa'ltə'n.........	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kəƚ...............	"time that it is white"
skənı'γumən.........	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpstctitə'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən...........	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən.........	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

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[11] Cf. page 134.

[i.e., bear-hunting party.--Analyst]

224 624 841 The leader of the party, had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. 224 302 Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

224 He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

136 825 An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

224 Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

171 342 ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however.

342 The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried.

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

342 484 Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside.

343 [841] ● The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling.

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

291 285 aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

[292 53]

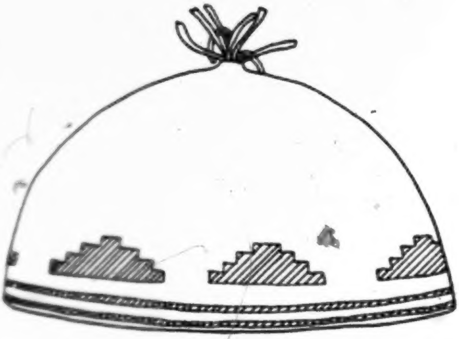

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

292 841 839 During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

292 Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

881

785 866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

881 841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 881 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

p. 110 (B)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under
her pillow. It is believed to have great 825
potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock
piling, but it no longer need be done, since 881
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as 881
to allow these to fall out. This sets the
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116.-- Analyst]

783 man's luck and power: her pollution would be
permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with
green grass on which to lie were put in a
● 841 pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute
for the customary sweat bath. They were not
allowed to take back to the village the
[296] clothes they wore during this time. These
were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and
left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought
them by girls to don after a sweat bath and
a bath in the river, taken before returning
841 to their ordinary life. They were not al-
lowed to cook, even for themselves. Food
was brought to them from the village, and
none of it might be left till the next day or
brought back to the village. Anything but
bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten,
and possibly the first of the camas or berry
crop. They were not supposed to drink di-
rectly from a stream, lest it dry up. The
drinking tubes used were made by pushing the
pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should
not comb their hair during the period, but
could scratch the head with their fingers.
Women in their periods could not help men in
any way, nor would men look at or talk to
them. Should a man eat anything cooked by
them, he would sicken, lose his power, and
game would flee from him. While a woman
with a small baby might take it to the lodge
with her, older children were left in charge
of the husband or some relative or neighbor.
At the lodge a woman busied herself with mak-
ing mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to
use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adoles-
cent boys and girls was over they returned
to the village in a very unceremonious fash-
ion. The return was unheralded and uncele-
brated. If a boy changed his name at this
time there might be a feast, but it would
be on account of the name. The adolescent
returned, no longer a child nor given to the
things of childhood, but an adult ready to
take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the
boys accompanied the men on their hunting
883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pur-
suits. The first kill of a deer (and of a
[5 24] bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was wel-
comed by the community and ceremoniously
treated. He himself did not eat of it, but
all the old men did (or at least he did not
eat until the old men had partaken). This
was for the sake of his future luck in the
hunt. At this time the lad was in the neigh-
borhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls
stayed at home, going abroad only when chap-
eroned by some older female relative, except
early in the morning before the boys were up
when they went to sweat, swim, and get the
water for cooking. They were supposed to
swim every day. They became acquainted with

587 If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and
591 sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

586
684 Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

841 Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[387]

606 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The
[837] restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

764 BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable
766 place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and
173 bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cεlcεltcó'lε*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[387] a, pp. 326–327.

583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawā'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

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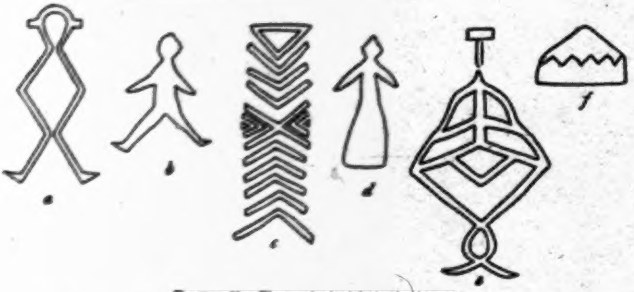

FIGURE 26.—Figures incised in bark of trees
a, Girl; b, man; c, perhaps ribs; d, woman; e, perhaps an animal; f, perhaps a woman's cap.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semiunderground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

764 DEATH AND BURIAL.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, c, p. 321.

[11] See p. 228.

304 856 *171 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 *171 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 595 *171 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 *171 [606] MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 178 *171 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 *171 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. 766 *171 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

784 843 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 843 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 842 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltxᵘ) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137 278

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes. 757

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sət'si'xant, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakni'łpᵘ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. 302

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (ṗətsṗətsəm'kuł, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. 842

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'łpᵘ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tәl'tәl'ti'łpᵘ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

such a one was wi´ōwxina, literally (?) "she 831
don't know when to stop," or "free to every-
body." These girls never learned to be good. 836
There were never many of them. They never
worked but were supported by their own peo-
ple, even though these did not like them. If
a girl was always bad, going with many men,
she would not have a chance to marry well.
In fact, girls who had many illegitimate
children would never marry. If a father [684]
found he could not halt her and tired of the
disgrace, he marched her out to the woods
and shot her with arrows, leaving her with-
out burial. Not every boy would have deal-
ings with such loose girls. The sons of
"nice" people would be "nice." But every
boy and girl had a certain amount of inter-
course before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848
shame of them was lived down. A girl who
had already had a baby married, and brought
up the child with her later children. There
was no way of forcing the man involved to
marry the girl, as there was no use of a div-
ination mechanism to determine his identity,
and if accused he had only to deny the alle-
gation. He might, however, have married the
girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847
it was considered rather shameful, and was
so felt by the girl involved. Therefore
girls who became pregnant as a result of an
illicit affair attempted to produce abortion
by violent pressure, as by falling on their
abdomens across a log. If this failed they
were said sometimes to kill the child if the
fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently
secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842
brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget 824
Sound tribe. She would arrive in the
Wenatchi country every summer in the days of
Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She in-
structed the women to eat the leaves of a
bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The
bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark
green, shiny leaves are small and pointed,
and in general shaped like those of a tobac-
co called sqwūlī´s.) This plant was said to
grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was
male, the non-blossoming variety female.
Women who did not want to have children
would eat these leaves after menstruation
for a year. This assured permanent barren-
ness, but its effect, or barrenness from any
other cause, might be counteracted by eating
the leaves of the female or non-blossoming
plant. The point of the leaf was opened
with a sharpened twig; it was then blown
full of air and swallowed. If the leaf
could be blown up without bursting, the woman
would conceive. For example, Mary's sister
was married many years, but had no children.
A year after taking this cure she had a
child and later two more. Some women who
were barren always burst the leaves when
they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon
women learned which bush was used, they would
get the leaves themselves, asking the bush
for help while picking them. In the days 842

842 When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves.

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

292 839 Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft.

783 834 Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them.

838 [773] Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequepcy of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women.

548 834 In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family.

838 Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor.

833 At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.)

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant[1] it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

[791] Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, she might smoke, if she was one with power to smoke. A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 120 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

853 ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. [845] No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

846 For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

842 787 There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

845 Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

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[20] Teit, _Salishan Tribes_, 279.

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (s·tsıntukui'ltxʷ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival. 843

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come. 152 861 843

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish. 262 [578] 843

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to 784 843

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

784 843 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 843 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 842 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltxʷ) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

844 This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846 The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuxsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847 A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

755 845 A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3]

843 In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

846 Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Nortnern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 ● [843] 181 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEke·e'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), Category 116. -- Analyst]

805 together for two hundred, three for three
hundred, etc., and a small extra piece tied
on to represent a thousand days. While the
device is indiginous, being known also to
neighboring peoples, we may doubt the earli-
er existence of the higher counts (see also
● [843] Religion). It was also said that women kept
track of the passage of the nine lunar
months of pregnancy by making a knot for each
month, counting from the first failure to
menstruate until one month after the birth
[765] of the child. Old people were said to keep
track of how long their children had been
dead in similar fashion, but we may doubt
this. Knotted string records were call-
[211] ed catca′sqł. They were not used as memor-
anda sent with messengers who garried invita-
tions.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained 852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was [553] held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal 861 education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely [881] excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on 885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather [591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. [843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by 761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

p. 103 (A)

591 about between the homes of the two, spending some time also alone or with other relatives. Ordinarily a young couple went first to live with the husband's parents. The girl assisted the female head of the household, leaving the older woman largely the task of supervising. A young wife was instructed in her duties by this matron, but was already fairly well acquainted with most of the techniques, with which she had been working since puberty. If the mother-in-law was stingy, they might have separate households in the same house, keeping their supplies separate and eating apart. But ordinarily, since they managed to maintain pleasant relations, they lived as a single family. The young couple would remain as long as they cared to, then go to the home of the bride's parents.

Men might set up homes of their own any time they desired, but generally this was not before several children were born to them. Many of the winter villages were made up of groups of relatives of different degrees.

595 A man who had several non-related wives usually left each with her own family. Co-wives shared equally economically, unless the husband particularly favored one. Each [601] cared only for her own children and was swa wa'sa (mother's sister) to all the others, whether really related or not. As there was no institutionalized head wife, jealousies often arose. Several informants said that the wife most loved by the husband had authority over the others; David Isaac, a Northern Okanagon, said that it was always the first wife. The informants insist that most men who were married had at least two wives, but chiefs, shamans and good hunters often had more. The only explanation, and a very probable one, is that there was a very high divorce rate.

Johnnie described plural marriage as follows. In the old days a man who was a good hunter would have many wives, as many as five. Several sisters would marry one man. All lived together in one house. The husband "took turns" sleeping with his wives, one each night. There was no jealousy [843] between the wives. The husband did not stop sleeping with his wife when she was pregnant, but after the baby was born he had no intercourse with her for quite a few days. The wives divided the food he brought home and took turns cooking it for him. When he died they might continue living together, or, each taking such household articles as she had made, build little separate houses in which to live. After the mourning period of a 587 year or so the man's brother, who was the 595 best hunter and had been chosen to care for them, would come to the house. If he was already married he might visit back and forth between his other wife or wives and these women. If he had but one wife and there was only one widow, he might establish

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant[1] it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

[791] Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, she might smoke, if she was one with power to smoke. A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

[1] [For footnote, see p. 120 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies _en route_, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these
[791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

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10 Possibly the grouse is meant. Several varieties of pheasant have been introduced on the reservation and, in common with local whites, the Indians now use the name for birds of the grouse type. — L.S.

1 [For context of this footnote, see p. 120 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 120 (c)

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[1] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe[2] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

● 843 Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[1] See g, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.

[2] See i, figs. 107–109.

784 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. 843 Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 843 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 842 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltx^{w}) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

844 This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846 The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untux̣si'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847 A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

755 845 A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3]

843 In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

846 Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. 813 The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the 821 edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiuikʷ) that surrounded the land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It 823 was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they 825 died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were care- 753 lessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin 826 had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had 777 no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less pre- 821 dictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u't. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused 821 by thunder.

844 The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skaltumi'xʷ xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxʷ ila'ma'skət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at 821 the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's 821 tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 825

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[1] Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other 813 sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of
salmon to the people. 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under 825
her pillow. It is believed to have great potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock 881
piling, but it no longer need be done, since he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as
to allow these to fall out. This sets the 881
pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."[1] Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brew- 773
ster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen
or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately received
a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would interfere
with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple could live together.
There was no feast, for the Okana- [574]
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visited
back and forth until they had accumulated 591
enough to build their own home; the necessities
might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed
the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be welcomed
back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforced
without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern informants,
particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies en route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." [791] Should these efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

p. 120 (B)

845 ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations.

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

There was believed to be a connection be- 821 tween parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. ● 844 The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcŏ′ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcŏ′ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby. This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

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[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and
wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured
from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry
leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by
most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 Twins.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and
844 childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short
time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were
probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially
as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the
tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke
845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed
that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of
any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with
bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or
powers.[287] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart
from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had
[772] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne
name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought
that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among
other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman
who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again,
and no other children before or after.

854 Carriers or Cradles.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[288] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[289] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[287] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

[288] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

[289] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[8] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe [9] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

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844 Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

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[8] See g, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.
[9] See i, figs. 107-109.

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1] 844

Twins.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2] 845

Carriers.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped 854

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[1] a, p. 304.

[2] a, pp. 310, 311.

[3] See Thompson, c, fig. 281; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.

[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.

[5] See Thompson, c, fig. 281 b.

[6] See Thompson, c, fig. 281.

844 This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846 The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuxsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847 A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

755 845 A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[7] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[8]

843 In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

846 Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[7] See page 102.
[8] See page 204 f.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[1] See pages 215 f.

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies en route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these [791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

ed, and as this was never forced, it might 853
mean a lapse of two or three years. If the
mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry
juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had
a second child before the other was weaned,
both were nursed, as were twins. No pre- [845] ●
cedence was given the elder twin (the first
born). This may be what Teit means by his
curious statement that twins were less
strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

846 For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

There were several ideas current con- 842
cerning the predetermination of such charac-
ters as sex and left-handedness. If the 787
child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

845 Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

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[20] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

● 845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

There was believed to be a connection be-
821 tween parturition and the weather. When a
person died the weather of his birthday was
supposed to occur again. The weather at the
844 birth was connected with the character of
the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it
was said that the mother was cranky, mean,
and could not get along with someone. On the
other hand, warm, fine weather was interpret-
ed as meaning the mother was kind and agreea-
ble. Again, it was said of a child born in
bad weather that its mother must have a
"good behind" (buttocks or genitals?),
nxEcō´ps; of one born in good weather, that
its mother must have a "bad behind,"nqEcō´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby ~~was~~ wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

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[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

Though two brothers might both have the 776
grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian
spirit, twins did not have grizzly power 825
more often than other people. 845

The power inherited from a dead rela-
tive belongs in a separate category. It was 778
one of the powers which the dead had possess-
ed during life, but after his death it chose 428
a new master. It was never deliberately 787
sought, as other powers were, but came in a
dream. It brought considerable danger to
the person on whom it called, being "meaner"
and more exacting than a normal guardian
spirit; and it might, if not duly propiti-
ated, cause the death of its possessor.

Insanity was regarded as a kind of 778
power, though not from any animal. A man
recently went mad "because he wanted power 828
too much."

The strength of one's power depended on
the number of guardian spirits which he had 776
and on their qualities. In the opinion of
any one informant, the same animal did not 778
confer varying degrees of power. Cecile
seemed to think that power was directly pro- 825
portional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank.

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not neces-
sarily bring success. Suszen said that one 778
could succeed in hunting without the aid of
power, if he were a good runner, knew the 224
haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and
clever to secure the game. If any of his [784]
power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing.

As I shall explain later, when discuss- 776
ing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands.

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke 845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[287] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had [772] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[288] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[289] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[287] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

[288] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

[289] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1] 844

Twins.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2] 845

Carriers.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped 854

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[1] a, p. 304.

[2] a, pp. 310, 311.

[3] See Thompson, a, fig. 251; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.

[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.

[5] See Thompson, a, fig. 251 b.

[6] See Thompson, a, fig. 251.

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

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[177]

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

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Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

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In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier. [113]

844 This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846 The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuxsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847 A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

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In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately. 843

846 Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

159 253 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[8] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[8] See pages 215 f.

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

ed, and as this was never forced, it might 853 mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No pre- [845] cedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

For a period of ten to eighteen days 846 after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

There were several ideas current concerning 842 the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the 787 child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

Twins were considered a very good thing. 845 In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

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[20] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcô´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind,"nqEcô´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so; When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby ~~was~~ wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

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[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

p. 122(A)

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).[1]

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use
until the child could walk. After that it
served when long journeys were to be made.
[856] It was said that formerly infants learned to
walk only at a later age than in these days
of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that
cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 304 854 Most of the informants denied that there was any intention of flattening the head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpI'llakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 854 A flat stone or other hard substance was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

● 846 854 The stump of the umbilical cord was sewed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

[1] [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

854 846 The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sEsan'I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong.

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

854 A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks.

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material.[22]

855 When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load.

ADULT LIFE

462 Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All

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[22] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other. 844

The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untux̣si'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care. 844 846

A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to. 847

A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3] 755 845

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately. 843

Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew." 846

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wȧ·'lək, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea.

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itskən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (əp'kanu'sȧstən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (xaxa'iip^a). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (q̇otsq̇otso'iȧ'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled.
It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

    The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion.

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.(12) An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi·'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants.

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tubercolosis.

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[9] See page 135.

[10] Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11] For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12] William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

such a one was wi′ŏwxina, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage. 831 836 [684]

Illegitimate births occured, and the shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition. 848

However, at the time of the occurrence it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure; as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret. 847 ●

There was also a magical contraceptive brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwŭli′s.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842 824 842

757 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a
278 shaman could cure it, by methods described
above.

Abortion was called cxēntst; simple mis-
847 carriage was cxēnt. Since abortion was sin-
ful, the herbs used in procuring it were
278 kept secret.* Johnnie, however, told us in a
whisper that strong pine needle tea would
have this effect.

231 Distemper in horses was treated by fumi-
gation with certain roots.
278

CHARMS

Though trees were not classed as male
778 or female, some plants had sex, determined
from the shape of the roots, especially sun-
flower and the plant from which love medi-
789 cine was made. The roots embraced each
other as if sexually. If a woman coveted an-
832 other's husband, she cut off the female part
of the root, named it after her rival, and
824 put it away where it would dry up. She then
severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or pɫaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the [illegible]oved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever car-
ried except objects connected with power.

Black magic by making the image of the
754 victim and abusing it was never practiced by
the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

851 Parents often disciplined their chil-
dren by telling them that the owl (snēna')
825 or the night-hawk (kwaōwil) might bite them,
especially at night when these birds were
heard.

808 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sx̣ox̣omi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

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was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[8] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[8] See pages 215 f.

Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club. 684

When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others. 684 848

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lxwɪt, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[16] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow: 835 684

> There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing: "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.
>
> One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing,

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[16] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

such a one was wI′ówxIna, literally (?) "she 831 don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. 836 There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father [684] found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage.

Illegitimate births occured, and the 848 ● shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition.

However, at the time of the occurrence 847 it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret.

There was also a magical contraceptive 842 brought by a women of an unidentified Puget 824 Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwŭlI′s.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush 842 for help while picking them. In the days

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

● 851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
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Not until he was a year or more old was he
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He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
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sition, less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

757 278 hurts") yielded to no secular remedy. Only a shaman could cure it, by methods described above.

847 278 Abortion was called cxĕntst; simple miscarriage was cxênt. Since abortion was sinful, the herbs used in procuring it were kept secret.' Johnnie, however, told us in a whisper that strong pine needle tea would have this effect.

231 278 Distemper in horses was treated by fumigation with certain roots.

CHARMS

778 789 832 824 Though trees were not classed as male or female, some plants had sex, determined from the shape of the roots, especially sunflower and the plant from which love medicine was made. The roots embraced each other as if sexually. If a woman coveted another's husband, she cut off the female part of the root, named it after her rival, and put it away where it would dry up. She then severed the same part from another root, representing herself, and planted it with the male part of the first. These two parts then grew together. To alienate the affections of a married couple or pair of sweethearts, one took two very small pine sprouts, named each one after one of the couple and wrapped each sprout with some of their hair. Having peeled off some of the bitter bark from a cottonwood tree, he stuck one of the sprouts into the trunk, and uttered a spell to make one of the couple bitter against the other, just as the bark was bitter.

Love medicine (plax or pɫaɫ) was made from the heart of a humming-bird and some kind of flowering plant that grows high in the mountains and smells sweet. The stalk of the flower and the heart were pounded up and mixed with red paint. This medicine was kept wrapped in a nice cloth. If one used it as a rouge just at sunset, smearing a little of it on face or shirt, he would be thought of at that time by the beloved. Both men and women might use this. Billy Joe claimed that experts sometimes got as high a fee as fifty dollars for this love medicine.

778 No amulets or talismans were ever carried except objects connected with power.

754 Black magic by making the image of the victim and abusing it was never practiced by the Okanagon.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

● 851 825 Parents often disciplined their children by telling them that the owl (snêne') or the night-hawk (kwaôwil) might bite them, especially at night when these birds were heard.

008 The ant and the yellow jacket wanted

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857
At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

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861
The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852
861
The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881
For a ten-day period at puberty (sləixo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

585 following the repast much of what had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term əuri'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian herp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 515 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tslapU'stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852●

p. 49(A)

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The 301
ears of boys were pierced too, but not as 304
commonly as girls. As many as six earrings
have been reported worn on each ear, a custom 852●
learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.
One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his
ear lobes as the holes were torn out by
heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears.

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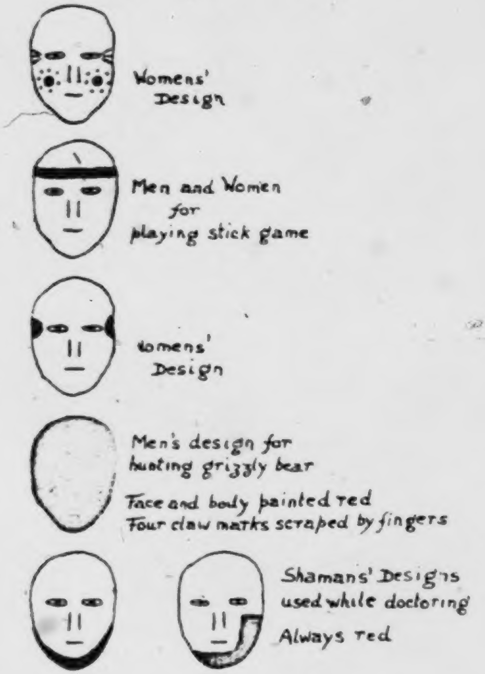
Womens' Design
Men and Women for playing stick game
Womens' Design
Men's design for hunting grizzly bear
Face and body painted red
Four claw marks scraped by fingers
Shamans' Designs used while doctoring
Always red

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more char-
acteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of 171
the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had 304
never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men
and women tattooed their faces, wrists and
the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but
that they had a band of decoration around
the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver 304
of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the
skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin
had been rubbed numb and coated with grease
as a body for the pigment. The sliver of
bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped
to a very sharp point and polished with
horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the nee-
dle was withdrawn. The pigments were red [386]
ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A
circle of dots was sometimes made on each

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
● 852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here, near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take the advice of an older man even though he is not closely related, although it is not obligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority who determines where in the chosen vil-
[361] lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

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761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sx̣ox̣omi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'uxten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

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[4] See page 141.

553 The naming feast took place about a
year later (when the baby ate solid food for
● [853] the first time). It was at this time that
the full introduction of the infant into so-
574 ciety took place. The ceremony was more
elaborate and on a larger scale than was the
blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ——. That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of camas, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter 854
of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in
the same icy stream used by the adults. He
was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which
were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as
diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-
smelling leaves. During the day he was car-
ried about by his mother, and after the
first few months he spent most of the day in
a somewhat vertical position, tightly strap-
ped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed
to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy
the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack.
When a young baby cried from crossness, it
was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No par-
ticular effort to train or amuse him was
made. After his first tooth had appeared, he [853] ●
was given other foods in addition to his
mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried ber-
ries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared
they were afraid to feed anything else, as
it would cause his mouth to become sore.'[1]

When the baby learned to walk, the cra- 855
dle was very gradually discarded. When he
was able to run about freely, and had been 857
given a name, he was left pretty much to his
own devices, or to the care of older
children. He was taught to avoid the fire
and snakes, not to molest the food, and to
conduct himself decently when he was with
older people. His mother sometimes took him
along when she went on trips from camp, and
he played with the other children, or was
tied to a post while his mother did her work.
Sometimes the adults amused him with games
such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle.
The training was left to mother and grand-
mother, since his father was usually not at
home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.'[1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

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[1] [For footnote, see p.107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. [845] No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20] 853

846 For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

842 787 There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

845 Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

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[20] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

p.121 (B)

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt 52
was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too 848
many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible."
(Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of 854
granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a 753
tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called
to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the 757
specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses 784
such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medi- 854
cines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[5] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's 846
body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board 854
for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

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[5] See pages 215 f.

The cradle bag or night bag (kłu'x̣tsa) was made in two forms. The first was 854 fashioned from two pieces of buckskin, one ovoid forming the back, the other a narrow band equal in length to the perimeter of the back. The ends of the band were sewed together and one edge of it sewed to the periphery of the ovoid piece, with the seam at the bottom (narrow end). Thin strips of buckskin were used for sewing. Loops were provided along the lower portions of each free side of the front piece so that a buckskin thong could be passed alternately through them to draw the bag together. The other bag was made of a single piece of buckskin roughly triangular in form. It resembled somewhat a center seam moccasin, except that the actual seam extended for only a short distance and the remainder was looped for lacing. The top was left open. Neither bag was provided with carrying straps. Skin other than that of the deer was sometimes used for these bags, such as coyote skin. The child was kept in the bag at night until about a year of age.

The cradle board (mox̣wa'l') (Plate 1, Figure B) was the same for either a girl or a boy. It was used until the child was able to walk. Subsequent to that time it was used only while travelling or when the child wished to sleep in the daytime. During the early months of life the infant was removed from the cradle only to be bathed, changed, and at night. Except in rare instances a board was used for only one child. When no longer in use it was usually buried. If an infant died while still using its cradle it was sometimes, though not always, buried with it.

Cradle boards were usually made of cedar. Poorer ones were of pine. The body of the board was sometimes trapezoidal with the longer parallel side at the top, but more often roughly oval with the narrower part at the bottom. A knob or handle usually projected from the middle of the board at the top, and sometimes two legs from the bottom. The handle was carved in various shapes, but most commonly was triangular or circular. In some cradles there was no projecting handle but an oblong hole in the top of the board. Sometimes the whole board was covered with buckskin but often only the bag was of that material. Holes were bored to take the stay strings of the hoop and for attaching the bag. A large hoop of willow or service berry limb was hinged with buckskin to each side of the board at a point where it would rise above the baby's head. Two buckskin thongs extending from the hoop to the foot and to the handle of the board held the hoop in position. These could be untied at the foot and the hoop lowered when the child was to be removed. Buckskin carrying straps were fastened to the back of the board. The bag or pouch was always made of buckskin. It was not a true bag in that its back was formed by the board itself. A long narrow rectangular strip of buckskin was sewed together at the ends and fastened to the board by placing it on edge in the shape desired and securing it to the board through the holes previously drilled. Sometimes the pouch was made double thickness. Holes were pierced along the edge of the opening and a strip of buckskin inserted to provide loops so that the bag might be laced tight. A triangular wooden piece 304 was fitted inside the bag at the head, with the base at right angles to the board. 854 It was fastened here with two thongs through holes in the board and one or two extending from the apex to the head of the board. It was more or less adjustable

but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the 304
head of the bag open. 854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the 854 legs. Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kali'a, snknktkn, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used.

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its 524 skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. In addition many 854 other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the [illegible] exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck.

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place 854 to place. Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 **Southeast Salish**
Sanpoil

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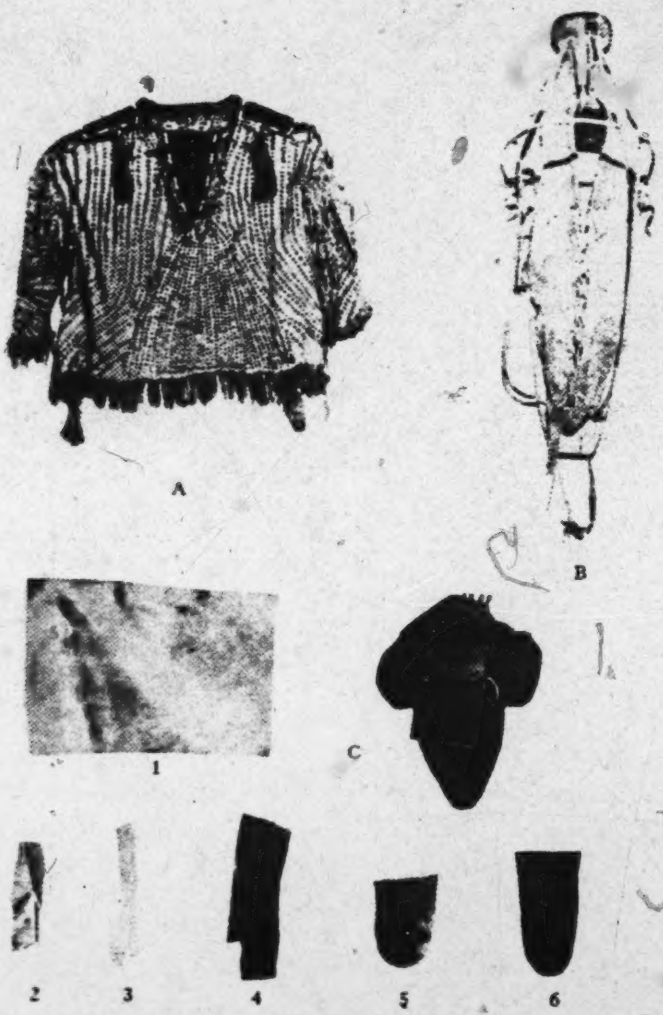

PLATE 1. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body, (2, 3) inserts, (4) ankle flap, (5) inner tongue, (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A, 2-11783; B, 2-158, C, 2-159).

304 check. There was no sex difference. A shaman capable of drawing blood from wounds might [791] tattoo a line of dots from each corner of his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not clear whether the designs had any connection with the power animal or other significance. [681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a person because he was a murderer or thief, as Suszen reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin; this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent in- 171 troduction than the first. It was said to have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce 854 now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 281 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEke·e'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

854 [1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 50(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 18, No. 2-262; Figure 20, No. 2-263.[1]

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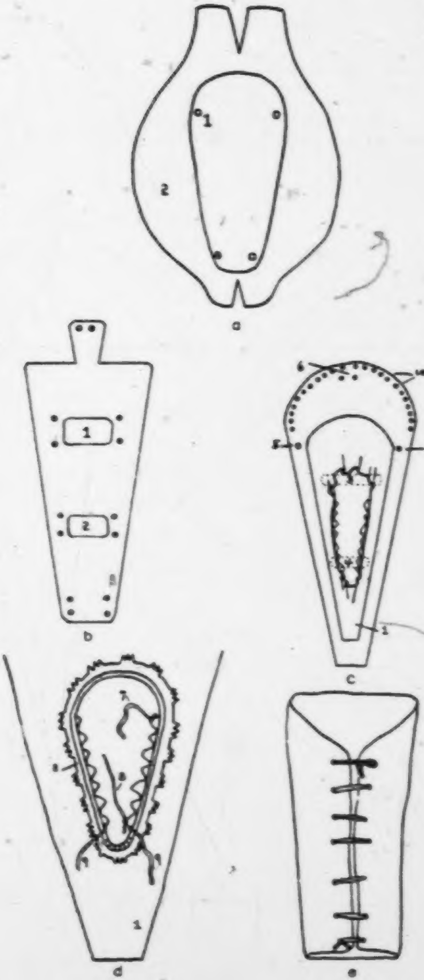
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Fig. 17. Cradle types and patterns (a, infant's first cradle; b, old trapezoidal type; c, recent oval type with pouch; d, detail of the pouch shown in c; e, sack for use at night).

p. 51 (A)

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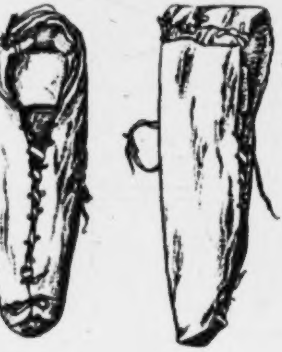

Fig. 18. Infant's first cradle (from a model).

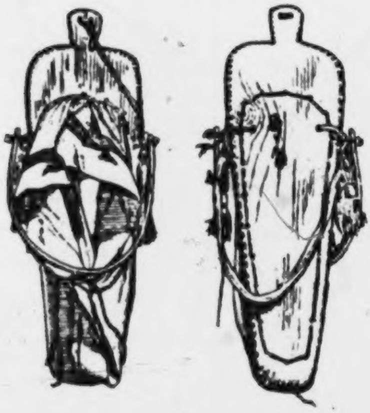

Fig. 19. Trapezoidal type of second cradle.

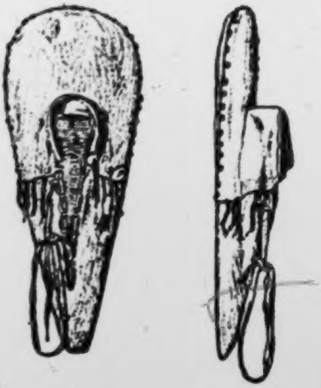

Fig. 20. Oval type of second cradle (from a model).

p. 51 (B)

854 were sharp, but in a specimen seen in the field (Figure 19) they were somewhat rounded. Six holes, in pairs, were bored down each side of the cradle to receive the loops necessary to lace the bedded infant to the cradle if the board was to have no pouch attached (Figure 17,b). Three loops on each side were then formed of a cord (thong ?) which passed in and out of the pairs of holes, beginning from the under face of the board. A willow bark pad was tied between the uppermost pairs of loop holes to lie under the child's neck; a second similar pad was tied between the middle pairs of holes to rest under its knees (Figure 17, b,1,2). Baby and bedding were laced in by a buckskin thong passing through the three pairs of loops. This thong was permanently tied to the lower left loop (that is, on the baby's right side and was carried first to the opposite lower loop, thence to the left and right middle loops, thence to the upper left loop,and was finally tied at the upper right by a simple knot followed by a half-loop.

When a pouch was to be attached to the trapezoidal board a row of holes was bored around the periphery (to judge by the specimen shown in Figure 19; there being no other data). The pouch itself was evidently shaped much like that of the baby's first cradle.

In all trapezoidal boards a hole was bored in each upper corner to receive loops to which the tump line was attached. These loops were of tanned skin from the neck of a deer, which is tough; the tump line was bearskin, worn with the fur side next the carrier's head. The ends of the broad tump strap were brought through each loop, lapped back, and sewn with buckskin thongs. A shade bow was also provided to hold a covering away from the baby's face, so that it might at once allow plenty of air, yet keep off the flies. This arch was a green service berry or willow branch, trimmed to a half-inch thickness and fastened in the proper shape until it dried. It was tied to the tump line loops at each side and was of such a size as to stand ten inches above the baby's face. The arch was adjustable: it could be laid flat or raised as desired. When travelling the arch was held erect by two strings tied in grooves at the top of the arch; one end of each thong extended to a hole in the handle extension at the top of the board, the other to the middle lacing loops. A mattress just the length of the child was made for use with at least the pouched variety of this cradle, together with pillows for head and knees. These pillows were somewhat smaller (?) than those provided for the baby's first cradle.

854 531 [846] These boards were not decorated: "the board was so small that there was no room left for painting." Strings of dentalium shells were hung from the shade bow for the baby to play with. As in all other cradles, the baby's umbilical cord, tied in a buckskin, and sometimes a fool-hen's heart, were attached to one side of the cradle near the top.

In more recent types of cradles the board was oval with a flattened base. As noted above, there were two different ways of providing a pouch for the baby: either the pouch was fastened to the face of the board well within its margin (a type derived from Moses-Columbia), or the board was entirely encased in a skin cover which fitted snugly except where it pouched to receive the infant (derived from the Nez Percé).

The oval board, in an example of the first mentioned variety made by Mary Carden, measured thirty-one inches in length, thirteen and a half inches in greatest width. A flattened base was provided so that the cradle could be stood on the ground leaning against some convenient upright. The board as a whole was not covered with skin, but a skin pouch (Figure 17, c,1) was fastened to it through a series of holes arranged in appropriate positions well within the margin of the board. In the specimen examined this pouch was twenty-three inches long by nine and a half broad, and conformed to the contour of the board. A strip of cloth (Figure 17, d,2) was sewn around the opening of the sack; at intervals three angular pieces had been clipped out by way of decoration. Two cloth pillows (Figure 17, c,3,4) were fastened in place within the sack. The carrying band or tump line was fastened to two holes (c, 5) on either side of the sack. The same holes also served for tying the ends of the shade bow, which could be held upright by cords to two holes at the top of the board (c, 6). A series of loops were provided on each side of the opening of the sack so that it might be laced up. The lacing thongs were two (d, 7, 8); one fastened to the uppermost loop on the right, the other to the lowest loop on the same side. To lace the infant in, these were put through successive loops to meet at the middle, where they could be tied together. The lower margin of the opening could be drawn up over its feet by a pucker-string (d, 9) which ran under the stitching; the ends of the pucker-string could be tied together. This string was permanently attached to the lowest loop on the right. By way of decoration twenty-two brass pins were set along the upper margin of the board (c, 10). Such boards were said also to be decorated with bead work, but probably the following variety was meant.

In the second or Nez Percé variety of the oval board (Figure 20) the buckskin covering was stretched tightly over the board, leaving an opening, that is, a pocket, to be laced as high as the breast of the child. A second piece of buckskin was cut to fit the upper part of the board (a dark cloth in the model illustrated) and sewn down smoothly, covering the seams in the piece underneath. A hood which stood out from the board a few inches beyond the baby's head, was made of two straight pieces of buckskin sewn together. The two thicknesses of skin were sufficiently stiff to stand out at right angles to the board. This was sewn around the upper edge of the opening of the pouch. A mattress just the length of the child and two smaller pillows were provided for this

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. 411 The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[19] 1 The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] 1

The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, 237 convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. 322 For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for 411 a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the medial line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped.

Horn bows were known only by reference [321] in tales.

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

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[18] See Individual Life Cycle.

1 [For footnotes, see p. 53(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 53 (A)

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nōlōmE′lc	iron head
tExwista′skEt	walking in the sky (?)
slō′qExEn	moccasins no good (?)
ma·Eqē′n	big eddy
paxūmtI′tsa	shining blanket
qwalxunmItsa	something went dry around his blanket
xElEka′xn	twisting his arm(?)
hūntōxsEnI′lhū	tipi door
tcIxa′xElix	they've been driven
hicha′ca	don't know how
ntsEcpEckwa′ct	no name
xIlEka′xEn	round wing
nIrqō′ctsIn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent across a creek)
kstilIa′ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstIlIēōt)
cpaqEō′l[8]	two smokes
nxē′tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chElxa′lt	daylight
cōqē′m	moonlight
sinōē′c	sunrise

"Burning back" (nōlē′qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cIl'qūIp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta′xn, s'aI·EaI′, ōIa′pEkEn, kInEmI′lx, qalawI′ła, k!lō′pakn, kwa·alExnI′tsa, ckI′ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4] 553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash- 854

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[2] Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
[3] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
[4] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
[5] See also Childbirth below.
[6] See Adult Life below.

p.107(A)

854 ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he [853] was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.'[1]

855 When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he 857 was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.'[1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

[1] [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

846 When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony.

845 Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done.

844 The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children.

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

846 854 The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water."

853 It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean-

845 relation of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcō´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind,"nqEcō´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

● 854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

[21] For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

● 854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e). 1/a

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made. [856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 Most of the informants denied that there was any intention of flattening the
304 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but
854 they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpI´liakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance was put in position on the baby's head and
854 bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sewed up in buckskin and, with a sack contain-
854 ing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

1/a [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 122 (B)

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sEsan'I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong. 854 846

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks. 854

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material.[22]

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load. 855

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All 462

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[22] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

526 778 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cilialEwa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners.[15] Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. Although bark cradles were not use

● [854] for infants by the Southern Okanagon, littl girls sometimes made doll cradles which wer small models of the bark cradles used b Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pēlēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sUEnūswal'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

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15 See also Mary Cardon's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601
that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565
of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622
because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses- 554
Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing
enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup,
and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had
struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies
or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was
made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number
was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader
of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to
all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented
or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into 198
common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being
traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient
in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854 ●
some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young
infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children
who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and
conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856
Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a
skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not
intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551
of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A
number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca

Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.[195] Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.[196] The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.[197] It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.[198] Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.[199] Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags[200] attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.[201] Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.[202] Although the horse and dog travois were

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[195] *l*, fig. 17.

[196] *l*, fig. 2.

[197] *l*, figs. 2, 17.

[198] *l*, figs. 14, 15.

[199] *l*, fig. 18.

[200] See Thompson, *c*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 220.

[201] *l*, fig. 19.

[202] *l*, figs. 23, 24.

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 Twins.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke
845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[297] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had
[772] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 Carriers or Cradles.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[298] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[299] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

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[297] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.

[298] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.

[299] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present 854
day, and some of them were provided with hoops.

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,[illegible] and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier 177
or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far 854
back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—During the life of the child on the board 304
carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its 854
head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind,

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[illegible] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

304 854 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. [597] The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 **Whipping Ordeal.**—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson[illegible] until recently.

861 881 **Puberty.**—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. 302 861 881 Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow [777] certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[illegible] a, pp. 309, 310.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1] 844

TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2] 845

CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped

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[1] a, p. 304.

[2] a, pp. 310, 311.

[3] See Thompson, a, fig. 251; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.

[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.

[5] See Thompson, a, fig. 251 b.

[6] See Thompson, a, fig. 251.

854 in soft robes of fawn skin, rabbit skin, lynx skin, etc. Bedding consisted of shredded bark, grass, and occasionally down of plants. Among the Sanpoil the bedding for bark carriers consisted generally of bulrush down or duck's down; but dry grass and finely teased bark were sometimes used. The Similkameen, Lake, and Colville claim that they used only boards; no bark carriers. The Okanagon say that they have always used board carriers, but that long ago a few families also used bark carriers for very young infants. These were simply beds used in the lodge, and not for carrying purposes. When the child had to be carried a board was used. The Nespelim and Sanpoil say that very long ago bark carriers were used entirely, or almost entirely, by them. The shapes of these were similar to the forms of bark carriers of the Thompson. The most ancient kind were very deep and had no lacings and hoops. The baby was fastened in with a long band of dressed skin, or sometimes a rope, which was lashed round the carrier. A few had large loops on the sides, through which the lashing passed, as in some board carriers;[7] but this is thought to be more modern than the simple lashing around the outside of the carrier. Later, shallow bark carriers with hoops were often used. The deep carriers did not require hoops. About six or seven generations ago boards came into use and within a short time became quite common. The first kind adopted consisted of a simple board, in most cases reaching to the neck of the infant. The child, wrapped in a fur robe which came over its head, was strapped on the board by a lashing round and round, as in the oldest bark carriers. Later it became common to fasten flaps of skin to the sides of the board, which laced in front over the infant. Infants were also placed in skin bags and lashed to the board. Later the backs of these bags were frequently stitched to the board, and thus became a permanent attachment of the latter. The front of the bag was fastened with a lacing. Still later, hoops came into use to spread the hood of the bag or to hold the carrier covering—a small, light robe or a skin—off the child's face. This top covering was used to shade the child's face when it slept, to cover it when mosquitoes and flies were abundant, and to protect it against cold and wind when traveling. For a long

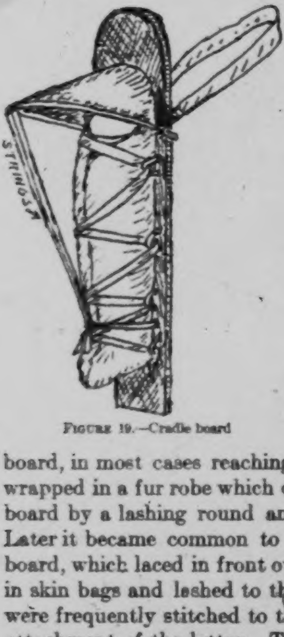

FIGURE 19.—Cradle board

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[7] See Thompson, a, p. 307, fig. 281.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[8] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head. 854

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers. 304 854

FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents. 597

EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the 861

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[8] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board[1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177]

Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier. [113]

221/796 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones [160] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were [855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 512 252 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

512 The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and 302
tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was
assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair
until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened 302
sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an 412
eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were
bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses.
One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course,
about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth
apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended 826
with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The
ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of 855
medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother 856
faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb,
and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning
and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called
kəmɪtawiya'kɪ'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered 304
ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round 856
during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was
used as a pillow in the cradle.

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly 302
heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very 515
long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly 856
less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but
rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus*
L., (wuɣwaɣká'ʔpᵉ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the
shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, 515
summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for 751
their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure
again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of 515
the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a
stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water.
The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the ennervating steam
bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month ~~and a~~ year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 861 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the 524
violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them 755
were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the
older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks ~~855~~
into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not 861
to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but 593
the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the 855
threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw [527]
water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, 515
summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run 956
to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath
they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost 868
importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain 462
duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and 857
accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By **MAY MANDELBAUM**

THE LIFE CYCLE /

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

● 855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

p. 103 (A)

854 ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he [853] was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.[3] [1]

855 857 When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.[4] [1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 107 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most
857 of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e).[1]

● 855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made. [856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

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[1] [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 122 (B)

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sEsen'I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong. 854 846

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks. 854

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material."

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load. 855

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All 462

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22 Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, 279.

p.123 (A)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs. 845 171*

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use. 854 171* [177]

Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly. 304 856• 171*

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head. [178] [113]

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 19, a Spokan carrier.

304 856 *171 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 *171 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 595 *171 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 *171 [606] MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 148 *171 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 *171 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. 766 *171 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmıtawiya'kı'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 856

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγká'lpᵘ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon. 524 755 855 861

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger. 593 855

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways. [527]

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced. 515 856 868

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks. 462 857

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[a] [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 122 (B)

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to 601
that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces 565
of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such 622
because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses- 554
Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes.

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented 198
or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot.

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in 854
some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children.

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of 856
Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head.

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes 551
of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302
longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776
same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[302] The impor- 856
tance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 861
girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until
this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or 881
female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person
who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or
in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as
a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was
attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success,
persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152]
of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such
as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The
youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the
guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained
more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533]
was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits
and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get
en rapport with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by
the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what
people said about them behind their backs, and they could read
people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men
became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515]
This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It
was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and
sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304
done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, espe- 881
cially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the
same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed
that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond
between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[302] *a*, pp. 317-321, *b*, 247-250.

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462 857 Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits —lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881. For a ten-day period at puberty (sləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

526 Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[5] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognized. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[6]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

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857 Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

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[5] See page 136.
[6] See page 54.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

524 157 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu'…, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'xum, "chief"
Queen	tuqdumi'lux*, "feet"
Flush	sq̇aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	xaxt.tu', "straight"
Straight flush	xaxt.tusq̇aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kalili'll, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'sas, "four alike," etc.
Pair	k̇ali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	as.lu·'lax*, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kanumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sam, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'a'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snm.lm.duqua'p̓ulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	siλ'nam, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksaxantcı'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imantcı'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (sma'ux*) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained 852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was [553] held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

● 857 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal 861 education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely ex- [881] cluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on 885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather [591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. [843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by 761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter 854
of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in
the same icy stream used by the adults. He
was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which
were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as
diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the
first few months he spent most of the day in
a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed
to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy
the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack.
When a young baby cried from crossness, it
was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was
made. After his first tooth had appeared, he [853]
was given other foods in addition to his
mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared
they were afraid to feed anything else, as
it would cause his mouth to become sore.'[1]

When the baby learned to walk, the cra- 855
dle was very gradually discarded. When he
was able to run about freely, and had been 857 ●
given a name, he was left pretty much to his
own devices, or to the care of older
children. He was taught to avoid the fire
and snakes, not to molest the food, and to
conduct himself decently when he was with
older people. His mother sometimes took him
along when she went on trips from camp, and
he played with the other children, or was
tied to a post while his mother did her work.
Sometimes the adults amused him with games
such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle.
The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at
home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.'[1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

[1] [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 107(B)

855 sometimes slept when the village was very
crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most
of the adult games, but without the gambling.
Little girls made themselves little dolls of
of stone and bark.

To some extent the children were treated
858 as adults. The desires of children only
a few years old would be considered and consulted
in such matters as the making of protracted
visits. In return, they were expected
to act according to group standards, to be
polite and instantly obedient. While a
woman cared for her own children, even in a
plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was
punished by whipping, either by the parent
or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion
for this was said to have been rare.
Children were frightened into behaving by
saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite
you." Certainly today most of the children
are very well-behaved, and one little girl,
whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her
considerably, was considered an exception by
all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which
came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken.
Lectures were delivered morning and
evening by an old man of the family. These
contained injunctions to be industrious, honest,
clean, liberal and respectful. They
were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure
as did listening to the ordinary tales,
which were never directed to pedagogical
ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

A sad tale is told of a widow who desired
[539] that her young son get his share of
the lecturing. She sent him to listen to
the words of wisdom being imparted by a
neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old
man would not allow this, so the poor boy
got what he could by listening outside the
lodge. He took all the words to heart, and
grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren,
careless of the worth of what was
too easily theirs, disregarded the advice
and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced
in making the boys and girls rise early
every morning and go swimming, however icy
the water, to insure their growing up to be
energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

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the religion of its elders.

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of s[illegible]wilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqöllšü. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora´tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cŭnĭ´na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkŭmkŭmă´swŭltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaĕ´l^{ŭx} and up to Enasxwŭĕ´nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalI′t'aman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest;then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After the man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō′ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō′ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 221 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

●857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes,when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsüwI'st^{n}.

785 866 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snčI´mEn, "place to weave."

343 •857 868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ūlakI´m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

its strength. To perform at the winter 776
dance without giving blankets or other
things to the audience would make one's
power angry. The spirit might command a 431
girl to dance and give blankets to the people
even though she had none to give, and if 782
her relatives did not provide them for this
purpose she would die. When the girl was 796
afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate
father or uncle helped her by cutting
a cow's throat and letting the blood
flow on the snow, to propitiate the power
and save the life of the girl. These means
of propitiation were probably carried out
for boys as well.

There were a few sexual differences in 791
matters of power. Berdaches were regarded
rather as good-for-nothings than as religious [838]
worthies. Shamans were both men and
women, but if either sex predominated, it 562
was the male. Special power for hunting
came more often to men than to women. Women's 784
power songs differed from those of men and
power songs could never be borrowed between
the sexes. Though a woman should not step
over another person's power emblem, for fear
of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity.
From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance
where a sex tabu, binding on women in
general, was not enforced on a woman with
great power. It pleased the woman in question,
whose power had brought a big catch of
salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir,
an act forbidden to women. When the
people complained, she replied, "I made the
salmon come. It's all right if I take a
swim."

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to
cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, 776
and to lead in communal enterprises. In
spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian 577
spirits seem not to have supervised morals
or to have deserted their protégés because
of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the
other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean
man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired,
feared, and often followed. As we
have seen, however, certain vices hindered a
young person from acquiring power. These
were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack
of concentration. The shiftless or timid
child to whom the guardian spirits would not [538]
come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon
folklore.

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and 776
thirteen, but almost always before puberty,
the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the 787
mountains and woods in search of a guardian
spirit. To find power for one's self, either
by accident or design, was called süksümix. 857
The word for the power quest was tsüntsüt or
tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated attempts
for as long as a year to acquire
power or to add other guardian spirits to
those which he already had. If he did not
succeed after a number of trials he gave up
in despair. One could begin the search in
any season; most frequently one chose summer

or autumn. It was much easier for a child 776
to have the vision before puberty, for after
that period he "knew everything." If a 787
girl began to menstruate in the fall, before
going on her quest, and had to stay indoors 857
until spring, she might not acquire power un-
less a house-fly or some other thing at home [777
endowed her. As a result of the teachings
of the Roman Catholic mission, few children 797]
now undertake the quest.

Though a guardian spirit might come to
a child anywhere, certain places and scenes
were most propitious. First among these
stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two
prominent peaks in the tribal territory.
Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak [823]
Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no
others were specified. Rock paintings, the
scene of a mythical episode, a place where a
deer had been killed and the bones left, an
old camp site where a woman had given birth,
or where a bitch had produced young, all
might receive visits from children in search
of power. For a child to acquire an animal [825]
as guardian spirit, that animal or some
trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would
have the best chance to obtain deer power
where deer had left their tracks or their
hair, or where hunters had left a deer's
horns or bones. Some even considered that
such traces of the animal were necessary.

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xötsĕxil, "giving power to the son," or söxtsExiltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the 776
child what spirit he would meet, he equipped
him with the power emblem which he had cher- 787
ished for many years, and the child, wearing
or carrying this during his search, had a 857
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776 787 857 778 better chance of receiving the power which it represented. Thus a father having deer power lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 787 857 When he had come home after the first night of vigil, his people might ask him, "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 533 593 Even though a man were fairly old when he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 428 Cecile said that if the father and son had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 ple died without giving away their power, it
often returned to the animals or other
428 things which had conferred it, unless it
came to one of the younger generation after
the death of the parents.

Several motives determined the conduct
776 of the child during the quest. He should attain
a receptive state of mind; he should
787 evoke the compassion and friendship of the
animals and other power donors; he should
857 behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of the girls at puberty or on the quest, and made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote was transformed and banished to the ocean, the girls have not had to do so when hunting for power. 776 787 857

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child built a fire at night to make his presence known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this attitude, though not a normal form of quest, and though the hero forcing the animals to give their power may perhaps be a farcical treatment of this serious subject. Cecile tells the story. 776 787 539

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

776 787 539 "I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up through a little canyon and shot. He went up there and found a big buck lying dead. He cut it up and packed it back to his wife and child. From then on he could kill a deer anywhere. His people wondered if he and his wife and child were still alive, and came to look for them. They found that they had all kinds of meat. So he called all his relatives and stayed there and became an important man.

776 787 857 The power quest had a moral value for the child's future, as well as a religious and practical one. A lazy child, or one indifferent to the aim, might fail to receive power because the animals knew his character and did not like him. Suszen said that if the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school."

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 even if you are shot through the body." A tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at
787 my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Ani-
857 mal character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Süszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

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776 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to him from every mountain, and the spirits of
787 animals and birds came and talked to him. Each one came as a man, and gave him its
857 song. "It seemed only a little while," said David, "but it was a whole night, and when I awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of these people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Omak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

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their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage.

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nx̣axaĕtx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protégé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

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POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power. 776 787 857

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmalUk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep: on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tall, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involuntarily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A baby girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

776 787 857 tain lake where the women wished to gather stürtsIn roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stürtsIn root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 787 857 they had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 787 When the individual was about twenty-five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 778 787 825 In this or a later dream the spirit instructed its protégé to go out and find a member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used as a power emblem (cla'Ut). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
[821] Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

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526 178 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlialEwa′xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

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A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

● [857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners.* Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. [854] Although bark cradles were not used for infants by the Southern Okanagon, little girls sometimes made doll cradles which were small models of the bark cradles used by Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama′pelēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sÜEnÜswal′nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

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15 See also Mary Cardes's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

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Each village was said to have a large 343 364
sweat house, large enough to hold ten men.[5]

Trenches and piles of rocks were reported as camp defence and refuge for women and 361
children during attacks. Ladders were sometimes needed for access. Summer sites were 712
reported on inaccessible hilltops for the same purpose. No barricades of logs were known.[6]

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

As Teit[7] also described for the Northern Okanagon, men's clothing consisted of 291
breechclout and belt, moccasins, long leggings, shirt, and cap or headband. Women wore either a long dress or a short shirt and skirt, together with moccasins and short leggings. Buckskin was worn throughout the year, thicker in winter, thinner in summer; although in hot weather men and children would remove shirts and leggings. Men avoided nakedness, even guarding their genitals while going to and from swimming, a precaution not paralleled by women. Clothing was made also of wolf, fox, coyote and otter skins, of beaver and mink for the rich. Bear goat, and large deerskins were used for capes and robes. In summer, garments made of shredded sagebrush were worn, at least in
earlier times. When first dressed, a child [858] ●
wore the same styles as adults. All wore
moccasins, including children. All clothing [462]
was made by women.

There are indications that skin garments were a comparatively late, though aboriginal, acquisition, and that sagebrush bark was at one time the year-around material for clothing, as among other tribes of the Plateau. For instance, Mary Carden stated that the bark breechclout and bark skirt were in general use before the days of her great-grandparents. This would mean perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least within her own lifetime gala dress of buckskin has always been in use. Lucy Joe thought that buckskin clothing came into use about the time of the fall of the "dry snow" (_circa_ 1790). She was born 1850-60. As a little girl she wore buckskin. Her husband, whose first wife was Inkamip (Northern Okanagon), said that "long ago" those people wore sagebrush aprons.

The breechclout was made of a single piece of soft buckskin, two and a half to three feet long by one foot wide, passing under the crotch and hanging over a belt before and behind like an apron, perhaps as low as the knees. On some no apron was left the belt passing through tabs on the breechclout. In winter the hair was sometimes left on the buckskin, and occasionally coyote and other fur was used, worn hair side in. The apron of the clout was sometimes

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5 For the use of sweat houses, see Diversions.
6 See Warfare.
7 Teit, _Salishan Tribes_, 230.
8 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 9.

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most 857 of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

●858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to 861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

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and older daughters sat nearest the fire so that they could reach for food to pass around. If any man wanted a thing, he would just say, "Some —" or "Where is the —?": a woman would get up and fetch it without a word. 264

If another family came to visit, their women cooked over a fire apart, and would start the dish of food where most of the members of their family sat, but the dish was passed on among others present until empty. 574

There were two baby girls at the Timentwa table: one of two and the other three years of age. Neither was spoiled in any degree, yet they were spoken to and given every attention after meal time. At other times they were not noticed. The women did not pet them at all, though they betrayed their usual stoical appearance with regard to the babies by the kindest of smiles when the babies were not looking. When one cried it would be softly spoken to in a soothing tone, and sometimes a hand held out to it. But no more was done and it soon stopped. It was addressed very much as an adult or a child of nine or ten who had done something wrong would be by us. In general they were well behaved and no nuisance. They gave the happiest smiles on every occasion and seemed to have a happy pleasant existence. These two girls (one a Timentwa, the other a distant relative visiting with her widowed mother) had absolutely nothing to do with each other. 858

There was no conventionalized joking-relationship. Joking between individuals was, on the other hand, fairly common. There were some people who, either because of their own temperamental flair in that direction, or peculiarities which laid them open to it, were treated jokingly by everybody. They were called by nicknames which were as often as not of their own devising, and verbally teased in many ways. Practical jokes are rare. Playing practical jokes was called kwEskwa´st, and the practical joker ("a fellow who is always playing jokes") was called the same. Verbal jokes (n·kwEskwEstsI´n) were common and usually received in friendly spirit. When two friends were always arguing, but never really quarrelling, it was said of them, "One is ugly and the other is good-looking." One common joke of today is apparently a relic of the levirate: one man will say to another (a friend, often a cousin), "When I die, you will have the woman left," i.e., the speaker's wife. A frequent joke, and one always heartily laughed at, is based on the likeness of the words for "dessert" and "cool." TEx̣aI´lstEn means "fruit eaten after a meal" or dessert, the implication being that the fruit is cooling or refreshing. TEx̣a'pI´ls means "to cool off" by taking cool air into the lungs or by being in a cool breeze. When a fruit dessert was suggested, one jokester said, "You don't need 'fruit after a meal', it is 'cool' enough." Another said, "Just go out and take a deep breath in the wind, then you won't need 'fruit after a meal'." 522 571

221 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and
796 released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the
coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With
the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first
to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with
hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding
them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately
upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places
on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones
[160] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood
there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their
people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and
chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were
permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge
other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in
the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the un-
occupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went
to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed
and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were
[855] bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

264 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned
to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to
512 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot
252 rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling
for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from
the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been
unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been
cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along
with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated them-
selves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched;
women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate
with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning
512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and
begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the
day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with concep- 843
tion, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sıtsəntúkui'ltxʷ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival.

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of un- 152
happiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly 861
cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus
were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was re- 843
quired to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come.

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insult- 262
ing another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict mal- [578]
fortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and 843
delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish.

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant 784
woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she
did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was 843
not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to

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[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon. 524 755 855 861

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger. 593 855

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways. [527]

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced. 515 956 868

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks. 462 857

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative. No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary. Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however, thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited opportunities for achievement. 776 787 [562]

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened. 787 861

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker 787

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
the ceremony in the largest house of the
●861 group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinkq his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the ordeal.
Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

All members of the house eat together.
592 Each family keeps its supplies separately on
an outside platform. If married children
422 are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

One of the oldest men who is known to
592 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
554 was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not obligatory.
A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no authority
who determines where in the chosen
[361] village site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

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[38] See also Individual Life Cycle.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging
and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
[881] the religious life they were definitely excluded
until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned,
the adolescent spent his time learning
techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position,
761 less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

855 857 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to obey all their elders. Bad behavior was ●861 punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.

[8] See also Social Organization.

[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

538 562 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However, Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 ●861 [868] [814] Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as directions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all implicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.'[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sunshine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlêncôltên, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (χôîxEntsχal or xIkê´kIkê´nsplâk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI´klâh (?), myth; insIm'e´pElûks, "French" fairy tale; kûmaIxI´ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two 201
shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on. 802

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right 201 hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as 576 most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[229] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[230] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and 202 other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to 224 other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[229] *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

[230] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. 201 The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when 576 they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson 861 hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

Some women's names are *Sai''mốsa̋*, *Yaromi'*, *Siyô''ɛ*, *Xwa'm-ɛmma'*, *X̣ax̣ae'tcɛn* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stɛwôlɛmcɛna'*, *Wilɛwôlɛma'*, *Siyax̣ta'*, *Si''pal*, *Tclɛmtă'l*, *Xwɛotsti'*, *Tc'ă'äne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Dawal al ta'renc* ("moon fell"), *Qax̣pi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames. 551 611 [552]

Property.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421 861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [562]

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
834 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably
when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that
long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne
for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur
d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many
of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of
infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many
families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled
597 very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 Whipping Ordeal.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson [301] until recently.

861 Puberty.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes.
They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life
by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious,
and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially
those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of
them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo
hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that
they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced
by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the
Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne
informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats,
where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and
they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During
the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
777 certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years.
They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was 302 longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the 776 same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[302] The impor- 856 tance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to 861 girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until 881 this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object [152] of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song [533] was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

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[301] a, pp. 309, 310.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. [515] This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

Tattooing.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally 304 done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, espe- 881 cially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

Scarification.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[302] a, pp. 317-321, b, 247-250.

854 time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[6] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

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Head Deformation.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

597 **Fostering of Children.**—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

861 **Education.**—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

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[6] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

● 861 elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

782 881 Puberty.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[9] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

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[9] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

538 There was no distinction between tales
for men and women, adults and children. How-
562 ever, Billie Joe said that his grandfather
used to send his sisters away because cer-
tain tales were considered unfit for girls
to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in
861 the evening. During the day, children would
gather around an old man or woman for hours,
demanding tales. These were seldom for the
purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales con-
[868] tained educational matter, such as direc-
tions for making tools, houses or clothing,
the preparation of food, technique of the
hunt, or rules for playing games; but these
points were not emphasized. Ideas of cos-
[814] mology and ethical concepts were all im-
plicit in the myths and were doubtless ab-
sorbed by everyone in childhood through the
medium of the story-teller; yet there was no
formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no
secrecy or sacredness.'[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sunshine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwûlêncôltên, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (χôĭxEntsχal or xĭkê′kĭkê′nsplâk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tceptI′klâh (?), myth; insIm'a′pElûks, "French" fairy tale; kûmaIxI′ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

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[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."[1]

lōt	kcēltc	hicpōōćEn	IsimErI'm
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
Icqōcqwacl'atit	kstlaxpEmēha		
our children	grow.		

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.'[1]

• 865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabus. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games 857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to 861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

• 866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

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lōt	kcēltc	hIcpōṓcEn	IsimErI′m
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
Icqōcqwac I′atit	kstlaxpEmēha		
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[1] [For footnote, see p. 108(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

169 221 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsũwi'st^{n}.

785 •866 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

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•866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

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841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

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881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

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881 This sweat house was quite a distance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

p. 110 (B)

585 867 Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He than addressed the pair. He admonished them to realize the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother.

585 591 Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained.

585 To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called sta'łam. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but

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[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games 857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to 861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

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[7] On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
[8] See also Social Organization.
[9] Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

524 755 855 861 Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

593 855 Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

[527] Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

515 856 868 The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

462 857 Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

343 461 512 To return to Cecile's description: During the summer women's activities, as berrying, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snĕI′mEn, "place to weave."

343 857 ●868 In this connection it must be noted that Suszen described a somewhat similar house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ŭlakI′m) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people. [888]

578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

538 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However,
562 Billie Joe said that his grandfather used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would
861 gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as direc-
● [868] tions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all im-
[864] plicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sun, shine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwŭlĕncŏltĕn, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (x̣ŏĭxEntsx̣al or xĭkĕ´kĭkĕ´nsplăk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptI´klâh (?), myth; insIm'a´pElŭka, "French" fairy tale; kŭmalxI´ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

866 Julie Josephine said that when she was a girl she would wake to hear her grandparents calling to her, "Go wash your face in the creek. If you wash it with warm water you'll be blind right away." They would make her swim in the creek even when it was full of floating ice.

They were also sent to dark places to fetch things, as specific training for the vigil before them. The seasonal whipping which accompanied the setting up of the winter village must also have served as a training in stoicism. Billy Joe said that the man who did the whipping announced, "Don't be sorry in your hearts. I'm beating your children so that they will grow."*[1]

lōt	kcēltc	hIcpōō'cEn	IsimErI'm
Don't	sorry	hearts	doctoring
Icqōcqwacl'atit	ksltlaxpEmēha		
our children	grow.		

Teit speaks of the instruction and admonishment of the children, but he does not say what the nature of this was. He mentions that whipping occured, though but rarely.'[1]

865 Our informant Mary Carden said that when a child was disobedient, an old man would take some object far from camp and leave it. At night the child was sent to fetch it and if he failed, he was whipped. One old man in each camp exercised this function: he may have been the person who whipped at the setting up of the winter house. Parents might whip a child all over the body with a little switch, or slap its face with the open hand.

866 The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy. Similarly, a boy's first kill was given to any elderly friends, so that he would become a good hunter.

• 869 What share the children had in the religious life was in its minor aspects only. When they were eight or ten they began to take the sweat bath, and learned the proper songs and prayers. A girl might carry food to her older sister in the menstrual lodge, but got no closer personal acquaintance with the tabus. Occasionally one might chance to be present at a curing, but this was not regular, and they attended no winter dances. When the household was occupied with such an affair the children were sent elsewhere to sleep. The vision experiences some of them had were probably most appreciated by the adult under whose direction the quest was undertaken; the child was expected to forget all about it. Unfortunately, as we were working only with adults, we could get no valuable material on the child's own view of the religion of its elders.

[1] [For footnote, see p. 108 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The ant and the yellow jacket wanted 825
people to die, because they themselves were grave diggers, as shown by their being cinched tight around the waist."

When children threw rocks into a small, 869
deep lake, the older people told them to
stop lest the wind start to blow. 821

If a person who was badly hurt made much noise, it might cause a storm. Thunder and lightning also came up when a shaman died. 821

The informants had never heard of passers-by throwing rocks on a cairn. 823

Though the bat (stIntanEwaI'a) appears as a character in the mythology, it had no special powers or magical functions. 825

When one sneezed, it meant that someone was talking about him. 827

The weather on the day of one's death was the same as on the day of his birth.'[1] 821

761 If one played with a frog till it was tired and then turned it on its back, it would "urinate into the sky" and thus produce rain. Cutting a frog to pieces did not have the same effect.

In back of a salmon's head one can still see a little flint arrow point with which Rattlesnake shot Salmon according to a tale. 825

GODS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

Sweat House (qwi'lstEn) was a diety. In 343
the naming myth Qölûncōtn assigned it an essential place in Indian life, a tradition 773
justified in actual practice. Constructing a sweat house or using it had spiritual value and should not be undertaken lightly.
Boys probably did not take sweat baths be- 515
fore the age of twelve or thirteen, when they learned to do so as part of their train- 788
ing for manhood. Sickness or other ill fortune befell the man who treated the house irreverently; if, for example, he lost his temper when heating the stones and kicked the firewood about. As one dashed water on the hot rocks, he chanted prayers to Sweat House for health or for success in hunting, gambling, love, or any other enterprise of the moment. These were the opening lines of the sweat house prayer: [539]

yaI yaI yaI yaI qwi'lstEn
O! O! O! O! Sweat House
qûwa'ksEn qwânēnmI'nEm
Take pity on me,
nōlâûtiksq'ûâl
Let me live to be old,
kûwâ'kskInxI'tEm
Help me.

Then followed a request for special aid, such as

[1] [For footnote, see p. 167 (c); category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 167 (A)

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

> "Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

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[7] Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

881 preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden.

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

787 881 During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions.

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

262 841 881 Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during each occurrence of the menses (snilumi'lxutən) in a small hut of tule mats somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered.

784 841 The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating woman (sku·'kantcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues

was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear, than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common. The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful. A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realized more and more the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits were found near the time of puberty. 787 787 881

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it *was* a dream experienced *in* sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom 159 787

Dances were sponsored either by a shaman, an initiate or one who had been 796
commanded by his guardian to do so. The frequency of sponsorship was in the 881
order named. There was no difference in the performance in the three cases except
that the novice was initiated as a part of the ceremonies if the dance were given 456
for that purpose. However, at dances of shamanistic sponsorship novices were 796
initiated also if seized by their spirits during the performances. Shamans never banded together to give a joint dance. Since each dance ordinarily lasted but two or three nights it was necessary that many be given to fill the ceremonial period. An attempt was made to avoid giving dances, within a considerable radius, that conflicted in time. Every prominent shaman was expected to sponsor at least one dance each winter. Prestige depended greatly upon observing this rule. John Tom often gave two dances during one period. He continued to give at least one until about five years before his death.

Dances were held in any large mat house or in structures built especially for 796
that purpose. Residences were sometimes temporarily enlarged to accommodate unusual numbers. Invitations were never given. News of the occurrence of a dance was spread from one to another and all except children were entitled to attend. It was customary for an entire group to travel from one dance to another throughout the season.

Only shamans or initiates were permitted to give dances without the approval of the chief. Before agreeing to a performnace by another, the chief satisfied himself that the applicant had actually been directed by his spirit to give a dance. He also made clear to the sponsor that he would be held personally responsible for any violence that might be committed. The chief then set the date and the dance was given. Dances sponsored by novices were in charge of a shaman.

In preparation for a dance the place where it was to be given was cleared of everything movable except the mats where the spectators were to sit. Assistants cut a small fir tree, one slightly shorter than the height of the dance building. The limbs and bark were removed for a distance of about eight feet from the base. Above that the limbs were permitted to remain. The base was sharpened. Thus prepared the tree was left outside the door of the dance house. It was to become the center pole. Inside the building poles were suspended about seven feet above the floor, running the length of the house, unless the framework of the building was such as to provide similar poles. These were for holding the presents. Fireplaces were cleaned and quantities of wood gathered, cut and piled near at hand.

The spectators and participants gathered shortly after sunset. The sponsor, shamans, chiefs and other important persons occupied the end of the room farthest from the entrance door. (Only one entrance was used, the other door being kept closed throughout the dance.) Other participants were scattered throughout the audience. Men occupied the side of the room to the right of the entrance; women the left. All not active half reclined on the mats.

The shaman in charge addressed the audience through a spokesman. The latter repeated in a loud voice and with appropriate emphasis that which the shaman spoke in a low, almost whispering, monotone. Several sentences were transmitted to the spokesman before he repeated them.

him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not 796
go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient —
vomited the food enveloped in blood.

Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate 776
expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been 796
actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over."

The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The 756
novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman
the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. 796
Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly 881
walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced —
the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place.

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

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song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow.

The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit.

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

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Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater.

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian 776
spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. 796
Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of
his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the cor- 881
rect guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian 796
spirit songs (snkwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents.

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit
dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated
after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced
with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each 181
dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night.
Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given 796
a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act.

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. 533
After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly to-
ward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued 796
singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew

293 suffering loss of prosperity or well-being.
Since scouts and messengers would be chosen
211 from among men of prestige and ability, who
would also naturally have sufficient power
554 to wear feathers, there is no inconsistency
here. Apparently after the introduction of
622 the Plains feather bonnet, the wearing of
feathers became more common.

291 Mittens were worn, but the type described does not appear to be aboriginal. They were made of bear skin or fur, worn with the fur outside. A piece of fur was doubled and the edges sewn together. A hole for the thumb was cut in the folded edge and a thumb piece sewn on. Some mittens reached to the elbows, others only to the wrists. A buckskin thong held the mitten to the sleeve, and it was also stated that a long thong was passed back of the neck, through the sleeves and attached to the mitten at either end. The aboriginal mitten, judging from information of neighboring tribes, was probably merely a sack to enclose the entire hand without a separate thumb piece.

293 A feather fan, that is the wing of a
swan or crane, was mentioned as carried by a
622 chief. This was presumably of the Plains
type.

302 Men wore their hair in two braids hanging in front of the ears or on the side, and
suspended in front of the shoulders. The
front hair was cut off at about the level of
the eyebrows and combed straight back. Women
parted their hair in the middle and had two
braids hanging down the back. Sometimes the
braids were tied together at the ends and
drawn forward over each shoulder so that the
joined ends of the braids rested against the
back of the neck. When riding, women tied
the braids together in front to keep them
● [881] from blowing about. At puberty girls folded
up each braid and fastened it with a buckskin thong so that a roll hung on each side
of the face. Both men and women wrapped bits
of fur into their braids; not necessarily the
fur of their power animals. Porcupine quills
were used in these knots of hair behind the
ears in some unascertained fashion. At the
winter Power dance both men and women wore
their hair loose. At the same dance a coyote skin with its tail hanging might be worn
for a head covering. Occasionally an individual would be commanded by his power to
keep his hair loose always.

Grease was generally applied to the hair
by women, less frequently by men. It was
mixed with finely pounded needles of fragrant fir to make a pomade of bright green
color. Face and body were less often treat-
[H5] ed. The grease was collected from the tops
of cooking receptacles where it hardened. It
was stored in deer bladders (paunches ?).

White paint was sometimes put in the part of the hair (by men ?). It was not used

621 gwaťkEnma´lūxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sI'pa´s, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe´n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEťpūqtse´nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julie Josephine was never a sťsťxō´mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu´xpu´x [?]. ● [881]

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 [619] 422 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friendly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time. All other property is strictly personal. Husband and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

3: Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their requests,
but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging
and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely excluded
[881] until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned,
the adolescent spent his time learning
techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some differences
in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in position,
less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

169 the bones, the men could not catch any more
salmon. The next day the men built corrals
221 behind the holes to catch the salmon. They
used dip nets then.

857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora´tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora´tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

•881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsüwI´st^{n}.

785 When a boy's voice changed, his father
sent him away from camp for a period varying
866 from three days to a week or more. The boy
usually spent this time on the top of a
881 mountain, where he ran about a great deal,
lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

●881

785 866 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest, which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

881 841 The girls' rites were rather more complex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, or pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cat-tail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 881 While menstruating she remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths, [782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 881 This sweat house was quite a dirtance away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

p. 110 (B)

any rate not the general pattern. 343

According to varying report this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal if individual and local variation. A lazy girl was said to need a longer time than an energetic one, if a cure was to be effected. 881 ●

When the time approached for the return to camp, the girl spent several nights away on a hill (or more probably every evening during the period of isolation). Here she built a fire, but no shelter, and prayed at morning and at twilight. 782 881

At twilight, facing the west, and leaping sidewise, back and forth, feet together, high into the air, she sang:

qEnqEqûntEmI´····n   sEnqEqûlûxtsI····n
Help me   Twilight

leaping twice to each phrase. She continued this till full darkness was upon her, and then slept in the open. At the first light of dawn she had to rise, face east, and leap again, singing:

qenqEqûntEmI´····n   sEnq!paqEtsI····n
Help me   Dawn.

Then she made a pile of rocks to indicate her accomplishment of the required ceremony, and plunged into the stream. She returned to her tipi to sleep until late the next afternoon. She continued this for several nights, and was then ready to return to her family, after taking a sweat bath and changing her clothes.

Cecile said that it was the regular village menstrual lodge, and not a separate one of her own, that the girl occupied at puberty. Here she was said to make baskets and mats with the other girls who were there. She may very easily have been mistaken, however, for her information was less than second-hand on these points. [361]

Michel thought that the fire upon the mountain was an alternative to the long period of sweating. This was probably a confusing of two distinct parts of the ceremony, though formlessness of pattern and variation might conceivably have permitted it.

From Kartaro comes a very peculiar addendum. How much of this mythical elaboration was actually dramatized in the fashion indicated in this account cannot be discovered: 773 782 881

While the girl is in the menstrual lodge dog salmon is brought to her. She places this among the poles of her lodge (or raises it on poles) in memory of Coyote, who brought the salmon up the rivers. She goes to the door of the lodge and jumps up and down, singing, "Take pity on me, Coyote!" 825

p. 111 (A)

This is in recognition of the bondage she is 773
under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of 782
salmon to the people.

After she leaves the lodge she gives the 881
salmon to an old woman, who puts it under 825
her pillow. It is believed to have great
potency. "Once when the people were starving,
nine of them were saved merely by sniffing
at some of this salmon."[1]

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the 773
rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical
fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock 881
piling, but it no longer need be done, since
he had been set adrift on the ocean.

She also added that during this time the 844
girl must run up a hill with stones under her
dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as 881
to allow these to fall out. This sets the
pattern for ease in delivery which her future
children will follow.

Curtis' account of these ceremonies 881
says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."* Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records.[1]

The girl at puberty had to obey all the 841
tabus which were required of menstruating
women. Should she come near a man with 881
power he would be harmed, and might punish
her by making her menstrual flow continue
indefinitely. He could check it by giving
her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women,
during this period, stayed in a lodge for the [343]
purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu.

On a hill across the Columbia from Brewster 773
are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's
eight-section house. To one side is a small 823
pointed hill which was the women's menstrual 841
lodge of Coyote's group.

In common with the girl at puberty, the 783
woman who was menstruating must avoid the
sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 841

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

183 man's luck and power: her pollution would be permanent. 841 Sometimes hot rocks covered with green grass on which to lie were put in a pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute for the customary sweat bath. They were not allowed to take back to the village the [296] clothes they wore during this time. These were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought them by girls to don after a sweat bath and a bath in the river, taken before returning 841 to their ordinary life. They were not allowed to cook, even for themselves. Food was brought to them from the village, and none of it might be left till the next day or brought back to the village. Anything but bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten, and possibly the first of the camas or berry crop. They were not supposed to drink directly from a stream, lest it dry up. The drinking tubes used were made by pushing the pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should not comb their hair during the period, but could scratch the head with their fingers. Women in their periods could not help men in any way, nor would men look at or talk to them. Should a man eat anything cooked by them, he would sicken, lose his power, and game would flee from him. While a woman with a small baby might take it to the lodge with her, older children were left in charge of the husband or some relative or neighbor. At the lodge a woman busied herself with making mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

•881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the boys accompanied the men on their hunting 883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits. The first kill of a deer (and of a [224] bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed by the community and ceremoniously treated. He himself did not eat of it, but all the old men did (or at least he did not eat until the old men had partaken). This was for the sake of his future luck in the hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned by some older female relative, except early in the morning before the boys were up when they went to sweat, swim, and get the water for cooking. They were supposed to swim every day. They became acquainted with

p.112 (A)

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens [538] often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsI´lüx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.-- Analyst]

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, sym- 584
bolic of the pursuits of each sex. These
were not necessarily gifts of such great
value as horses. They represented merely
the feeling of mutual helpfulness between
the two families, and the sort of support
the offspring of each was going to bring to
the other. When the children came of age it
was expected that they would marry.

Betrothal and marriage were described 584
by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that
their children should marry when they were 585
fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated
that formerly girls did not marry until nine-
teen or twenty.) When the agreement was
reached, the father who had suggested it
took a present of horses to the other, in the
old days a gift of hides, and immediately re-
ceived a gift of equal value in exchange.
The children were considered married then.
When the news got about, no one would inter-
fere with the arrangement. After the girl's [881]
first menstruation the couple would live to-
gether. There was no feast, for the Okana- [574]
gon never had feasts "of any kind" until
forty years ago.

Other than by infant betrothal marriage 584
consisted in the boy's parents taking seven
to ten horses to the girl's parents and
bringing her back. A year later the girl's
parents returned equivalent gifts.

After marriage the couple always lived 585
first with the groom's parents. They visit-
ed back and forth until they had accumulated 591
enough to build their own home; the necessi-
ties might be given them by their parents.
Women always returned home to their mothers
for the birth of a child. After the first [844]
baby was born, the young couple established
their own home. After marriage both the
mother-in-law and the girl's mother instruct-
ed the girl how to treat a husband, and the
duties of a wife in general. This training
continued until the first baby arrived."[1]

There was no recognized pattern for the 583
breaking of such a betrothal, though one of
the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions
this as a possibility. It was said to have
occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to
evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a
young couple did elope, they would be wel-
comed back after a short time, for "What
could the parents do?" Occasionally separa- 586
tion might be urged, but could not be enforc-
ed without the consent of at least one of
the parties. Some of the more southern in-
formants, particularly Old Harry, stated
that the chief could force a separation.
This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern,
and must be considered doubtful, though it
may have been the southern practice.

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), Category 116. --Analyst]

304 while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered
854 by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably
when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that
long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne
for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur
d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many
of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of
infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many
families of all the Shahaptian tribes, tne pad-strings being pulled
[597] very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

861 **Whipping Ordeal.**—It is said that a long time ago, when all the
Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal
each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people
had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the
winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and
good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as
was practiced by the Thompson[381] until recently.

861 **Puberty.**—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of
881 the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes.
They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life
by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious,
and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially
those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of
them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo
hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that
they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced
by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions,
and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the
Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne
informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although
302 none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the
861 age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats,
where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or
881 grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and
they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During
the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice
various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow
[777] certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years.
They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the
head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during
their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the
hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both
sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[381] a, pp. 309, 310.

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible] The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

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The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds. [515]

Tattooing.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

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Scarification.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

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[illegible] *a*, pp. 317–321, *b*, 247–250.

304 88 this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in [[illegible]8] case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

582 MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[363]

583 Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

585 Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[363] a, pp. 321-325.

861 elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

782 ●881 PUBERTY.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[9] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

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[9] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. 787 Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. 881 ● In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted.

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and 776 training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the 881 532

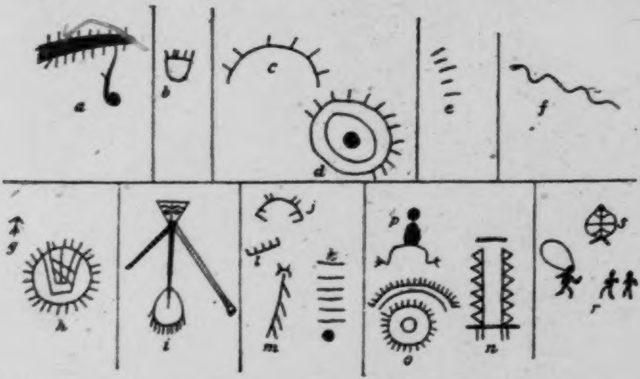

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, b. From a bowlder near Ashnola; a, said to represent some natural feature of the country; b, black bear; c, d, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; e, probably a count of fir needles; f, snake. g, h. From Tilin near Keremeos; g, fir branch; h, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. i–p. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); i, a guardian spirit; k, probably a count of fir branches; l, m, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; n, ranges of mountains with valley in between; o, sun or lake surrounded by trees; p, toad. r, s. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; r, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; s, unknown.

litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, 776 games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally 881 acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit.

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made 532 records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, 787 and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, 881 wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20–24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
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532 776 ●881 534 881 532 rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

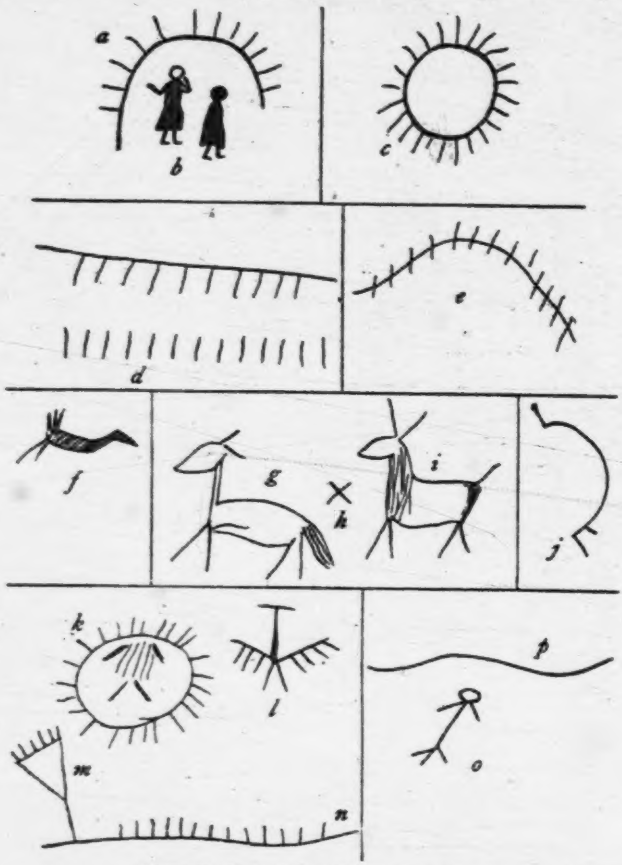

FIGURE 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a–d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; a, sun on hill with trees; b, people; c, the sun; d, a count of fir needles; e, a hill with trees; f, a bird; g, a horse; h, horse trails; i, deer; j, rainbow; k, sun or earth with trees, l, m, n, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; o, p, an animal near a trail.

534 881

881 At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training con-

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

gregated to test themselves. A large, steep rock about 7 meters high rises abruptly near the trail at this place. The young men tried to run up to the top along the sloping side and then slide down. A man 881 /

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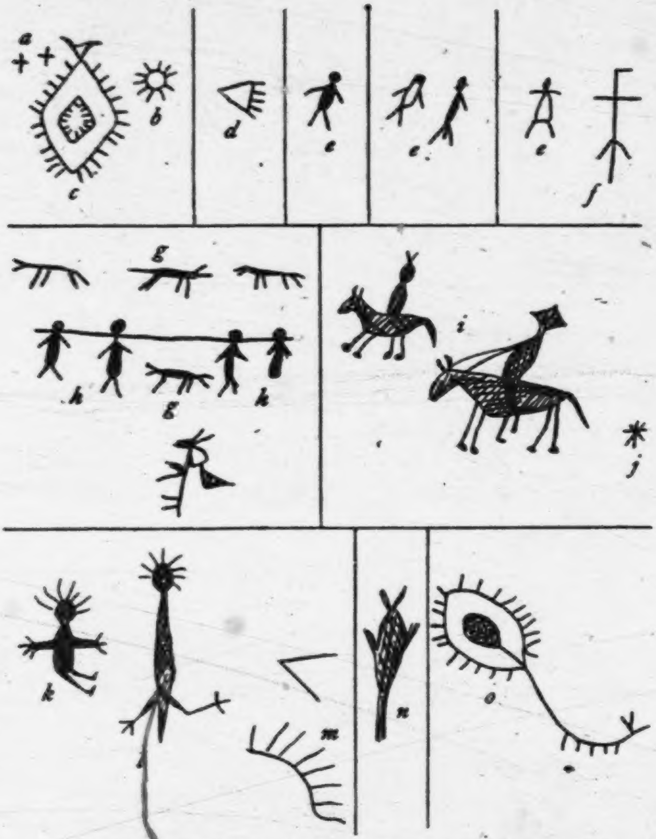

FIGURE 22.—Rock paintings on a cliff near Tcutcawi'xa, Similkameen Valley

a, Stars; b, sun; c, lake with trees, island with trees in the middle; d, grizzly bear; e, men; f, eagle; g, dogs or other animals with open mouths; h, people; i, men on horseback; j, star; k, l, men with feather headdresses; m, unfinished matting; n, a bird; o, stream running out of a lake with an island.

called *Kwɛlt̥ɛ'sqɛt* ("red cloud" or "emptying cloud") is the only one now living who has accomplished this feat. 881

Throwing, lifting, and carrying heavy stones were practiced to gain strength. Boys prayed that they might become strong. Boys

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried. 881 ●

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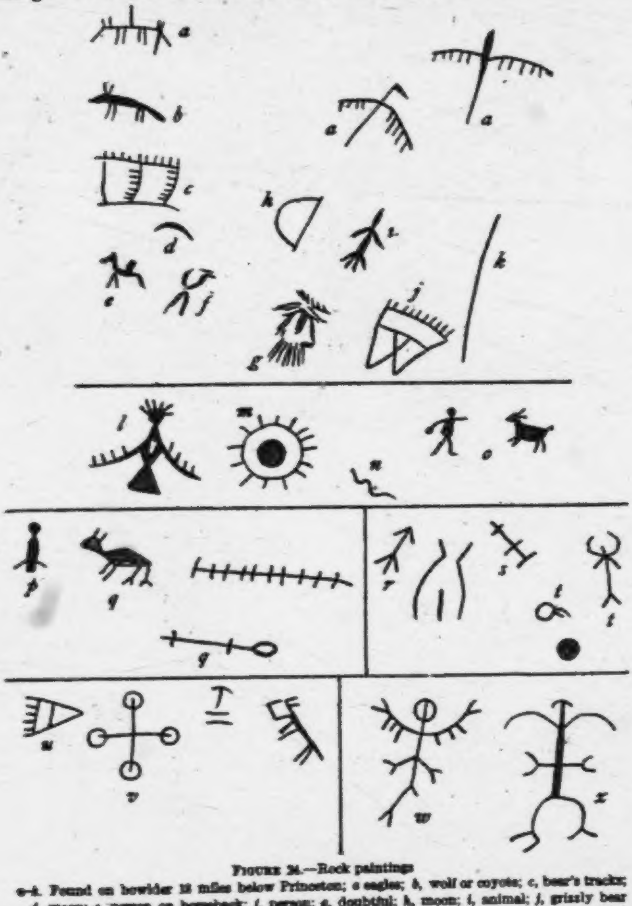

FIGURE 24.—Rock paintings

a–k. Found on bowlder 18 miles below Princeton; a, eagles; b, wolf or coyote; c, bear's tracks; d, moon; e, person on horseback; f, person; g, doubtful; h, moon; i, animal; j, grizzly bear tracks; k, trail. l–o. On a bowlder about 19 miles below Princeton; l, eagle; m, sun or pond surrounded by trees; n, snake; o, man meeting a deer. p–x. On a cliff and in a cave near Tcut'awi'za, Similkameen Valley; p, man; q, animals; r, fir branch; s, animal; t, insects; u, grizzly bear; v, four quarters; w, eagle; x, an insect or a vision.

MARRIAGE.—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by "go-betweens," 583

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*171 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez
Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from
The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

• 881 Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*171 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men
fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or
more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among
the other tribes.

58 Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*171 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women
who died as old spinsters.

593 Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
*171 were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A
[606] brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice
versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did
this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women
148 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*171 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands.
Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as
among white people.

764 Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*171 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats,
skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of
trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and
a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy
knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times
stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body
had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or
more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.
766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were
*171 obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might
find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person
lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven
back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact
spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

3: Clme E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their re-
quests, but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-
digging and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

●883 After puberty, childish pursuits aban-
doned, the adolescent spent his time learn-
ing techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was reestab-
lished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some dif-
ferences in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
sition, less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

p. 103 (A)

783 man's luck and power: her pollution would be permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with
841 green grass on which to lie were put in a pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute for the customary sweat bath. They were not allowed to take back to the village the
[296] clothes they wore during this time. These were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought them by girls to don after a sweat bath and a bath in the river, taken before returning
841 to their ordinary life. They were not allowed to cook, even for themselves. Food was brought to them from the village, and none of it might be left till the next day or brought back to the village. Anything but bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten, and possibly the first of the camas or berry crop. They were not supposed to drink directly from a stream, lest it dry up. The drinking tubes used were made by pushing the pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should not comb their hair during the period, but could scratch the head with their fingers. Women in their periods could not help men in any way, nor would men look at or talk to them. Should a man eat anything cooked by them, he would sicken, lose his power, and game would flee from him. While a woman with a small baby might take it to the lodge with her, older children were left in charge of the husband or some relative or neighbor. At the lodge a woman busied herself with making mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to use later in the household.

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the boys accompanied the men on their hunting
883 trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits. The first kill of a deer (and of a bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed
[E 24] by the community and ceremoniously treated. He himself did not eat of it, but all the old men did (or at least he did not eat until the old men had partaken). This was for the sake of his future luck in the hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned by some older female relative, except early in the morning before the boys were up when they went to sweat, swim, and get the water for cooking. They were supposed to swim every day. They became acquainted with

881 883 836 They[1] became acquainted with the more specialized techniques, such as basketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 835 No marriage to a blood relative was allowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 835 Incest was exceedingly rare, according to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. [538] This happens often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 835 The technical ban on marriage referred to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsī'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 554 778 It was preferred to marry within the tribe, but marriages outside of it took place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

[1] [i.e., post-adolescent girls.--Analyst]

778 424 sang his own power song, and "fed" it by giving food away. If it asked for all his possessions, he would have to obey in order to master it. A sick man who found power in a dream would let it go, not deeming himself strong enough to bring it under control.

Evil shamans might appropriate the power of a dying patient whom they were ostensibly trying to cure, and if they knew that someone with a desirable guardian spirit was about to die, they would send their own power to steal it.

778 796 789 Those attending the winter dance, especially the young neophytes, stood in danger of having their power stolen by malignant shamans who were there. The latter sometimes banded together to do this, and if one of them succeeded, the power remained his and the victim soon died. Suszen emphasized this phase of the winter assemblies, and said that the chiefs prohibited power contests at the dances because they were so often fatal.

778 Only Lucy Joe denied that one shaman could steal another's power while the latter was asleep and that power conflicts took place at the winter ceremonies. She said that a person who had some power might hang up a bright blanket to attract more. If he saw a bird perching on the blanket he recognized that an additional guardian spirit had come to him. This was not confirmed by other informants.

778 791 Cecile told the following anecdote of power theft. Once when a shaman seemed unable to cure a woman suffering from papałə̆t, her family called in four other shamans to assist him. This made him jealous. He said to the others, "You four fellows work first and I will be the last." He went aside and sat by himself till they had done all they could for the patient. When he returned to her he not only extracted the papałə̆t but stole her own power also. The patient's brothers, being informed of this foul act by the other four shamans, held a knife to his throat and made him drink poison. He ran out of the house in convulsions and tried, since he had fish power, to reach the creek, but died before he got there, so that his power could not help him. The woman whose power he had stolen died also.

778 883 763 When one became senile he failed to hear his power song and to receive messages from his guardian spirits in dreams. Friendly shamans might try to find his lost power for him by looking under the water, in the mountains, and elsewhere, by a kind of clairvoyance, but sometimes they met with no success. This meant that before long he would die. Suszen explained that power abandoned very old people because they were too feeble to fulfill its commands as imparted to them in dreams. It could in no wise be induced to remain with them.

778 424 Husbands and wives did not bequeath their power to each other. Indeed, it is

for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xᵉ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (papa'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1] 787

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called snkwa''kntən, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3] 776 787

The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life. 776 885

The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutske'lamsásumixᵉ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion. 753 756 776

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[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which
she had given birth to him, and none but
women touched him. After some days he was
brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by
the community, represented on this occasion
by a small group of the old people. Then,
strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied
his mother as she resumed her routine tasks.
Not until he was a year or more old was he
given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of
the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy.
He was trained to keep out of danger, and to
respond politely to adults and their
requests, but he had no responsibilities and
few duties, and was free to spend most of
his time in play with the other children of
the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to
hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging
and berry-picking. In the evening
the children heard the folk tales, and the
moral lectures given particularly for them
by the old people. From the major part of
the religious life they were definitely
[881] excluded until the series of rites which took
place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits
abandoned, the adolescent spent his time
learning techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus
it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live
at either parental home. Life continued in
much the same fashion as before, the boy
sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
[843] the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her
husband under many restrictions and tabus
for the sake of the child, but a short time
after its birth the old routine was
reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes
came back to the adult at the winter dance,
social differentiation for the individual
really began. This brought about some
differences in position, which meant, however,
only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in
position, less active roles being played by
761 the elders. Finally came desertion or loss
of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

572 431 me and I will give you things." They would agree to exchange presents and hospitality as long as they lived.

One of them might go to visit his partner with some horses. When he got ready to leave the other would pick out some fine horses and give them to him. Each would insist on the worthlessness of the things he was giving. They all tried to return more than they were given.

[426] A man would have a "giving-partner" in his own tribe very seldom, because men in the same tribe are friends anyway and borrow each other's goods or horses freely. Men thus borrowing each other's belongings modestly refrained from taking the best.

They did not ostentatiously give their return presents, but would simply lay down the return gift, without saying, "Here, I am returning your gift." A man would try to make a return of a little better value than what he had received, and the recipient, seeing this, would sometimes give something extra, commenting on his generosity.

A pair of gift-exchanging friends called one another sinūqōẋhwĭtstūĕ´h, "giving-partner" (-tūĕ´h, reciprocal). A partner is stōq!ūĕ; a gift chwĭtax.

There was no gift-giving to ruin the recipient's reputation through his inability to return a larger gift, as in a Coast potlatch.

484 572 439 Among many groups the men had regular partners with whom they preferred to trade when they went on long trips."[1] Large groups often went, and the women went along, for they were useful for carrying and the care of the food. Much of the produce exchanged was actually the property of the women, who did their own trading while the men occupied themselves in gambling. Teit says that there were families which undertook these trips regularly, while others went only occasionally. Young men, however, often went along merely for adventure."[1] Trading visits were one of the great opportunities, like the salmon fishing and some of the winter dances, for the coming together of large crowds of people, so that the young people had a chance to meet. [527] [584] Marriages were frequently contracted at this time.

● 885 554 By the time that full middle life was reached, social recognition of individual differences was achieved. Differentiation in position and function meant rather specialized activities on the part of some of the people. Shamans of various sorts, who had more potent supernatural blessings than the rest of the community; headmen of village groups and executive officials, chosen for their prestige and personality, as well

[1] [For footnote, see p. 126 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

a[illegible]heir supernatural favors; chiefs, holding position largely because of birth; all spent some part of their time in activities not participated in to the same extent or in the same manner by the rest of the group. However, specialization was never so extreme as to exempt these individuals from the ordinary economic pursuits of the group, and still less from the social and religious activities. 885 554

It was known that women sometimes died at menopause. 886

Insanity was said to have been very rare. All those Mrs. Louie could recall were half-breeds. Cecile also cited a few cases: a young Wenatchi girl, and a local girl who was sent to an asylum recently because she "wanted power too much." A case of years ago was that of a woman who was badly frightened at the time of the earthquake (about seventy-five years ago?). She took off all her clothes and ran away. She was found naked, frozen to death in the snow. 158

Some data on suicide was obtained from Johnnie Louie which may be added here. The pattern for suicide seems to be by hanging. No one was ever hung for punishment. Suicide was rare among men, but common enough among girls. For instance, if a girl was angry she might kill herself, or if a wife was beaten on unfounded suspicion of adultery she might hang herself. If a girl got a reputation as loose, her father might whip her; she, feeling hurt, might kill herself. A child who suggests something important to its parents, which the latter refuse, has good cause to kill himself for shame. Thus, sixty years ago a man was sent by the priests to convert his family. His father disagreeing, the son shot himself through the mouth. Cecile Brooks said that suicides were more frequent in early days than at present. Women particularly were given to it on such provocation as a parental scolding, a disagreement over bethrothal, or the like. They would hang themselves with a pack rope. Men also killed themselves, for example, because of jealousy. "They rigged up some sort of arrangement by which they could release an arrow with their toes." 762

DEATH AND BURIAL

As soon at it was known that a death had taken place, relatives and friends came to the house to wail. Those too far away to come gathered to mourn where they were. A night was spent mourning over the body. Relatives, or unrelated old men, prepared the corpse for burial. In each locality there seems to have been one old man who customarily performed this task, assisted by another he might choose. The corpse was washed, dressed in fresh (?) clothes, and bound in a flexed position, with knees to chest, hands and feet crossed. It was never painted, unlike the Nez Percé and Colville. The braids 764

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[25] Curtis, *North American Indian*, VII, 76.

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[45] Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 76.

mon from entering the trap of a person with 500
weaker power.

Women and children were not supposed to 226
eat the heads or the tails of salmon, but
when the people were ready to leave the river, 796
they would grow careless and eat dried
heads and tails, which were not as dangerous 784
as the fresh. Should the salmon then fail, 825
they would become strict again.

These tabus did not apply to other fish; 262
in fact women ate even the boiled viscera of
trout and squawfish.

If a woman should break a tabu it would scare the salmon away and she would suffer from menstrual pains. One never did break a tabu deliberately. Women and mourners made a wide detour around the trap when passing up or down the river shore. Very few individuals understood why they had the tabu; they simply followed it.

Explanations of women's tabus vary. The fact that the men were naked while building
the trap, or wearing perhaps a strip of maple, willow, or sagebrush bark wrapped about
the end of the penis as protection from the
poles they are handling, might account for
it. Perhaps the idea came from the Okanagon
creation myth, in which the first weir is [773]
said to have been built by two bird sisters,
far down the Columbia River. Coyote took this away from them and gave the same sort of weir to the people all the way up the river and its tributaries, saying that they should obey his laws and follow his directions in the building of weirs and catching of salmon. One of these injunctions was that the men were forever to keep weirs and fishing away from the women. In this regard the tabu is similar to the tabu on deer hunting. Could they be a survival from the hypothetical days when men monopolised control over the food, and subjugated the women? Are they connected with fear of blood, associated with women?

While the men worked at a weir, some of their women would go into the hills to gather roots and berries, while others would remain in camp nearby. Women did practically all of the work of drying the salmon.

SMALL FISH

Suckers (q'ōq'ōmū's) were taken during 226
both of their annual runs, upstream in early
May and downstream in August, when they
sought deeper, more quiet waters. By far the
larger catch was in May, when traps were set
at the bases of waterfalls in McLaughlin
Canyon. This fishing was left largely to old
men: women dried the catch which was traded [462]
with those who had spent this time digging
roots. A pole would be set horizontally in [887]
the rocks so that the surface water fell
directly upon it. Smaller poles were secur-

Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was 178 181
utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in 554
warfare. 721

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the 221
enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were 262
occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to
replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of 342
venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Tem- 484
porary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings 621
and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skənı'umən, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, ḳəpɪtctltɪ'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots 221
ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. 224
For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's 262
supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp
often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even 342
though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed 462
to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's 621
life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted 296
rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps 221
on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The exten- 476
sive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated
along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared 758
with those who had had to remain. 888

224 281 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 251 415 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

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[18] See page 76.

[19] See page 117

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 852 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names. [553]

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 861 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty. [881]

883 885 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather unceremonious. [591] Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. [843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 761 With increasing age came change in position, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

p. 103 (A)

To return to Cecile's description: During
343 the summer women's activities, as berrying,
digging food, preparing skins, and so
461 forth, made such a place unnecessary. While
they erected the house collectively any
woman who was visiting might make use of it.
512 Here they spent the greater part of the day
weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets
and the like, leaving in the evening only
when it was time to prepare the evening meal,
the principal meal of the day. Each one had
her regular place in the house where she
kept her materials. This house was called
snəī'mEn, "place to weave."

In this connection it must be noted
343 that Suszen described a somewhat similar
house for girls, but this was mentioned by
857 no other informant and Dave explicitly denied
its existence. The girls' house
868 (Ūlakī'm) was evidently a small underground
lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent
settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

Life in a typical camp, that of the
593 Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while
living there, deserves description in full:

Fathers and sons seem to go around with
each other a great deal. They travel together,
go for a stroll together, and sit together
in larger groups. They seem never to
misunderstand one another. The father would
not often ask his son to do anything; both
seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon
do it in equal degree. This applies
equally to small boys. They were rarely
given orders; practically never created a
[888] disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal
respect was paid to older people.

Harsh words and unkindness appeared to
578 be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs.
There was great tolerance on the very few occasions
when it was needed.

At table they were not ceremonious. One
264 never hesitated to take the last piece on a
platter even if by so doing his neighbor
would get none. No one suffered from too
little to eat, but he might not get any of
his favorite dish. There was no complaint
in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother